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GEORGE PHILIP & SON, LTD., 32, FLEET STREET, LONDON,

AND THE LEAGUE OF THE EMPIRE, CAXTON HALL, WESTMINSTER.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

ITS PAST, ITS PRESENT, AND ITS FUTURE.

EDITED BY

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LONDON:

THE LEAGUE OF THE EMPIRE

(ON BEHALF OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE SPITZEL IMPERIAL EDUCATION TRUST),

CAXTON HALL, WESTMINSTER.

1909.

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PREFACE.

This account of the British Empire owes its origin to the generosity of Mr. Louis Spitzel and the enthusiasm of Mr. Thomas Henry Monk. Neither, unhappily, lived to see the result of their practical interest in the Empire. Mr. Spitzel died in September, 1906, and Mr. Monk in August, 1907; and it is but bare justice to their memory to record in this place the debt which the series of volumes, of which this is the first, owes to their exertions. The execution of the scheme, which was thus made feasible, was entrusted to the History Section of the League of the Empire, with Professor Bury as its chairman.

The object of this volume and its successors is, like those of the League of the Empire itself, primarily educational. Its essential purpose is to promote a knowledge and, what is more important, an understanding of the Empire as it is and of the causes which have brought it into being, and to provide that minimum of information without which all discussion of Imperial questions is barren, if not productive of positive mischief. The secondary object is to make further provision for education in the Empire. The expenses of the series having been already met, all the proceeds will be devoted to the furtherance of education without distinction of class, creed, or colony.

It is therefore the work of no one school of politics, and represents no single standpoint. It has not been inspired from Downing Street, and no effort has been made to impose upon it a fictitious uniformity of view. To it writers have contributed of all shades of opinion and from all quarters of the Empire; suggestions have been adopted from authorities in almost every Dominion, Colony and Dependency of the Crown; and it reflects a diversity of gifts and aspirations which no other political system has known how to combine with imperial unity.

That unity rests upon a historical basis. All the states of the Empire have been built on a common foundation by men who have inherited or assimilated English ideas, and every one of its hundred legislatures is a child of the Mother of Parliaments. But they have all developed on different lines, and it is well that every Dominion and Colony should understand the British point of view. It is perhaps even more essential that Great Britain should understand the points of view of her adult children; and both objects would have been sacrificed by any attempt to suppress such differences as exist.

Understanding rather than knowledge being the primary object of this book, its purpose has been to explain rather than to recapitulate history; and chronology has been subordinated to the endeavour to trace and appraise the various causes and forces that have moulded the development of the Empire. It has been no easy task to adjust to their proper proportion of pages the claims of its several parts and manifold aspects. In particular, the long history of the British Isles, their preponderance in white

population and wealth, and their influence on the other Dominions and Colonies could not be treated at corresponding length without dwarfing the space allotted to the rest of the Empire. Problematical future importance as well as positive past achievement has had to be weighed in striking the balance; and for the detailed history of the British Isles before 1800 students will have to go elsewhere. The few chapters devoted to that theme are designed merely as an introduction to the period during which the domestic history of Great Britain and Ireland has directly acted and reacted upon that of her daughter-states. Nevertheless, it was impossible to leave Hamlet out of the play, or to explain the growth of derivative institutions without going back to the source from which they were derived.

Limits of space also compelled the omission of a mass of first-hand information generously supplied by responsible persons in every part of the Empire. A cyclopædia of the Empire in some twelve or twenty volumes would have enormous value, but its production is beyond the present means and purpose of the League. This volume should not, however, be valued by its size or weight, and still less by its price. It is the result of two and a half years' labour in which more than a hundred authorities have in varying degrees co-operated; and although it is in no sense an official publication, no slight proportion of its contents is due to the criticism or suggestion of men who are actually responsible for the administration of the Empire. It would be impossible, even if such recognition were permitted, to acknowledge individually the assist-

ance which has thus been unstintedly rendered to the book; but I may be allowed, on behalf of the Editorial Committee and myself, to tender our thanks to Mrs. Ord Marshall for undertaking the vast mass of correspondence involved in the consultation of authorities in all parts of the Empire.

A list of the writers who have contributed to this volume is given on p. x.; but something like a third of its contents has been derived from sources which cannot be more particularly specified. This extraneous information has modified practically every chapter but the last, in which Sir Frederick Pollock has dealt with the Imperial Conference of 1907 and Dr. Shadwell with the Federal Conference on Education; and with this exception the Editor must accept the sole responsibility for the statements in this book.

A word should perhaps be said on terminology. The great self-governing communities of the Empire have long felt that the term "colony" inadequately expresses their national status; and "dominions" or "states" have been suggested as substitutes. The difficulties are that "dominion" does not imply self-government, and that "states" is a term applied in Australia to the six component parts of the Commonwealth which alone represents the national aspirations of the people. "Nations" would perhaps be a better word, and "The Empire of the British Nations," while open to several objections, would at least be less cumbrous than some of the descriptions that have been suggested for the Dominions of the Crown. But the old terminology still obtains at the Colonial Office and in official documents, and

it has not been possible to avoid it altogether in these pages. Nor has it been possible to follow one consistent principle of spelling proper, and especially Indian, names. Few readers would recognise sepoys in *sipáhis*, and intelligibility has sometimes been preferred to scientific accuracy. So, too, the grouping of colonies is not absolutely logical; it is convenient to treat Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and Basutoland under the heading South Africa, although they are not self-governing states like the other Dominions and Colonies described in Book II.

Every method has its defects. No human mind could follow at one time the divergent stories of these British states, and it was necessary to treat them individually. But they are more than individual communities, and some attempt has been made to keep their histories in touch with the greater unity, of which they are but parts, by frequent reference to corresponding movements, by a unified chronology of the Empire (pp. 789-809), and by an index which contains some twenty-five thousand entries.

A. F. POLLARD.

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BOOK I.

THE BRITISH ISLES.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.

The natural advantages of the British Isles are their position, their varied surface features, and their equable climate.

Position.

Britain lies between 50° and 60°N. lat., and is thus nearer the Pole than any other part of the Empire except Canada. It lies near the centre of the land hemisphere, but this advantage is partly counterbalanced by the vicinity of ice in the Arctic Ocean.

Britain is part of the Continent of Europe, the mainland of which is only about 21 miles distant at the Strait of Dover, This distance increases to about 60 miles in the middle, and to 100 miles at the western end, of the English Channel. On the east the distance is greater. The coast of Norfolk is about 225 miles from Holland. The distance across the middle of the North Sea is 400 miles. Norway and North-eastern Scotland are about 250 miles apart. These narrow seas are ice free, but often stormy; they promote intercourse, but are wide enough to be an effective barrier against sudden invasion. This fact has played an important part in our history. Freed from the constant fear of attack, Britain was able to develop religious and political liberty while her Continental neighbours were engaged in continual frontier wars.

The Narrow Seas.

These waters are very shallow. If the sea fell 120 ft. Great Britain would be reunited to the mainland of Europe. Two advantages result from this shallowness. The fisheries are among the most valuable in the world; and the height of the tidal wave over the continental shelf is much increased. Twice a day the water rises 20 ft., 30 ft., or even 40 ft., in the estuaries round the coast. The rising tide carries shipping inland, the ebbing tide carries it out. Round the coast the men became expert fishermen

and sailors, imbued with a strong spirit of adventure. When the discoveries of the fifteenth century opened out new fields, it quickly became evident that the position of Britain on the western edge of Europe, but opposite the New World, was a geographical advantage of the first importance.

Physical Features, permanent and temporary.

In studying the relation between geography and history we must distinguish between temporary and permanent conditions. The positions of hills and plains, of bays, estuaries and rivers are facts which do not change. River mouths, however, may become silted up, the coast may be eaten away or new coasts may be formed, swamps and fen lands can be drained, rivers dredged, forests cleared, and land reclaimed from the sea by dyking and draining. Thus the surface of our islands has differed greatly at different periods in history. The mud-clogged Lea was wide enough a thousand years ago for the Danes to sail up it. Romney, once a port, is now an inland town. The forests have almost disappeared and with them the wolves and other wild animals of early days. Some natural conditions vary in importance at different periods. Formerly, the command of water power was essential for manufacturing while coal was of no value. The vast deposits of this mineral, which are now one great source of our prosperity, have only been utilised for a century or so.

Great Britain, the largest of the British Isles, has an area of 88,000 square miles. In looking at a map three things are obvious: first, that the lowlands are chiefly in the south and east; secondly, that almost all the great estuaries are on these coasts; and thirdly, that these estuaries are the nearest Europe. For these three reasons successful invasion has invariably been from the south or east.

The Highlands and Lowlands.

The highlands of Great Britain lie mainly in the west. They comprise (1) the highlands of the Devon-Cornwall peninsula, (2) the Welsh Highlands, (3) the Central Uplands of Great Britain, (4) the Scottish Highlands. The northern part of the Central Uplands is called the Scottish Uplands; and its southern projection, the Cheviot Hills, is separated by the Tyne from the Pennines and the Cumbrian Mountains, which form the English part of the Central Uplands. The Pennines are driven like a wedge into northern England, separating the larger plains on the east from the narrower ones on the west. In southern Scotland the highland wedge is still broader, the marginal lowlands narrower, and communication between east and west still more difficult than in

England. Between the Southern Uplands of Scotland and the Scottish Highlands lie the Central Lowlands of Scotland, broken by hills, but extending from sea to sea.

On each of the lowlands one or more powers grew up, and many centuries elapsed before they were all consolidated into a single state. The highlanders, with a poorer country and the superior strength and endurance of hill people, frequently raided the rich lowlands. For this reason strong fortresses were built where the routes from the hills reached the plains. This is particularly the case along the Welsh and Scottish borders.

England and Wales.

Ease and Difficulty of Communication.

If we trace on the map the east-flowing Thames, Wash rivers, Trent and Ouse, and the west-flowing Severn, Dee, Mersey, Ribble and Lune, we see that we can pass from the Thames to any of the other rivers without climbing more than 500 ft. above sea-level. Over the lowlands of England, therefore, communication is easy, except where forests, marshes, or tracts of higher ground intervene. The map shows that the case is very different in Wales, northern England, and Scotland, where highlands form the main mass of the country. The lowlands of England are not, however, a uniform plain. They are much broken, and though the heights are relatively low, they have exercised an important influence on the direction of the routes and, therefore, on the history of the country.

Southern England.

The Cornwall-Devon peninsula is a highland region, highest on Exmoor (1,700 ft.), Dartmoor (2,000 ft.) and Bodmin Moor. The valleys are fertile, and the towns are nearly all on the coast. Many are important fishing centres, and Plymouth Sound is one of the finest harbours in Britain.

East of the Cornwall-Devon peninsula, the heights run either east and west or from south-west to north-east. They are arranged in two broken diverging lines: (1) the rounded chalk downs and (2) the limestone and other jurassic ridges such as the Cotswolds, the Edgehill and the Northampton Uplands. Between the two series of heights the Thames flows east to its deep wide estuary.

The best natural route from the English Channel into the centre of the country is by the Itchen estuary, opening to Southampton Water. Modern Southampton is one of our

great ports, especially for trade with South Africa and South America, and more recently with the United States. Southampton Water, however, with its two entrances by Spithead and the Solent, has been important for many centuries, partly because its four tides a day prevent much variation in the level of the water. By this sea-gate the West Saxons made their way inland and founded Wessex. All routes to the north must cross the chalk downs by the natural gaps, and at these towns early grew up. The most important are Salisbury and Winchester, both old cathedral cities. Winchester was for a time the capital of England, so important was the Itchen route.

East of Southampton are Portsmouth, defended by Portsdown, Spithead, and the Isle of Wight, Hastings, where William the Conqueror landed, Folkestone, Dover, built at the nearest point to France, and others of the Cinque ports. The latter are rendered difficult of approach by the Goodwin Sands, which have been cut off from the mainland within the last few centuries. Thus there is a considerable choice of routes inland to London, but all encounter the double chalk barrier, consisting of the South and North Downs. Lewes, in the Ouse gap, and Arundel, in the Arun gap—both of which are now traversed by railways—are built where the South Downs can most easily be crossed. Canterbury, Maidstone, Rochester, and Guildford are some of the more important towns commanding gaps in the North Downs. Anciently the forested Weald between the North and South Downs, a fragment of which remains in Ashdown Forest, was a further barrier, but this has now been cleared. This Weald and Romney Marsh are usually said to have prevented the South Saxons from conquering Kent and the Thames Valley.

London.

On the east the Thames estuary and valley form the great natural route into the heart of the country. The tides at London Bridge, one coming round the north of Great Britain, reinforced by another coming through the Straits of Dover, are exceptionally strong and high, and easily float large ships in. London has therefore been well situated for foreign trade. It faces the Rhine delta, a fact which was of great importance in the early middle ages, when Flanders was one of the great commercial countries of Europe and when Venetian fleets traded between the Mediterranean and the Baltic. London was built at the lowest point where the tidal river could be bridged. Here an area of higher, firmer ground made a suitable site, while the surround-

ing marshes not merely made it easy to defend, but forced all the routes to converge on it. Westminster, now joined to London, was built where the undredged river could then be forded at low tide. The Norman power was largely based on the possession of London. William I. strongly fortified it by building the Tower, and thus secured his hold on the many routes of which London is the terminus.

The Thames Valley.

The Thames Valley is shut in to the north by the chalk heights of the Chiltern Hills and the low East Anglian heights which continue them. To the south are the chalk downs of Kent and Surrey. Thus Middlesex, the territory of the Mid-Saxons, was effectually cut off from Sussex, and by the Lea Marshes from Essex.

The Thames has always been an important route into the interior. Windsor, with its fine castle, is built on an isolated chalk height above the river. At Reading the Kennet joins it, flowing eastwards between the western prolongation of the North Downs and the White Horse Downs. Here, too, the route from Southampton reaches the Thames. At the northern end of the gap cut by the Thames between the Chilterns and the White Horse Downs is Wallingford, where other routes from the south cross the river. Here William the Conqueror passed over, having marched from Canterbury along the northern base of the North Downs. From Wallingford he advanced by the Aylesbury gap of the Chilterns on London, which he had thus completely isolated. The gaps in the Chilterns are now utilised by the railway lines which connect the Lower Thames with the Midlands.

Oxford is the most important centre of the Upper Thames. It is built among marshes at its confluence with the Cherwell, which flows due south between Edgehill and the Northampton Uplands, and forms a route into the Midlands. The Thames rises in the Cotswolds a few miles from Cheltenham, almost within sight of the wide Vale of Severn. Their treeless slopes support many sheep, whose wool was the foundation of the woollen manufacture at Stroud and smaller towns.

The routes from the Upper Thames to the Bristol Channel follow the lower ground between the Cotswolds and the White Horse Downs to the Bristol Avon, which flows past Bath and Bristol to the Severn estuary. From Bristol the routes continue either to South Wales or to the plain of Somerset and the Vale of Taunton, passing to the latter round either end of the Mendips. From Taunton routes lead to the

North Devon towns and to Exeter, the centre of the southern routes of the Cornwall and Devon peninsula.

The Fens and East Anglia.

From Oxford there is easy communication east and west across the broad belt of lowland which lies between the chalk and limestone heights. The Nen, Ouse, and other rivers lead to the Wash through a marshy region, which formerly made communication very difficult. This is now drained but still retains the name of the Fens. Small towns were built among the marshes on islands of firmer ground, and these were easy of defence. Ely, on what is still called the Isle of Ely, was the refuge of Hereward in his struggle against the Normans. Cambridge, Bedford and Peterborough, on the margin of the Fens, command the routes into the drier plains of East Anglia. The coasts of East Anglia (Norfolk = North Folk; Suffolk = South Folk) are pierced by many estuaries which open opposite the Rhine, the Elbe and other North German rivers. By these the Angles entered East Anglia, while farther south the Saxons settled in Essex. Of these estuaries, the Stour, with the packet station of Harwich, is most important in the present day. The climate of East Anglia is dry and bracing, and its people are remarkable for energy of all kinds. Manufactures early developed round Norwich, which is well placed for trade with the mainland of Europe.

The Midlands.

The Midlands lie north of the low heights which stretch from the Cotswolds to the Wash. They consist of undulating country, above which rise masses of older rocks. These, though low, determine the course of the rivers and routes. The Warwick Avon, rising near the Welland, which flows to the Wash, itself flows south-west to the Severn through the fertile Vale of Evesham. Rugby, where the route from the Lower Thames by the Northampton gap reaches the Avon, is an important centre of roads and railways. Warwick is built where the Cherwell route reaches the Avon. The region to the north-west is a coalfield, which supports the enormous iron industry of Birmingham and the surrounding towns and the pottery manufactures of North Staffordshire on the flanks of the Pennines. Stafford controls the route from the Midlands to the plains of Cheshire and South Lancashire, which passes through the Midland or Stafford Gate between the Southern Pennines and the Welsh Highlands.

The Severn, the great river of western England, rises in the heart of the Welsh Highlands, and flows east to Shrewsbury, from which easy routes lead north to the plain of

Cheshire, and by Stafford to the Trent. Below Shrewsbury the river frequently changes its direction as it crosses the broken country east of the Welsh Highlands.

The Severn. At Worcester and Tewkesbury routes from the Midlands reach the river, which flows through the broad Vale of Severn to Gloucester, at the head of the estuary. In modern times traffic is carried across the estuary by a long viaduct, or below it in a tunnel.

Routes into Wales. Wales is a region of bleak, barren mountains, fitted only for sheep-farming. The highest point is Snowdon (3,560 ft.). The mountain interior is bordered by a coastal plain of varying width, in which are nearly all the towns and population. The easiest routes from England are by the Vale of Flint in the north and by the Vale of Gwent in the south. The former route is commanded by Chester on the Dee, which leaves the Welsh Highlands in a narrow valley and then flows across the Cheshire plain to its broad estuary. Chester has been important since Roman times and was strongly fortified. The southern route is commanded by Gloucester, where the routes from the Midlands by the Vale of Evesham and those from the Upper Thames converge. From Gloucester the way into South Wales follows the coast north of the Severn estuary by Chepstow, at the mouth of the Wye, Newport, at the mouth of the Usk, Cardiff, at the mouth of the Taff, Swansea, at the mouth of the Tawe, and Carmarthen, on the Towy at the entrance to the plain of Pembroke, with its great inlet of Milford Haven. The railway is continued to Fishguard, the port for Southern Ireland.

The Welsh Marches. West of the Severn the basin is broken up by many heights, between which routes are formed by tributaries flowing to the Severn. The route from Gloucester between the Forest of Dean and Malvern Hills leads to Hereford on the Wye, one of the keys of Wales. From Hereford the route continues to Leominster on the Lugg, and Ludlow on the Teme, where it meets the route north of the Malvern Hills from Worcester. Ludlow was strongly fortified and was the meeting-place of the Council of the Marches or Borders. Chester, Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Hereford and Gloucester control all the practicable routes into Wales. All played an important part in the struggle between England and Wales, during which the Lords of the Marches wielded almost absolute authority along the borders.

The plain of Cheshire, opening to the Irish Sea, is large

and fertile. It is continuous with the narrower plain of Lancashire, which rises on the east to the western flanks of the Pennines. This region was for centuries barren and sparsely peopled. At the present time it is one of the richest and most densely populated in our islands. This is due to the abundance of its coal, which, though of little value till about a century ago, now supports the vast cotton, chemical and engineering industries of South Lancashire. The Mersey estuary opens from this plain to the Irish Sea, and the possession of this geographical advantage has made Liverpool the great port for the American trade and Lancashire the seat of the cotton manufacture (*see* pp. 130-1). Manchester has found it necessary to cut a ship canal, and is the greatest cotton market of the world. Bolton, Bury, Wigan, Manchester and Stockport may be regarded as one vast industrial town.

The Plains west of the Pennines.

The Cumbrian mountains (3,200 ft.) project westwards from the Pennines to the Irish Sea. The lowest depression between them, Shap Fell, is 1,000 ft. above sea-level. They form the Lake Country, so called from the long, picturesque lakes (Windermere, Ullswater, Derwentwater) which fill the valleys. Coal is worked on the coastal margin round Workington and Whitehaven.

The routes to the North are all difficult. Shap Fell is reached from the plain of Lancashire by Preston, Lancaster, and the Ribble and Lune valleys, and the descent is made to the valley of the Eden and Carlisle, the western key of Scotland, in the south of the Solway plain.

The Plains east of the Pennines.

The plains east of the Pennines are larger, more fertile and easier to traverse. Long before the industrial period towns were numerous, and many are very ancient. The plain of Lincoln is separated from the North Sea by the chalk Lincoln wolds. East of the wolds the country is marshy and towns are few.

The routes from the south are controlled by Leicester, or by Derby and Nottingham in the Trent basin. Gainsborough, at the head of the tidal navigation of the Trent, is a considerable port, and Hull is the greatest of those on the Humber. The Vale of York, drained by the Ouse and its tributaries, is cut off from the North Sea by the Yorkshire wolds and moors. The coast, which is the nearest part of England to Norway, has often been invaded, and there is a strain of Norse or Danish blood in the people.

The arrangement of the valleys opening to the Vale of York is very important. The Don, Aire, Calder, Wharfe,

Nidd, Ure and Swale descend in parallel dales from the eastern slopes of the Pennines, and each has a town where the valley widens to the Vale of York. These have long been engaged in manufacturing wool, for sheep graze on the hillsides above. The abundance of coal has led to a vast development of the mining industry. Sheffield, on the Don, which rises in the extreme south of the Pennines, is a great iron centre. The Derwent, a tributary flowing from the east into the Ouse, forms the Vale of Pickering, which leads between the Yorkshire wolds and moors to the North Sea. In the Cleveland Hills, north of the moors, excellent iron is abundant. This is smelted at Middlesbrough-on-Tees, a great shipbuilding place and the centre of the industrial region of the Lower Tees.

The natural capital of the Ouse lowland is York, at the head of tidal navigation. Its command of routes has made it important from the Roman occupation onwards. The main route north crosses the Tees to Durham in the valley of the Middle Wear, passes over the Tyne at Newcastle, the centre of the great coal and iron industries of the Upper Tees, and continues along the narrowing coastal plain between the Cheviots and the sea to Berwick-on-Tweed, the frontier town.

The upper tributaries of the Tyne afford difficult routes across the Cheviots into Scotland. The main stream rises far to the west, and forms the Tyne gap, which connects the plain of Northumberland with the Solway plain and Carlisle. This very important route is controlled by Hexham, which saw much fighting in the border wars. The only other good natural route across the Pennines is supplied by the gap of the river Aire, nearly seventy miles farther south, which connects the Vale of York with the Ribble and the plains west of the Pennines. This route is carried north by Settle and Appleby to the Eden Valley and Carlisle.

Scotland.

The boundary between England and Scotland consists partly of the Cheviots and partly of the Lower Tweed. North of the Cheviots the Southern Uplands stretch from sea to sea. At their broadest they are about 50 miles across from north to south. The traveller from Carlisle to Edinburgh still feels the loneliness of this bleak region, where signs of human habitation are few. This isolation must have been far greater before the settlement of the coalfields on the flanks of the Pennines. Then the journey from populous lowland to populous lowland was an affair, not of hours, but of days. This vast expanse of

barren and thinly peopled mountain and moor may explain why Great Britain was so long divided into two rival kingdoms.

Western Routes into Scotland. West of the Cheviots is a small lowland round Solway Firth, part of which, the marshy Solway Moss, was difficult to cross. The chief place in the southern part of the lowland is Carlisle. Through the northern part, north of the Firth, flow the rivers Dee, Nith and Annan, which descend from the southern flanks of the Southern Uplands of Scotland. Glasgow, the great manufacturing and commercial centre of Scotland, built where the Clyde is bridged at the head of its estuary, is reached from Carlisle by the valley of the Annan, which rises near the sources of the Clyde and Tweed. Another route is by Dumfries, on the Nith. The central railway route to Edinburgh utilises the parallel valleys of the Liddell and Teviot, reaches the Tweed at Melrose, goes up the valley of its tributary, the Gala, to the watershed, and descends by the Esk to the Firth of Forth. The road follows the older route by the Border Esk to the Teviot.

Eastern Routes. East of the Cheviots the entrance into Scotland is less difficult. The coastal plain of Northumberland widens to the broad valley of the Lower Tweed, which has long been prosperous and thickly peopled. This was at one time held by the kings of Scotland from the English Crown. David I. founded many abbeys (such as Kelso, Jedburgh and Melrose), and by attaching a settled agricultural population to the soil raised the best possible barrier against the expansion of England northwards. Flodden Field (1513) was fought to secure the route up the Till valley to the Tweed at Coldstream. Sheep-farming has always been the chief occupation of the hills above the Tweed and its tributaries, the wool being manufactured into tweeds in the valleys at Hawick, Selkirk and Galashiels. The main east coast route from England crosses the Tweed at Berwick. South of Dunbar the Lammermuir Hills reach the sea. The northern end of the narrow pass across them is controlled by Dunbar, the key of Edinburgh, which has seen much fighting.

Edinburgh. Built where the Pentland Hills come close to the sea, Edinburgh commands the route to the north round the head of the Forth estuary. A precipitous castle rock made the city easy of defence, while supplies and foreign aid could reach it by sea. The route is continued by Linlithgow and Falkirk to Stirling, near the head of the estuary, with a castle rock resembling that of Edinburgh. This route has been shortened by the bridging

of the estuary. Stirling is one of the keys of the Highlands and must be taken by any invader.

The Central Lowlands of Scotland.

The largest lowland of Scotland lies between the Southern Uplands and the Highlands. It is drained by the Forth and the Lower Clyde, and opens by their great estuaries to the eastern and western seas. This lowland contains most of the towns and by far the largest part of the population of Scotland. The surface is broken up by many hilly masses, which determine the direction of the rivers and routes, and the position of the towns. Fishing is important on the coasts. It laid the foundations of a valuable commerce, which is greatest in the Clyde ports. The Lowlands are generally agricultural, especially in the east, and the Lothians are one of the best-farmed districts in Britain. Coal is abundant and manufactures flourish at many centres. Glasgow and the surrounding towns are the centre of great iron, engineering and shipbuilding industries. Cotton, imported through Glasgow, is spun at Paisley (*see* pp. 84, 92-3).

Between the Forth and the Tay is the fertile peninsula of Fife, with St. Andrews on the east and Dunfermline on the west. From Stirling the main route to the north passes east of the Ochils to Perth, which is built on the Tay, in the gap between the Ochil and the Sidlaw Hills. East of the Sidlaws and north of the Firth of Tay is the Forfar lowland, with Dundee, on the Tay, as its entrance and port.

The Smaller Lowlands.

The lowland at the southern base of the Highlands, running north-eastwards from the Tay between Perth and Dunkeld, is Strathmore, or the Great Vale. It is shut in by the steep escarpment of the Highlands, which are higher, broader, bleaker and much more sparsely peopled than the Southern Uplands. This barrier must be passed to reach either (1) the coastal lowland of Aberdeen, crossed by the lower courses of the Dee and Don, with Aberdeen and other ports and fishing centres along the coast, or (2) the narrow fertile area round the Moray Forth, where Nairn, Elgin and Inverness are the chief towns. These two lowlands are easily accessible by sea and were frequently ravaged from Scandinavia. The Earls of Moray were among the greatest of Scottish lords, and one of them, Macbeth, succeeded in usurping the Scottish crown.

The Great Glen.

Inverness, one of the oldest settlements in Scotland, has had an eventful history. It is at the northern end of Glenmore, or the Great Glen—a remarkable rift filled by long, narrow lakes—which

crosses the Highlands diagonally, dividing them into two parts. To defend the northern end Fort George was built after the Jacobite rising of 1745. In the centre of the Glen Fort Augustus was built, and at the end, at the base of Ben Nevis (4,400 ft.), the highest mountain in Britain, Fort William. The lakes of the Great Glen have been joined by the Caledonian Canal, which thus connects Inverness with Fort William at the head of Loch Linnhe.

The Highlands. The Highlands consist of old, hard rocks, which form a thin and barren soil. The mountains rise from 3,000 ft. to 4,400 ft. They are treeless, and covered in summer with heather and rough grass. The valleys contain long, narrow lakes. Except on the coast, the towns, all of which are small, are built, like Callander and Crieff, at the mouths of the larger valleys.

The railway from Perth to Inverness runs by the upper valley of the Tay, through the long defile of Killiecrankie, and crosses the pass of Drumochter (1,500 ft.) to the Spey. The Spey valley is left at Aviemore for a difficult but more direct route by the upper valleys of the Findhorn and Nairn.

North of the Great Glen the Highlands are even bleaker. The few towns (Cromarty, Tain, Dornoch, Wick) are on the coast, and depend upon their fisheries. The interior yields poor pasture and the population is very thin.

On the west the Highlands are most easily reached by way of the long narrow fiords which run in from the Atlantic. The West Highland line from Glasgow to Fort William follows no natural route. Oban, at the entrance to Loch Linnhe and opposite the Sound of Mull, is an important yachting and maritime centre.

The Scottish Islands. The sharp dividing line between the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland crosses Arran, in the Firth of Clyde. On the neighbouring island of Bute is Rothesay, another Oban. The Crinan ship canal crosses the isthmus of Kintyre, west of which are Islay and Mull. The Inner Hebrides, of which Skye is the largest, fringe the coast northwards. Of the Outer Hebrides Lewis is the largest. In all these islands the climate is wet, the soil infertile, and the people few and poor. Fishing is important, and there is some sheep-farming. Agriculture is hardly possible. Still farther north are the Orkneys and Shetlands, stretching towards Norway, from which they were conquered and partly settled. The invaders pushed on by way of the Hebrides to the Clyde, where they were finally crushed in 1263 (*see* p. 119).

Climate and Occupations of Great Britain.

The climate of Great Britain is equable, with mild winters and cool summers. There are, however, marked differences between the warm south of England and the bleak north of Scotland. In winter the east is colder than the west, which is warmed by breezes from the Atlantic. These moist winds bring more rain to the west than to the east. The drier east, however, has warmer summers than the west and is well fitted for agriculture and sheep-farming. In the rich soil of the south-east, the driest and warmest region of all, wheat is more cultivated than in the north and west; and in sheltered vales of the south-east and south-west apple and other orchards are common. Elsewhere barley and oats are the chief cereals. The wetter west is a grass country with dairy-farming and cattle-breeding. In the western highlands the climate is severer and the soil is poorer. Sheep are there bred, chiefly for mutton.

An important factor controlling the character of the occupations and the density of the population is the distribution of minerals, particularly of coal and iron. Iron was originally smelted in the forested districts (the Weald, the Forest of Dean). The introduction of steam power led to a great redistribution of population (*see* pp. 125-6). The agricultural plains were gradually depopulated at the expense of the manufacturing districts. These are generally on the flanks of the highlands (South Wales, North Staffordshire, the Pennines, the Central Lowlands of Scotland). In such cases these highland margins become thickly settled. Where coal is absent the highlands are still almost uninhabited.

Ireland.

Mountains, Plains and Climate.

The mountains of Ireland are not arranged, in continuous masses as in England, but in isolated groups. They are highest in the north and the south, and are separated by broad valleys drained by long rivers. In the centre, lakes and large areas of bog and marsh break up the surface and interrupt communication almost as effectively as mountains. The plains are thus cut up into numerous small areas, a condition unfavourable to very dense settlement. The climate is mild, and too wet for the cultivation of cereals except in those regions which are sheltered from direct contact with the moist winds from the Atlantic. The characteristic feature of Ireland is its green meadows, which give it the name of

the Emerald Isle; and dairy industries are the chief source of such prosperity as it possesses.

Fertile Regions. The most fertile regions are found: (1) in the north, in the Lough Neagh basin; (2) in the centre, between Dundalk and Dublin Bay (Boyne basin or Meath lowland); (3) in the south-east in Wexford and Waterford, in the vales of the Barrow, Nore, Suir and Blackwater; and (4) in the Golden Vale of Tipperary, between Limerick and Tipperary, opening to the Shannon estuary and the Upper Suir. All these were easily accessible from Great Britain, which early conquered them. The northern or Ulster lowlands are only about 12 miles distant from the coast of Scotland, from which they were early settled and later systematically colonised (*see* pp. 53, 97-8). The Meath lowland, drained by the Boyne, lies opposite the estuary of the Dee and the North Wales route. Wexford, Waterford, Youghal and Cork harbours are opposite Milford Haven, so that the fertile parts of Southern Ireland are easily accessible by the South Wales route (*see* p. 9).

Towns. The towns just mentioned are the most important in Southern Ireland. Carrick and Clonmel, on the Suir, and Tipperary and Cashel near it, lead to the Golden Vale and to Limerick, on the Shannon estuary. Kilkenny and Carlow are in the middle of the vales of the Nore and the Barrow. Dublin, on Dublin Bay, at the mouth of the Liffey and at the northern end of the Wicklow Mountains, is the nearest harbour to Holyhead, the terminus of the North Wales route. It is, therefore, easily controlled from England, and has always been the centre of English influence in Ireland. From it all the principal routes of the country radiate, their direction being determined by the need of avoiding obstacles, whether of mountain or bog. The Shannon must be crossed to reach the towns of the west coast, and this is not everywhere possible owing to its many lakes and lake-like expansions. Hence the importance of Carrick-on-Shannon, where the two head streams of the river meet, Athlone, where the river can be crossed at the southern end of Lough Ree, and Killaloe at the southern end of Lough Derg. The main route from Dublin to Galway crosses at Athlone. Westport, on Clew Bay, and Killala, on Killala Bay, are the other important towns on the west coast north of the Shannon.

Ulster, the most prosperous part of Ireland, is reached from Dublin through Drogheda on the Boyne, Dundalk on Dundalk Bay, and the Gate of Newry between the Armagh

and Mourne mountains (2,800 ft.), which has always been the most important entrance to Ulster from the south. From the sea there are numerous ways into Ulster. The most important are by Belfast on Belfast Lough, Larne on Lough Larne, Coleraine at the mouth of the Bann, and Derry or Londonderry near the head of Lough Foyle. Most of the southern towns of Ulster are in the lowlands round Lough Neagh (Antrim, Lisburn, Portadown, Dungannon). Armagh and Monaghan are on the south-west lowlands, which extend to the Erne and the Upper Shannon. Enniskillen and Ballyshannon are the chief towns on the Erne.

Ulster.

Natural Divisions of Ireland.

Ireland consists of five distinct natural areas: (1) The hilly north, with the Bann, Foyle and Erne lowlands (separated from one another by the Antrim, Sperrin and Donegal mountains) is shut in on the south by the Mourne and Armagh mountains and by the hills and lakes of Cavan and Fermanagh; it forms the province of Ulster. The Shannon, with its many lakes, is a natural boundary between (2) Leinster and (3) Connaught; the latter province consists of the lowlands west of the Shannon, above which rise the Connemara and other mountains on the Atlantic margin. (4) The rich Boyne lowland formed the ancient kingdom of Meath, but is now included in Leinster, which formerly consisted only of the land south of the Bog of Allen, with the Slieve Bloom and Wicklow mountains rising between the fertile plains. (5) Munster includes the Lower Shannon, which forces its way between the Slieve Bernagh and Silvermine mountains, the Golden Vale, and the hilly region to the south, of which the Kerry mountains form the highest part. These send long ranges eastwards (Galty, Knockmealdown, Bochragh Mountains), with the Suir, Blackwater, Lee and Bandon flowing east, in parallel valleys, between them. Of these five districts Connaught is the only one which does not face Great Britain.

Economic Conditions.

Ireland is the least prosperous part of Britain. It is on the western margin of Europe and remote from the great centres of population and industry. It opens to the Atlantic, but has no fine harbour with easy routes to the Irish Sea and England to become a focus of Atlantic trade. To avoid transhipment, American passengers and cargo go direct to Liverpool or Southampton. The natural resources are not great. The climate, except in the sheltered valleys, is unsuited for agriculture; the surface is too broken and in many parts too

barren for dense settlement, and there is scarcely any coal. Ireland, therefore, has not kept pace with the modern development of large cities and dense industrial population. The dairy industries, though prosperous, can never support a very large population, as they require a considerable amount of land and employ relatively little labour. The most prosperous part is Ulster, which carries on linen and other manufactures with coal from the Scottish and Cumberland coalfields. A country which possesses no great natural resources and is not well placed for supplementing them, naturally turns to emigration, and the population of Ireland is steadily diminishing from this and other causes (*see* pp. 102-106).

Historical Geography.

The history told in the following pages has been largely influenced by the physical features just described. We should try in studying it to see how it has been dominated by the winning or losing of the command of routes. How easily Great Britain can be reached by sea was shown by the Roman, Saxon, Danish and Norman conquests. Such conquests never became permanent unless the lowlands were settled by agricultural colonists or unless the routes were firmly held. The great highland barrier in the centre of the island led to the formation of two kingdoms. Of these England, with its large, fertile lowlands, was always the richer and more prosperous; but the Scots, with their poorer country, were always dangerous foes. They were also always ready to emigrate, whether into the neighbouring countries of England and Ireland, or, later, to our growing colonies. The union of the two crowns was a turning point in the history of the island. War between the two countries had been almost a form of civil war, disastrous to both, but especially to the poorer. Ireland never possessed those geographical advantages which favour the rise of a single strong power. Its fertile areas were ruled by rival chiefs, with conflicting interests. Thus it was conquered by England, the strong, well-organised neighbour which faced its most vulnerable coasts.

CHAPTER II.

RACIAL FACTORS AND THEIR FUSION.

B.C. 55—A.D. 1215.

The early history of Great Britain is one of successive waves of conquest, and the subsequent amalgamation of race with race. When geologists and anthropologists have agreed upon their theories, we may know the earlier terms in this series of invasions, but until that time we must confine ourselves to the successive conquests of Britain by the Romans, the Jutes, Angles and Saxons, the Northmen and Danes, and the Normans.

Roman Britain.

Leaving out of consideration the two fruitless raids by "the greatest man of all the world" in B.C. 55 and B.C. 54, the Romans came in A.D. 43 and found a Celtic, agricultural, slightly-civilised people. The last of them went in A.D. 410, leaving, south of Hadrian's Wall from Tyne to Solway, an ordinary Roman province peopled by "provincials" somewhat hardier than the normal type, and north of the Wall foes fierce and countless, both ready and willing to plunder the soft kernel of the province so soon as the iron shell of the legions was removed. Many material traces of the Roman occupation remain—great roads and bridges which sufficed for Englishmen more than a thousand years later, and countless inscriptions, tombs, relics, and weapons. There is evidence that an organised British Church existed, and Christianity had been for nearly a century the official religion of the Roman Empire when the legions departed.

The Anglo-Saxon Conquest.

But English history really begins with the permanent settlements of the Teuton pirates. The Saxons, long before 410, had been raiding the coasts of Britain, but certainly none settled before that year, or if Saxon

historians are to be considered at all, for a generation later. Everyone knows the story in which Vortigern, Rowena, Hengist, and Horsa are the actors; it may or may not contain some element of truth, though the balance of probability is in its favour.

According to our exceedingly indifferent authorities, the invaders were of three nationalities—the Jutes, who settled at the head of Southampton Water and in the Isle of Wight, and also founded the kingdom of Kent; the Angles, who established two kingdoms, Bernicia and Deira, between the Humber and Forth, and later, with adventurers from every tribe, the peculiarly composite kingdom of Mercia, occupying all middle England, and finally the smaller kingdom of East Anglia comprising Norfolk and Suffolk; and the Saxons, who set up the southern kingdoms of Wessex, Middlesex, Sussex, and Essex. The "Weahlas" or "Welsh," as the invaders called the provincials, fought well and hard, and offered a stubborn resistance which had no counterpart in the fall of the Roman Empire; but they were in the course of three centuries driven either westwards into the mountains of Cumberland, Westmorland, West Wales and Cornwall, or else oversea to Brittany, which derives its name from this migration.

The Nature of the Conquest.

The Anglo-Saxon kingdoms themselves differed very largely from the other Teutonic powers which sprang up within the Western Empire. The Franks in Gaul, the Visigoths in Spain, the Ostrogoths and Lombards in Italy, and especially the Vandals in Africa, were nothing more than military aristocracies and landowning castes in the midst of subject unwarlike populations of Romanized provincials. The Teutons who conquered Britain had to fight hard against the provincials; other Teutonic conquerors had hardly to strike a blow against the peoples they reduced. In England there was a real conquest and displacement; elsewhere the invaders merely imposed themselves upon the Roman provincials. The extent of this displacement is much disputed; some historians argue that there was a considerable survival of Celtic influences and institutions, while others hold that the conquest, as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle seems to hint, meant extermination. The truth seems to incline towards the latter view, but it must be considerably modified. There was a small survival of Roman and Celtic words in Old English; but our national institutions are nearly all of Teutonic or Scandinavian origin, and the existence

of Wales and its border racial hatred and warfare do not point to a Teutonic occupation of the Continental kind. There would, of course, be a large element of Celtic blood in the succeeding generations, for the women and children at least of the conquered Britons would be spared for slaves, and intermarriage would soon begin, but the Englishman of the ninth century was purely Teutonic in all but blood.

Northumbria, Mercia and Wessex.

In the intervals of fighting their Welsh foes the invaders fought one another, and at last the three great kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex emerged. Each devoured its smaller neighbours, and each in turn attained a sort of hegemony or suzerainty over its rivals. Northumbria early attained eminence in art and literature, but its glory was transient. It produced Bede, the first English historian; Caedmon and Cynewulf, the earliest Christian poets of England; and Alcuin, the literary mentor of Charles the Great. Mercia was famous for its barbarism, paganism, and alliances with the Welsh, but its strength lay wholly in military monarchs like Penda and Offa. Wessex grew more slowly and ripened more maturely. Early in the ninth century its king, Egbert, triumphed over both Northumbria and Mercia, and became the first overlord of all England—a position which the West Saxon kings never really lost. This purely Anglo-Saxon England, even at its best, can hardly be called a kingdom; the king of the West Saxons had little direct authority outside Wessex, and the old royal lines, in Mercia and Northumbria at least, still survived in the persons of their underkings. The Welsh were for the time quiet, though the Saxons never subdued them, and they remained formidable for another six centuries under the rule of six or more independent principalities (*see* p. 113).

The Conversion of England.

Christianity was re-introduced into Britain by Saint Augustine, who was sent by Gregory I. from Rome to Kent in 597; but his successors were expelled from Canterbury and London, and England was really converted by Aidan and his Celtic monks from the Irish Church. The Roman missionaries subsequently returned and resumed their work in the south, but the brunt of the contest was borne by Christian Bernicia under Edwin, Oswald, and Oswy. Penda, the heathen king of Mercia, slew the two first in warfare, but succumbed to Oswy at the battle of the Winwaed in 654, and at his death heathenism collapsed. Christianity had still, however, some internal differences to settle. The

long isolation of the British or Irish Church during two centuries and a half had produced and encouraged serious divergences of practice between it and the Catholic Church. In 664 Oswy of Northumbria convoked the Synod of Streoneshalch, better known by its Danish name of Whitby, to reconcile the differences of Celtic and Roman practice; the decision was in favour of the latter which, by the end of another century, prevailed throughout the British Islands.

The Coming of the Danes.

The West Saxon overlordship was to be shaken immediately and ere long destroyed by a new and terrible enemy. The Scandinavian lands of the north were barren and inhospitable; and Scandinavia now sent out her hosts upon quiescent Europe as Germany had done upon the decadent Empire four centuries before. The Northmen or Danes—the terms are synonymous in use only—poured out upon the sea, and pillaged the coasts of Western Europe whenever and wherever opportunity offered. The sudden crystallisation of the Frankish power under Charles the Great protected his Empire, but only partially and for a time. The readiest place accessible to attack by sea was Britain, and to Britain the Norsemen soon directed their attention. Their earliest recorded appearance was a predatory raid on Wessex at Dorchester in 790, but the strength of Wessex was increasing, while Northumbria, rich and paralysed by disorganisation, lay nearer to the Danish onslaught. Northumbria was pillaged and burnt, but the West-Saxon Egbert was too strong to be assailed for a time, and so the Danes turned on Ireland. In 835, however, they returned to Wessex and occupied Sheppey, and henceforward Wessex had little peace for fifty years.

Historians distinguish three periods of Danish invasion; one of ravage and pillage, 790-851, one of settlement, 851-897, and one of political conquest, 980-1016. The second period, that of settlement, begins when we are told by the Chronicle that the Danes wintered in Thanet 851-2, and is marked by battle after battle, in which the English were as often as not victorious. But their victories were fruitless; the national levy or "fyrd," in which every freeholder had to serve, was decaying, and no sooner was a battle won than the victors scattered to their homes. At last, in 878, Alfred purchased peace by ceding to Guthrum, the most prominent Danish chief then in England, one half the country—an easy gift, seeing that Alfred himself

ruled in full sovereignty over little more than one-third. The Danes were given all England north of a line from London to Manchester, including London itself, which Alfred recovered by a slight rearrangement in 885.

Alfred the Great.

The so-called Peace of Wedmore marks an epoch in English history, and is the beginning of consolidation. By it Alfred surrendered half of his empty claim as overlord and received in exchange the greater half of Mercia in full sovereignty. The Danes had greatly accelerated the coming of English unity; they had swept away all the old royal houses of the subordinate kingdoms of Essex, East Anglia, Northumbria, and Mercia, and even the ealdormanic houses which had succeeded to, or grown from, them. The field was clear for the West Saxon king; so soon as Wessex had recovered strength she commenced aggression on the Danelagh, and speedily reconquered it. The Danelagh was too big for the Danes to hold permanently with the small numbers at their disposal; the English who lived within it now looked to the West Saxon king, and a beginning of national kingship was made by Alfred at Wedmore.

The work of Alfred has been both exaggerated and depreciated, but it may safely be said that he paid more attention to naval and military affairs than to educational or constitutional matters. He built a fleet of ships superior in size and speed to those of the Northmen. He introduced the "burh" system. The "burh" (borough) was originally a strongly fortified post providing shelter to which the people of the neighbourhood might resort in time of trouble; as the Danelagh was won back Alfred and his successors established these "burhs" in the newly-won territory, and so secured a grip upon it. These measures constituted Alfred's chief work; they were pressing necessities; and, wasted as Wessex had been by Danish invasion, it needed them more than the mythical system of trial by jury attributed to Alfred, or that division into shires and hundreds which had probably long existed in Wessex. He strove hard to bring back civilisation and education to Wessex, and attracted eminent scholars from abroad; but as he could not write and perhaps could not read, his literary works cannot have been more than translations dictated from another's reading. The most effective part of his work was that he galvanised into life for a time the decaying military system of his country.

Under Alfred's successors Wessex recovered the Danelagh,

and at last Edgar (957-975) could call himself king of all the English and at least overlord of Britain. How much he owed to Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose puzzling character has never yet been elucidated, is uncertain; the English monarchy, as in the time of Egbert, was once more greatest on the brink of ruin. The work of Alfred and his immediate descendants was already exhausted; the seeds of feudalism, rapidly swelling on the Continent, were already planted in England, and England was to partake for a time of the lot which had fallen to France and Germany a century before—a weak kingship, a feudalism strong enough to create disorder, but not to defend the country, and barbarian invasion. Sweyn of Denmark, after a short struggle with Ethelred the Ill-advised, drove him across the channel, and a new line of Danish kings began. After Sweyn's death his son Canute divided the kingdom with the strenuous Edmund Ironside, but the death of the latter gave all England to the Dane (1017-1035.)

The Zenith and Decline of Anglo-Saxon Monarchy.

Canute.

Canute was the greatest king of England before the Conquest, but he can only be pronounced a mighty failure. Since the time of Egbert even the best of England's rulers could only check the forces of disintegration. The very appearance of such great ministers as Dunstan and Godwin is a sign of weakness; in those times to ensure success the king had to be the one great man in his kingdom, and the ruler must possess the crown if he was to be obeyed. Canute strove to increase the power of the Crown, to centralise the government, to rule as an English king, and to reconcile Dane and Englishman; but the times were against him. Unlike Henry II., he could not take his servants from the people; he had to take nobles, and so, when he swept away the "ealdormen" of the shires and set up a limited number of "earls," he strengthened the disruptive tendencies which, kept under for a time by his own strong hand, burst out under his worthless sons and their pious but incapable successor, Edward the Confessor.

Edward the Confessor.

The Confessor favoured the Normans among whom his early life had been spent, and made no attempt to check the strife between the West Saxon House of Godwin and the Mercian House of Leofric. Consequently Harold Godwinsson received no help nor support in 1066 from Edwin and Morcar of the House of Leofric, and England fell to yet another conqueror.

The Decadence of England.

The Romans had left a civilised but weak people; nor had the Anglo-Saxons in four centuries united England when the Northmen came. These two races had not combined to resist Sweyn and Canute, and the healthy barbarism and freedom of the Danes had only temporarily bolstered up a decadent state. There was no unity in England, or a handful of adventurers, under even William of Normandy could never have conquered it. The Dane of the North, the Mercian, and the West Saxon still had little in common. National institutions were decaying, the "fyrd" proved useless against invaders. Feudal tendencies had impaired the vigour and social position of the ordinary freeman, and the new lords had not yet developed the virtues of an aristocracy. Cowardice, treachery, and lawlessness were rife in the highest orders. The English church itself was hopelessly corrupt; and Dunstan's efforts had failed to ensure its reformation. Simony, secularism, and schism characterized the archiepiscopate of Stigand, and the time had come for Lanfranc and Anselm as well as for William of Normandy and Henry of Anjou.

The Feudal System.

It used to be said that English history begins at the battle of Hastings, and that William the Conqueror introduced into England the "feudal system." But the Norman conquest only modified institutions which had long existed in England, and feudal tendencies can be traced back two centuries before 1066. Feudalism had grown up in England, as practically all over Western Europe, through disorder and weak government produced by foreign invasion; it may be defined as a state of society based wholly upon land tenure. When barbarian invaders began men required protection; there was no strong central government with an army, a navy, and police; and so private enterprise supplied the want. The poor man made a covenant with his richer and more powerful neighbour; he surrendered his freehold land, received it back again as a tenant, and obtained a promise of protection for life and property in return. In time of war he might take shelter in his patron's castle or "burh"; if another man injured him, his patron might demand on his behalf satisfaction from that man or from his patron. This practice was known as "commendation"; a parallel institution was the "beneficium," whereby the king, or some great landholder, entrusted an estate to some friend or dependent to manage, on condition of

rendering some payment or service, usually military service, when required. The "lord" got tenants who would fight for him, help to cultivate his land, pay some rent for their own, and be under his jurisdiction and attend his court of justice. The "tenant" got protection against over-powerful neighbours and invaders, a means of redress against any who injured him, peaceful occupation of his holding, and considerate treatment from his lord, to whom personally he was very valuable. There were, of course, disadvantages in such a state of society, but it was the best possible under the circumstances of the Middle Ages in which it was conceived.

The Effects of the Norman Conquest.

Now the feudal system as it existed in England in 1066 differed widely from the system which prevailed in Europe. English feudalism was very incomplete, and the old free Teutonic institutions to a large extent survived. William I. introduced little that was new; he sharpened the points of what feudalism he found, and the Witenagemot of the Anglo-Saxon kings became an assembly of tenants-in-chief; but he carefully preserved the old non-feudal institutions. It was his interest, like that of every other monarch, to check great feudal lords. To counterbalance them he, with Lanfranc's assistance, reformed and encouraged the Church, giving it courts independent of feudal control, removing its sees to great centres of population, and bringing it once more into touch with Western civilization.

But the great novelty attributable to the Normans is English unity. When they came they found many gradations of classes and divisions of race. The effect of the burden which they imposed on the English was to crush these varieties of class and provincial feeling into one more or less homogeneous whole. And then, with the adaptability of true Norsemen, they eventually sank into this mass and were absorbed by it. By force they had created a force by which they were eventually overpowered. Sir Walter Scott in "Ivanhoe" painted a picture of race antagonism which was passing, if it had not already passed, away; and John of Anjou would have hated Norman more than Englishman, had not racial hatred died out by the time of Magna Carta.

The Norman kings had realized the evils of feudalism on the continent, and were determined to prevent their repetition in England; and the strength of the popular Anglo-Saxon institutions which they retained gave them support against

their feudatories which continental monarchs lacked. William I. exacted the famous Oath of Sarum in 1086, which made every tenant's duty to his king superior to his duty to his immediate feudal lord. William Rufus and Henry Beauclerc called in the aid of the English to crush feudal revolts; Henry also strengthened local and national courts, created the system of itinerant justices with jurisdiction unfettered by feudal privileges or jurisdictions, and developed the Curia Regis and the Exchequer. The anarchic orgy in which the barons indulged during the nominal reign of Stephen (1135-1154) was merely an interlude; Henry II. took up the Norman policy, and the pendulum swung to the side of the Crown till the days of Magna Carta.

Henry II.

Three times in her history England has formed part of a foreign Empire. Canute localised his seat of government in Wessex but spent most of his time abroad; Philip of Spain ruled England mainly from the Continent; and Henry II. was far more concerned about his Angevin Empire than about its most important constituent. Nevertheless he did much for England in organising a royal justice and a royal administration, and in eliminating feudalism as a system of government. He established internal order, encouraged foreign trade, and, as the next reign showed, made England the wealthiest country in Northern Europe. He continued the work of his grandfather, the "Lion of Justice," and the custom and procedure of his "Curia Regis" gradually became the law of the land. But his attempt to treat the church as he treated feudalism provoked his quarrel with Becket, and led to no decisive conclusion. The church was too strong and too much the superior of the state in culture for its jurisdiction to be yet subjected to the censure and control of royal instruments of justice; and the aims of Henry II. were not achieved till the reign of Henry VIII.

Richard I. and John.

Richard's reign is important only as shewing that his father's governmental machine could be run by deputy; in spite of the King's almost unbroken absence in the Holy Land and France, England remained quiet, save for the quarrels among the royal deputies. With the usual irony of history, it so happened that the reign of one of our worst monarchs contributed more towards the nationalisation of England than perhaps any other reign in our history. In one year John lost Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Brittany, Poitou, and Touraine; only Aquitaine remained to him of all the Angevin Empire. This compelled his

subjects to be either Englishmen or Frenchmen; it was now impossible to hold lands of both John of England and Philip of France, and this, with the practical close of genuine crusading, soon had its effect upon a nation thus confined to an island; the cosmopolitan spirit was irretrievably weakened, while the absorbing condition of domestic politics turned the attention of Englishmen to their own affairs.

Magna Carta.

The sufferings of the people under the Interdict which John's quarrel with Innocent III. provoked, and the zeal with which John used the efficient machinery provided by his father for fiscal ends, at last combined to produce a revolt, and John made his submission to the Pope and then to his people. Magna Carta has been described as "the act of the united nation, the Church, the barons, and the commons, for the first time thoroughly at one." But the predominant partners in the alliance were the Church and the barons; and of these two the privileges secured by the barons were more effective than the general guarantee that the Church in England should be free. The Great Charter only affected the "free men" of England, and these free men probably constituted merely an aristocracy of the nation at large. To no small extent the Charter was reactionary; it guaranteed vested interests against the encroachments of the Crown, especially when those encroachments were of a reforming tendency. It was an attempt to undo the work of Henry II., to prevent judges of the Curia Regis from trespassing upon the privileges of the baronial courts. The "liberties" which it safeguarded were not common property but special privileges enjoyed by small and limited classes. The fact that it was now possible for the three classes worth taxing—the barons, the clergy, and the citizens of London—to combine and to agree upon a programme, is infinitely more important than the result of their combination; for the terms of Magna Carta, if scrupulously observed, would have made government impossible; and the baronial government, which ruled in the name of Henry III., itself found it necessary to whittle down the clauses of the Charter which limited the power of the Crown.

The Third Estate.

There is one other fact which is significant—the part played by the Londoners in the extorting of the Great Charter. The development of municipal life in England was somewhat slow, but London had secured municipal self-government in 1191

for a consideration of 1,000 marks. Even as early as 1141 the Papal Legate, Henry of Winchester, had paid the citizens the compliment of waiting a day for them at the Council of Winchester; the chronicler tells us they were "as it were nobles by reason of the magnitude of their city." Now, as the first representatives of the great middle class which the commercial policy of the Plantagenets called into being, the Londoners asserted and made good their right to be considered an estate of the realm, and to have a voice in the settlement of national affairs. There was no place for them in a really feudal system, and their action in 1215 was a sign that feudalism was passing away. There was at last an English nation.

CHAPTER III.

THE GROWTH OF NATIONALITY.

1215—1559.

The Growth of National Feeling.

The first and most obvious aspect of English history in the thirteenth century is the sudden outburst of national feeling against the rule of foreign favourites. It may be said that this was a natural sequence of the faculty for united action displayed in 1215; it is equally probable that the domination of aliens in Church and State produced a reaction against them. But the growth of national spirit is not wholly to be accounted for on either theory; it lies much deeper.

Primitive Ties; the Family and the Land.

In the old days either of nomadic tribes or city communities there was a common tie, either the race or the city; the whole body was bound together by blood or by an intense spirit of locality. Such was the case with the migrating Teutonic invaders of the Roman Empire in the one case, and the citizens of Ancient Greece or Mediæval Italy in the other. But when these migrating tribes had settled down on the land, they lost the consciousness of unity; the blood tie becomes weakened and finally dissolves almost entirely. Men have no interests outside their immediate neighbourhood; agriculture is the only means of existence, and they live on the land, by the land, and at last for the land. They have no press, post, or parliament to expand their interests or stimulate their imagination; travelling is difficult, dangerous, and, since robbers existed and roads did not, practically impossible. The "best men" of the township travel to the hundred-moot; a few freeholders go further

Parochial Patriotism.

afield to the shire-moot; but apart from these there is little contact with the outside world. Even the old service in the fyrd, which took the freeman beyond his township or his shire, fell into decay during the later Anglo-Saxon period. But with the Norman Conquest came a change. Under the Old English monarchy it was tolerably safe to neglect the summons of the sheriff and ealdorman; when William Rufus and Henry Beauclerc called out the fyrd they expected obedience and took steps to secure it. At last, in 1181, came the "Assize of Arms" of Henry II.; every freeman was bidden to procure arms and armour befitting his income—not his rank or office. Now when men are commanded to get themselves arms, and are warned that these will be inspected periodically by visitors appointed for that purpose, it is evident that they and their neighbours must begin to realise that there are people and things which they have never seen and never will see, but which have a most direct bearing and effect upon their interests.

Expansion of Local Consciousness.

The "Assize of Arms."

There was another novelty which must have furnished these "upland men" in their little townships with food for thought. Soon there was to come to them in the hundred court a body of men from the king, one of whom announced his intention of hearing any law suit which the district might choose to bring before him. These itinerant justices must have brought home vividly to men's minds in each locality that there was a power beyond that of the lord of the manor. And, as the Angevin kings developed and increased their power, and all classes began to feel the weight of their taxation, men discovered that they had a grievance in common, and that it was possible to resist even the king if they did it in common, instead of being crushed as individuals. The precedent set in 1215 of a successful combination of classes against the Crown was never followed so successfully, and each class was perhaps primarily anxious to serve its own interests; but it was only a step from resisting the Crown in the matters of taxation to resisting it in other ways.

Itinerant Justice.

The reign of Henry III., like that of his father, gave a great impetus to English nationalism. The long minority threw the government into the hands of De Burgh, and he was essentially a nationalist. He expelled first the French and then John's

The Minority of Henry III.

mercenaries, and strove to realise the ideal of "England for the English." After the fall of De Burgh Henry III.'s insane partiality for rapacious Poitevins and Savoyards and his servile alliance with the Papacy aroused a spirit of opposition; and Englishmen, always ready to rise against an attack on their pockets, drew together under Simon de Montfort. The Battle of Lewes placed the king in Simon's hands; the aliens were banished; a complicated, supervisory committee system was set up; and a Parliament of the realm, composed of Montfort's adherents, was summoned to Westminster for January 20, 1265. This Parliament of 1265 was not the first assembly known as "Parliament," nor does our greatest constitutional historian consider it a Parliament. Two things connected with it were novel—the combination of knights from the shires and burgesses from the boroughs in one and the same assembly, and the small attendance (only twenty-five) of lay barons, for De Montfort could summon only his adherents.

Simon de Montfort and his Parliament.

After the Battle of Evesham in the same year, 1265, De Montfort's scheme collapsed; but Henry III. practically ceased to govern, and his place was taken by his son, Prince Edward, whose reign really then began. The new ruler was the first king since the conquest with an English name; and he enjoys the distinction of having given to England the framework of a constitution, to Wales an English system of law and justice, and to Scotland a hatred of her southern neighbour which continued for three centuries. He spent one-half his reign in passing constitutional legislation for his subjects and the other half in infringing the limitations they had prescribed to him and to his predecessors.

Edward I.

Nevertheless, his work was valuable both in quality and in quantity. He, first of all kings, summoned a complete Parliament with representatives of the baronage, Church, shires and boroughs in 1295, though he never called another like this "Model Parliament." He had no desire to make England a self-governing community, and his reason for summoning the Model Parliament was that it was more convenient to negotiate for money grants with one assembly at Westminster than to send round agents to bargain with each locality. It was the money of his subjects that Edward wanted and not their advice or control; but taxation was the mother of representation. When

The Model Parliament.

only land was taxed, only landowners sat in the great Council of the realm; but when the king began to tax the personal property of his commons and his clergy, they too demanded a voice in the grant of money, and a place in the national Council. (*see also* p. 173). The king's necessity was the nation's opportunity; and the Model Parliament is as much a measure of Edward's need in 1295 as it is a measure of his statesmanship.

The House of "Commons."

The peculiar value of the Parliament thus completed lay not in its baronage or its ecclesiastical representation, but in its "commons," although it was not until thirty years later that the Commons developed a "House" of their own. Other countries had as full representations of church and barons; but the English House of Commons was unique. It was not a mere *tiers état*, the representative of a single class. It was elected by the "communitates" or full shire courts, which themselves embodied almost all the elements of the nation. And in this House of Commons sat not only the elect of the cities and boroughs, but the knights of the shire, who were really "barones minores" and would abroad have sat with the rest of their class in an upper house. It was this union of classes in the House of Commons which gave it its strength, and enabled it to survive and prevail when other representative systems decayed and passed away.

Edward I.'s Legislation.

Edward I.'s other great work was to set bounds to the independence of the Church and to the power of the barons. He checked the absorption of lands in religious corporations by the statute of Mortmain, 1279, and summarily stopped the creation of more ranks and grades in the feudal hierarchy by the statute of Westminster the Third, 1290. In spite of occasionally grinding taxation he encouraged the mercantile class by favourable legislation. He successfully opposed the aggressions of the Pope and of his militant archbishop, John Peckham, and compelled the clergy to admit at least in practice that they were English subjects first of all. He conquered Wales and carved out a Principality of six new shires—Anglesea, Flint, Carmarthen, Carnarvon, Cardigan and Merioneth (*see* p. 114). He revived Henry II.'s Assize of Arms and reformed local government. He expelled the Jews from England; this did not help English financiers much, for he had recourse to Italian and Flemish bankers, and not until his grandson had

acquired an unenviable reputation among these did the English king apply to his natural born subjects for loans.

The Confirmation of the Charters.

He suffered one check from his barons. Earls Bohun and Bigod, in 1296, when Edward demanded military service abroad from his vassals, took advantage of a technical point and defied him to his face. He refused to grant their demand for a confirmation of the Charters as a security against a repetition of his late arbitrary taxation, demanded an "aid" or general tax, and embarked for Flanders. Thereupon the Earls boldly forbade the payment of the "aid," and at length Edward yielded. This struggle is highly important; the conduct of the Earls was dangerous, unpatriotic, and narrowminded, but their stubbornness and sturdy stupidity helped to preserve the infant principle of "no charge save by Parliament."

Edward had been in every sense a national king, and the absence of any great minister during his reign well illustrates his pre-eminence. But he had provoked the nation by his heavy imposts so far that it united to demand a cessation of arbitrary taxation, and this is merely the prelude to the great drama of the next century—the remarkable but premature rise of the Commons to power

The "Century of the Commons."

It may be as well to define here the expression "Commons," when used to distinguish a class. The class of persons now corresponding thereto would be large landowners, big merchants, and professional men—a select oligarchy of the upper middle class. The mass of the people, perhaps some ninety per cent., had not a shred of political power; if they had any political predilections, they would not be those of the House of Commons. When speaking of the mediæval Commons we must bear in mind that a democrat or demagogue was their bitterest foe, and this is most obvious in their attitude towards the rising of the peasants in 1381. But this middle-class oligarchy pushes its way into every department of English life; it is above all things intensely national. It takes up the French wars, and supplies from its lower ranks the men for English armies. It is enriched by the trade in wool with Flanders, and towards the end of the fourteenth century some of its members rise to eminence. The De La Poles, created Earls of Suffolk, were Hull merchants, and the careers of Aldermen Philpot and Walworth show that the "Commons" lacked neither ability nor influence. Lollardy,

The Rise of the Middle Classes.

like Lutheranism later, was essentially a middle-class creed. Literature, too, shows traces of the influence of the Commons; Langland wrote for the common people, but Chaucer for the Commons. The new class and its triumphs are far more significant than Edward I.'s execution of William Wallace or Edward II.'s defeat by Robert Bruce.

The Hundred Years' War.

But the French wars are highly important in the history of the country, and present many points of interest which bear upon the growth of national feeling. It is needless to study the question of Edward's claim to the French Crown; the matter is still in dispute, and it can only be said that the Plantagenet had the better legal claim and the Valois the better moral and political right. Military affairs often reveal nationality and national character more correctly than anything else, and they did so in this case. The English army was, for nearly a century, the most effective in Europe. Of this the secret lies largely in its composition and tactics, for the day of the English general was not yet, and feudal England had no special aptitude for war.

The English Armies.

But English armies were voluntary and national, and composed of highly-paid English mercenaries, drawn, not from the lower strata of society as afterwards and now, but from the lower middle class—the country yeomen and freeholders. The foot were mainly archers armed with the national weapon, the long bow, and it was the skilful combination of bow and lance that won the English victories. The constant warfare during the reign of the first three Edwards in England, Scotland, Wales, France, and Flanders afforded opportunities to develop the tactics employed with such astounding success at Crecy and Poictiers against the brave but undisciplined feudal array of France. The easy triumph on the battlefield of the yeoman's bow over the lance of the knight and baron had not a little influence on the confidence and boldness displayed by the House of Commons. The navy had begun its career under King John and Hubert De Burgh; and now Edward III. asserted command over the narrow seas. At Sluys in 1340 and in the straits of Dover in 1350 the navy proved its strength, though both fights were hardly won, and the command of the sea was lost to the Spaniards in 1372, after a fight off La Rochelle.

The capture of Calais, however, secured for England the control of the Channel and the wool trade with the Netherlands. This was the most permanent result of the war; for England,

weakened by the Black Death (1349), by the social discontent which followed, by corruption in the government, and by the ill-judged Spanish policy of John of Gaunt, failed to retain the vast French provinces ceded to it by the treaty of Bretigny (1360); and at the end of Edward III.'s reign only Calais and the district round Bordeaux remained as a memorial of his earlier martial glory.

Wycliffe and the Lollards.

National feeling, however, broke out in other spheres, and the latter half of the fourteenth century was marked by a strong national protest against the Roman Catholic Church. The Papacy had collapsed after the death of Boniface VIII., "the last great Pope"; and the great Schism and Babylonish Captivity of the Pope in the land of the national enemy did little to retrieve its reputation in England. English Churchmen were already deeply secularised; the great religious orders had decayed in morals and in reputation, and the poems of Chaucer and Langland depict sufficiently well the character and condition of the clergy, both regular and secular. To the lay mind the idea of the Church was associated principally with financial matters. Englishmen had begun to travel and had seen exemplified in Italy the ancient proverb connecting nearness to the Church with distance from the Almighty. Had not a dynasty devoted to the Church succeeded to the throne at a crucial moment, Lollards might have done the work of Luther, and Wycliffe might have been the prophet instead of the precursor of the Reformation. He anticipated nearly all the points of the sixteenth century attack on the Catholic Church. He denounced the monks and friars; he called upon the State to reform the Church, and eventually he repudiated the Catholic doctrine of the Mass. National antipathy to a Papacy under the control of England's enemies, and secular envy of clerical wealth fortified Wycliffe's arguments; but there was as yet no majestic lord to break the bonds of Rome.

Richard II.

Richard II., indeed, had occasional leanings to the Lollards; and he had a stronger taste for that despotic imperialism which the Tudors afterwards developed. But he lacked their iron hand and supple craft. Above all, no Wars of the Roses had yet made such people as Lords Appellants an impossibility; and Richard was deposed for trying expedients which Henry VII. and his son adopted with success and popular approbation.

The House of Lancaster was borne to the throne on a wave

of reaction against arbitrary rule, and it depended for existence upon the support of Parliament and the Church. Its alliance with the latter led to the persecution of the Lollards, and its dependence on the former involved a "lack of governance." Parliament had no idea of taking the initiative and governing itself. But it was determined that the king should "live of his own," that is to say, should not tax his people. It complained of inadequate administration, but refused those supplies which alone could provide for the maintenance of law and order. Disorder was the curse of the Lancastrians. Henry IV.'s struggle with it left him no time to formulate or prosecute a policy; but he succeeded in surviving all the plots against his throne. Henry V. attempted a more drastic remedy for domestic discontent and dynastic division. He plunged the nation into war with France. It was easy enough to appeal to the war fever; and Parliament voted supplies for war on France which it would not vote for the government of England. Henry V.'s military genius and the blessing of the bishops favoured an enterprise which was iniquitous in its pretensions and fatal in its results. To conquer and permanently retain France was an impossible task. For twenty years, indeed, the violence of the Burgundian and Armagnac factions in France seemed to make it feasible. But the national reaction was bound to come; Joan of Arc roused Frenchmen and even the French king to a sense of patriotic shame; Burgundy deserted its treasonable alliance with England; and Bedford, the abler brother of Henry V., died leaving no successor capable of making head against French patriotism. By 1453 the last foothold of England across the Channel, except Calais, had been lost.

The Lancastrian Dynasty.

The War in France.

Henry V. had sown the whirlwind and Henry VI. reaped the storm. The diversion of domestic discontent with foreign channels had failed, and the attempt recoiled upon the dynasty. Lack of governance was aggravated by disgrace, and the peace of the realm was further perturbed by the return of a defeated soldiery. Feeble attempts to end the war were made by Suffolk and Somerset, and Henry VI. was married to Margaret of Anjou. But the peace party knew neither how to make peace nor how to make war. Still less did they know how to govern England; riots occurred in every county; redress was prevented by local magnates or by favouritism at court; and slowly the nation

Lack of Governance at Home.

reached the conclusion that the only cure was a change of government.

The opposition gathered round the Duke of York, who had a better title to the crown by descent than Henry VI. But at first he only led the opposition to Suffolk and Somerset, and it was not until Margaret of Anjou identified her ministers with the crown that the dynasty was attacked. York's chief adherents were the Nevilles and the commercial classes; most of the nobles supported Henry VI. and the cause of anarchy. The Wars of the Roses were to a great extent a concentration of local feuds and factions. Edward III. had sought by royal marriages to capture the nobility in the interests of the crown. The result was to make the crown the sport of noble factions which had grown more bitter as they grew more narrow. In the thirteenth century the barons were a large class, and individually not over-powerful. In the fifteenth the peers were a small class of "over-mighty subjects," divided into two factions, Yorkist and Lancastrian, which disputed between them the control of the monarchy. The victory of Edward IV. over the Lancastrians at Tewkesbury and his more important triumph over his chief baronial supporters, the Nevilles, at Barnet in 1471 emancipated the crown from this degrading tutelage. The further struggle between Richard III. and Henry VII. was mainly personal and less significant. The nobility had committed political suicide, the New Monarchy had arrived, and a new era begins.

The Wars of the Roses.

A New Era.

There are four great factors to be considered in this new era, the Renaissance, the "New Monarchy," the expansion of Europe, and the Reformation. The English Renaissance is apt to be post-dated. It is generally associated with the Oxford movement in the beginning of the sixteenth century, but it was well under weigh by the middle of the fifteenth. Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, the turbulent brother of Henry V., was a munificent patron of learning. Tiptoft "the Butcher," Earl of Worcester and the Yorkist marshal, who made himself notorious for cruelty and slaughter in cold blood after battles, was equally illustrious for his own learning and for his patronage of others'. Edward IV. encouraged Caxton and other pioneers of literature, and even Richard III. bestowed his favour on the first English printer. The Renaissance was not a revival of ecclesiastical learning like those of the Middle Ages, but a

The Renaissance.

genuine growth of secular culture on the part of the new middle class; for this reason the Church opposed it collectively though it often encouraged it individually. The Renaissance was, moreover, the revolt of the individual against mediæval collectivism. Every sphere of life had been dominated by corporations of one kind or another. The Church was a collection of corporations. The cities were controlled by their craft guilds, of which the City Companies of London of to-day are a survival. But at the Renaissance the claim of the individual to "private judgment" began to be propounded; once admitted to the realm of art, literature and science, the private individual and the layman began to assert their voice in religion.

The New Monarchy and the Middle Classes.

The second phenomenon, which was practically coeval with the Renaissance, was the rise of the "New Monarchy." Down to the end of the thirteenth century there had existed the idea of the double universal monarchy of the Empire and the Papacy. Western Europe had been purely cosmopolitan; any man might hope to become its spiritual or temporal head; it had one language for all who could read or write; one code of chivalry, one law of the Church, and one form of religion. But now the old idea of the unity of Christendom was beginning to disappear. The new middle class arose and supplanted the old baronage of arms and the land in national government. National literatures at length appeared; Latin was reserved for theology, history and science; for purposes of popular literature men wrote in their everyday speech. The Bible was translated into English, and the King's Courts developed an English law distinct from the law elsewhere.

Of this nationalising tendency the monarch became the heir and the exponent. Papacy and Empire lost ground as the cosmopolitan ideals receded into the background; and the national kings gained at their expense. They also gained at the expense of their subjects. Mediæval Parliaments and systems of estates were discredited in the fifteenth century. They had not saved France in the Hundred Years' War nor England in the Wars of the Roses. The lesson in both cases was the need of the strong government which the monarchy alone could provide.

Geographical Discoveries.

Other tendencies fostered the idea. Men wanted peace and order to study the new ideas of the Renaissance, and to pursue new avenues of wealth opened up by geographical discovery. The advent

of the Ottoman Turks had blocked the old trade routes to the East through the Mediterranean; and the search after new ways to the Indies led Diaz to double the Cape and Columbus to discover the West Indies. Kings were the patrons of all these enterprises, and to kings men looked for commercial treaties and navigation laws.

Richard III. showed some appreciation of these needs by establishing consular agents in foreign countries; but Henry VII. developed the policy by his encouragement of Cabot, his *Magnus Intercursus* with the Netherlands, and his Navigation Acts. He avoided serious wars abroad, and kept peace at home by his Star Chamber and laws against livery and maintenance. With Parliament he could dispense when he was safely seated on the throne, and the Church offered no resistance.

Henry VII.

The early years of Henry VIII. mark a reaction to a less wise policy. The young king was tempted by his vanity, by Wolsey, and by the new-found strength of his realm to play a brilliant part in European politics; and Wolsey was led in the same direction by his wonderful gift for diplomacy, and his natural ambition to be Pope. A cardinal of the Catholic Church found it hard to keep his gaze fixed on one kingdom, and to Wolsey the European stage was the absorbing object, while to Henry VII. England had been all-important. This policy was abandoned on Wolsey's fall in 1529. From that date Henry VIII. on the whole, and Elizabeth after him, reverted to the more insular, national policy of Henry VII. Their prime object was to strengthen their rule at home and to encourage the maritime rather than the Continental expansion of England's influence.

Wolsey.

Henry VIII. was the most flamboyant exponent both of the nationalising forces then at work and of the new autocracy. The great surviving exception to nationalism was now the Catholic Church; and Henry, instigated in the first instance by a merely personal question, the divorce of Catherine of Aragon, went on to repudiate all foreign control over the Church in England. He was to make that national, too, and his path was all the more pleasant because in his eyes and in the eyes of many of his subjects "royal" and "national" were almost interchangeable terms. Thus the Reformation Parliament of 1529-36 repudiated the Papal jurisdiction and made Henry supreme head of

Henry VIII.

The Reformation.

the English Church; all payments to Rome were forbidden; and all recourse to the Papal court prohibited. The monasteries, which were peculiarly international institutions, were destroyed, and some steps were taken to set up a national standard of faith.

The Reformation meant much more than this. On its spiritual side it was a revolt of the individual against the collective control of the Catholic Church, and of a laity, growing in intelligence, against the sacerdotal tutelage of the Middle Ages. With the last Henry had some sympathy, and many measures were passed in his reign against clerical privilege. The Church was deprived of its independent right of legislation, spoiled of its wealth, and limited in its jurisdiction. But Henry's belief in individualism was limited to himself. No one else was allowed to indulge in private judgment, and the royal control over Englishmen's conscience was not less severe than had been that of the Pope. It was left for Somerset, the Protector of the realm, during his first years of Edward VI.'s minority, to try the experiment of leaving men to think as they liked; and the treason and heresy laws were repealed in 1547.

Edward VI.

The experiment did not succeed, and even Somerset came to the conclusion that disruption could only be avoided by setting up a national standard of uniformity, and compelling all men to conform. So the first Act of Uniformity, enforcing the first Book of Common Prayer, was passed in 1549. The Church service in England was nationalised and clothed in the national tongue. Somerset's successor, Warwick, made the uniformity more rigid and the doctrine more puritan by his second Act of Uniformity and Second Book of Common Prayer in 1552. But the harshness of his rule, the fanaticism of the Protestants, and the violence of his attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne at Edward's death in 1553 provoked a reaction which brought Mary to the throne and enabled her to undo not only Edward VI.'s but her father's work. The Papal restoration was, however, ruined by excess of persecution; and the burning of three hundred Protestant martyrs including Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer finally turned the heart of England from the Roman Catholic faith.

Mary.

Another cause of alienation was the foreign auspices under which Catholicism was restored. Mary was half a Spaniard and

despised the English. She had no sympathy with insular prejudice, and thought that only under the aegis of Spain would England and the Catholic faith be secure. She married her cousin, Philip II., and although there were paper guarantees for English independence, Englishmen could not feel sure that England would escape the fate of the Netherlands, which had also been brought under Spanish dominion by marriage. Mary thus gave the final touch to English national spirit; and the foreign influence which marred her reign produced a resentment far fiercer than had the alien domination of Henry III.'s advisers. For England gained nothing by the Spanish marriage. Philip II. refused to declare war on Scotland in the interests of England, but forced Mary into declaring war on France in his own. Spaniards shared in English trade, but Englishmen were rigidly excluded from the Spanish colonies, and even prohibited from trading with those of Spain's ally, Portugal. They had to content themselves with the Arctic Ocean and with attempts to open up a north-east or a north-west passage and trade overland with Russia and Central Asia.

Spanish Control.

The Spanish and Portuguese monopoly of the New World was based on Papal sanction, for Alexander VI. had divided the new discoveries between the Spaniards and the Portuguese. It was impossible for a good Roman Catholic to dispute this award; and accordingly it became increasingly difficult for English sea dogs to remain good Catholics. The passion for adventure on the Spanish Main proved stronger than their faith; and the south and south-west counties of England, which had been strongly Catholic, became the nurseries of aggression on the Papal protégés. With all this Mary was completely out of touch. The loss of Calais in 1558 put the seal on the failure of her policy; and the nation hailed with delight the accession of a sovereign who boasted of being "mere English," and had less foreign blood in her veins than any English monarch since Harold.

The loss of Calais.

The death of Mary without issue removed of itself the shackles of Spain, and Elizabeth's first work was to break the control of Rome. Parliament in 1559 finally repudiated all foreign jurisdiction over the Church in England, and declared Elizabeth its supreme governor. A new Act of Uniformity was passed; and the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. was

Elizabeth.

revived with some modifications. Elizabeth's *via media* was not that of Henry VIII. His had been a compromise between Roman Catholicism and Lutheranism; hers was more like a compromise between Lutheranism and Calvinism. It would have been considered extreme ten years before; it was now a *via media* because other proposals were even more extreme. Her government had as much trouble with Puritans as with Papalists; but her religious settlement was capable of assuming various shades of colour according to the changing moods of national feeling; and Low Church, High Church and Broad Church have all had their turns as exponents of the national religion.

The Nationalisation of the Church.

The important thing from the political point of view is that it was a national settlement, and not one dictated from Catholic Rome, Calvinistic Geneva, Lutheran Wittenberg or Zwinglian Zurich. The English Church may have become insular for the time, but it accorded none the less with the national temperament. England had asserted its independence of control in Church as well as in State; it had claimed the right of moulding its ecclesiastical destinies as well as its secular fate. "An English Church for the English people" was the motto of the Elizabethan settlement; and the national overcame the universal idea even in the religious sphere. The year 1559 marks the complete and final triumph of English nationality within the realm of England. The question for the future was its expansion into an empire.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND.

1559—1800.

England and Scotland.

The assertion of "England for the English" represented the first part of Elizabeth's programme, and foreign influence was speedily eliminated from both Church and State. Her next step was to secure Britain for the British. Little had been done by his successors to carry out Edward I.'s idea of union between England and Scotland, until Henry VII. negotiated a marriage between his elder daughter Margaret and James IV. of Scotland. Even this had slight immediate effects. James IV. and James V. preferred the old alliance with France and the Pope to friendship with their kinsman on the English throne; but the death of James V. while at war with England in 1542, and the succession of his infant daughter Mary suggested a renewal of Edward I.'s designs. The English claim to suzerainty was again put forth, and attempts were made to conclude a marriage between Mary and Edward VI. Protector Somerset had excellent ideas of uniting the two realms into "the Empire of Great Britain"; but his methods of wooing were unpalatable, and after Pinkie (1547) Mary was sent to France and betrothed to the Dauphin (afterwards Francis II.), while her French mother ruled in Edinburgh. Scotland seemed more committed to France than ever; and if Francis II. and Mary should have a son to rule in France and Scotland, the prospects of a British Empire would be dark indeed.

The Scottish Reformation.

Fortunately for England and Great Britain the Scots loved French no better than English domination, and national animosity was turned away from England towards France. Religion came to aid the process; the great obstacle to Henry VIII.'s and Somerset's schemes had been the Catholic Church in Scotland. But

John Knox arose, and Calvin captured Scotland's mind and heart. The Church fell in 1559, but the reformers needed aid against their French and Catholic sovereigns; and aid could only be forthcoming from their old enemy of England. It was a critical moment in the history of the Empire. Scotland had not been of much account in the councils of Europe except as a check to England's greatness. Now, if Scotland and England allied, a new power would be formed. Elizabeth's government rose to the occasion. Help was sent to the Scottish Protestants, the French were turned bag and baggage out of North Britain, the Scots were left to govern themselves, and England at last felt safe on her northern borders—at least from French invasion.

Expulsion of the French.

There was no attempt to impose an English domination across the Tweed; but Ireland for the Irish was never considered a possible policy by Elizabethan statesmen. Ireland had no native government to command respect, and her religion was a further cause of irritation. The so-called conquest of Ireland by Strongbow in the reign of Henry II. had effected little. The Anglo-Norman adventurers became more Irish than the Irish themselves, and English influence was limited to the districts round Dublin called the Pale. Henry VII. had done something to draw closer the connection by means of Poynings' Laws, which subjected the Irish Parliament to the English Privy Council; and Henry VIII. in the later years of his reign was made King instead of merely Lord of Ireland and began that process of converting Irish chiefs into English peers, which eventually divorced the people of Ireland from their natural leaders. Irish wealth and culture, which have been greatly underrated, attracted English adventurers, and while the eagles of enterprise plumed their wings for the Spanish Main, the vultures swooped down upon Ireland. Hence followed an interminable series of barbarous wars from which Spain and the Papacy sought to make their profit at England's expense; and it was not till the very close of Elizabeth's reign that Mountjoy succeeded in crushing O'Neill's great rebellion of 1598, and defeating the most serious attempt at invasion made by Spain.

Ireland.

Ireland provided the least glorious and least successful sphere for the expansion of England. The real success of Elizabeth's reign was expansion on the sea. The preceding reigns had been

The Expansion of England.

studded with solitary adventures in various directions, and the Reformation, which released Englishmen from the observance of Alexander VI.'s award of the New World to Spain and Portugal, began the era of English trade with the new found lands. In 1549, Sebastian Cabot, who had sailed to America fifty-two years previously, was created Grand Pilot of England, and a voyage of discovery to find a north-east passage to India resulted in Archangel being reached by Richard Chancellor, and in the foundation of an English trade with Russia. The spirit of adventure was ready, and men willing and able to undertake these adventures were not lacking. Young men of good family from Cornwall and Devon joined forces and equipped privateers which preyed impartially upon all shipping that passed up the Narrow Seas. It was legitimate enough in the case of enemies, but friends also were plundered, and from the later years of Henry VIII. bickerings over this piracy occupied no small part of the time of English, Spanish and French diplomatists. English seamen justified their spoliation of Spanish ships by their exclusion from the Spanish Main and the treatment of English merchants in Spain.

Chancellor's Voyage.

Gradually the scope of their operations extended across the sea. Elizabeth was not inclined to maintain Mary's veto on English enterprise; and had she wished, she could hardly have prevented all her subjects' escapades. They well understood, however, that the Queen, favour them as she might, neither would nor could protect them, for Spain and England were still, to use the convenient fiction employed by diplomatists, at peace. If piracy developed faulty morals and "sea divinity," it produced the best seamanship in the world, and the excellent naval traditions bequeathed to England by Henry VIII. were also substantial foundations on which to build.

The Elizabethan Sea-Dogs.

There were at least four classes of naval pioneers of Empire in the days of Elizabeth. The first is represented by John Hawkins; he went armed but desired peace and profits, and not war; he found his most profitable cargoes were black men's bodies, and so went man-hunting on the West African coast, and then man-selling in the Spanish colonies. Two voyages he made in 1562 and 1564 without disturbance; on a third voyage in 1567 his small squadron was treacherously attacked by a Spanish fleet in the Spanish port of San Juan de Ulua or

Hawkins.

Ulloa, on the coast of Mexico; and Hawkins himself barely escaped with less than half his men. Philip II. had determined to preserve his monopoly of the New World, and Hawkins and his fellows now abandoned trading for the method and aims of the second school.

San Juan de Ulua.

Drake.

These, succeeding to the former traders, have been classed as pirates, but there is a world of difference between them and Captain Kidd. It was not really piracy they waged but war, only war officially unavowed because it did not suit Elizabeth yet to break with Spain; and side by side with their condemnation as pirates must be placed their claim to be considered patriots. Drake was the most famous of this school; his motives were hostility to Spain, desire for plunder, and revenge; for the expedition of Hawkins which ended at San Juan de Ulua had been Drake's first voyage, and he remembered it long. Funds to equip Drake's profitable expeditions were readily forthcoming; the Queen herself took shares in the "Golden Hind's" great voyage round the world in 1577-80, reaped a dividend of several hundred per cent., and disregarded Philip's demand for restitution. There was now no pretence of trade; the tiny but heavily-armed ships of the adventurers were intended to fight.

But in course of time Spanish harbours in the West were strongly fortified, and Spanish "plate ships" sailed under powerful guard; buccaneering dividends began to dwindle. Peaceable trading became once more the fashion, and since that was dangerous in the West Indies men began to seek new markets and new ways to the East Indies. The voyage round the Cape of Good Hope was wearisome; there must, men thought, be a shorter route by the north. They began to sail first North-East and then North-West, and the idea that there was a "North-West Passage" led to many expeditions into those icy waters of the Arctic Ocean which bear English names to-day—Baffin Bay, Hudson Bay, and Davis Strait. The North-West Passage remained undiscoverable, but the results of the long and strenuous search for it gave England some sort of a prior claim upon Canada and the North generally.

The North-West Passage.

The Colonial Idea.

Then came the last and fullest development of the Elizabethan expansion, the attempt to plant "Colonies" for England, to be markets for English merchants even as Spain's colonies were markets for her merchants. Humphrey Gilbert first took up

the idea, and in 1583 he planted an unsuccessful colony in Newfoundland. His half-brother Walter Ralegh twice repeated the experiment on a part of the American coast which Elizabeth christened "Virginia"; his first expedition in 1585 returned home next year, and a second in 1587 disappeared utterly, only a vague tradition of massacre by the Indians surviving. It is just as well to bear in mind that at the death of Elizabeth England occupied not a foot of soil beyond the British seas.

Gilbert and Ralegh.

The Comparative Failure of Elizabethan Colonies.

The results of the failure to colonise are not far to seek. England was fortunately too weak to undertake State colonisation; it had to be attempted by individuals and by private funds, and the arm of the State was powerless to protect or aid the colonist. Again, Elizabethan England was obsessed by the idea of Eldorado; men wanted gold mines, new markets for trade, and new routes to the wealth of India—none wanted the hard and bitter agricultural toil necessary in a newly formed community. Finally, the colonists who were sent out to earn dividends for the promoters and, incidentally, a living for themselves, were either ne'er-do-wells or unemployed—disreputable failures or "sturdy beggars." England was as yet too thinly peopled to admit of the wholesale emigration of able-bodied agriculturalists, and until it was willing to supply such material of good quality her attempts at colonisation would result in little.

The last of the gold-hunting expeditions of Elizabeth's reign was Ralegh's voyage to Guiana in 1595, which had a disastrous and disgraceful sequel twenty years after. The founding of the East India Company in 1600 marks the commencement of a new period in which trade was conducted upon business-like lines and colonisation upon common-sense principles.

The East India Company.

The Stuarts.

The true age of colonisation begins with the advent of the Stuarts. Undesignedly they provided a powerful motive for the expansion of England. The religious settlement of 1559 had determined the question of foreign control, but it had not decided the differences in the English Church. The tide was setting strongly towards a presbyterian, non-episcopal form of church government. Elizabeth regarded the movement as anti-monarchical, and her sentiments did not differ from those of James I. when he said "no bishop, no king." But she had a

strong hold over the national mind, and the breach between the monarchy and the Presbyterians did not become irreparable during her reign. The Stuarts had not the same solid foundations for their authority; and they began to rely on theory, the divine hereditary right of kings to govern, irrespective of their capacity to rule or the wishes of their subjects. This brought them into violent collision with their parliaments, and the struggle soon assumed a theological colour. Episcopacy was necessarily monarchical; Parliamentarism and Presbyterianism seemed natural allies. A Presbyterian minister had called James "God's silly vassal," and James said he would harry them out of the land. Neither side believed in toleration; Parliament wished to make the church Presbyterian, the Crown was determined to keep it episcopal. There was not room for two parties with exclusive ambitions in one body politic, and thousands of Puritans crossed the Atlantic to found a state where they could worship themselves, and compel others to worship, as they pleased. Their motives were hardly amiable, but they were conscientious; and they were a far more solid equipment for colonists than the speculative passions which had inspired the Elizabethan projects. These men would not be deterred because no dividends were in sight. They went out into the wilderness with a grimmer and more enduring purpose. The present divergence between English and American (*see* p. 79) is a strange fulfilment of the aims of the only colonists who set forth not to reproduce but to reverse the conditions they left behind, not to expand the England that they knew, but to create a new and different community.

The first attempt of James's reign was, however, more like a relic of the Elizabethan epoch—the plantation of Virginia in 1607. In 1606 James I. issued a charter authorising a "plantation" between the Nova Scotia and the South Carolina of to-day. In 1607 an expedition reached "Virginia," Ralegh's old colony, and founded Jamestown. The plan and objects of the new colony were purely Elizabethan, but as time went on the proprietors despaired of dividends; the more useless of the colonists died of starvation, or were massacred by the Indians, and the less useless turned from prospecting for gold to growing food-stuffs, and after some time spent in making and breaking constitutions Virginia began to flourish. The importation of the tobacco plant and negro-slaves to cultivate it materially helped to increase the prosperity and population of the colony.

Virginia.

It devoted little time or energy to disputes on theological or constitutional matters, remained Anglican and aristocratic, treated the Indians as human beings, and had a comparatively uneventful history.

The Pilgrim Fathers.

The other colonial seed in North America was planted in 1620 under very different circumstances. The sect known as "Brownists," from which sprang the later Independents, had found refuge in Holland from their religious troubles in England; but in 1620 about a hundred of them sailed in the "Mayflower" to North America, landing at Cape Cod and founding New Plymouth. They had chosen no favoured place wherein to settle; the climate was severe, the soil was not over-fertile, and the Indians were given no cause to be friendly. But they had come in search of freedom to worship as they pleased, they were not the failures or social refuse of England, and they were the best material for colonists yet discovered. Until Charles I. commenced his course of personal government, the "New England" progressed but slowly, but after 1629 it was swollen by fugitives from the system of Laud and the Courts of High Commission and Star Chamber, and also by an influx of fresh colonists under a charter granted to the Massachussetts Company in 1629. By 1640 some forty thousand Englishmen were settled along the three hundred miles of coast between Portsmouth and Newhaven. They, too, prospered by fishing and trade, but their mainstay was still agriculture. A religious tyranny worse than Laud's was established; the Indians were gradually expropriated and New England experienced such warfare with them as Virginia never knew. The internal history of the colony was stormy, and the success of the Puritan Revolution in England temporarily checked Puritan emigration. Nevertheless the population increased, a flourishing trade was at length established between the English colonies and their Dutch and Swedish neighbours. These neighbours were subdued during the first Dutch war of Charles II.'s reign, and the new English colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware were formed, while to the south of Virginia North and South Carolina grew up. The Pilgrim Fathers, too, had not been the only religious refugees from England, and a colony for Roman Catholics had been founded by Lord Baltimore in Maryland during the reign of Charles I.

New England.

Other Colonies.

Meanwhile a momentous change of policy was effected, which was destined to remain virtually intact for nearly two centuries.

The Civil Wars.

It had only an indirect connection with the familiar incidents of seventeenth century English history. There were echoes of the civil war across the sea especially in the West Indies where Roundheads and Cavaliers fought battles of their own. But they were comparatively faint. The interests of the new colonies in the Old World struggle may have been greater than appears on the surface; and the triumph of Charles I. and Laud might have led to an attempt to suppress the Puritans in America. As it was, they were left to develop in comparative peace; and apart from Cromwell's conquest of Jamaica, the main interest lies in the external relations between Great Britain and the colonies—a sphere in which home governments, whether Puritan or Cavalier, pursued considerable continuity of policy.

Growth of the mercantile spirit.

Englishmen had grown more sober and business-like, and a thoroughly mercantile spirit pervaded the effective part of the nation—the part that was strongest in Parliament. The age of religious wars closed with the Treaties of Westphalia (1648), and the wars which succeeded were wars of commerce and national expansion in which religion played no part. London merchants had long been jealous of the rise of Dutch prosperity and commerce; the two nations had come into violent contact in more than one colonial quarter of the globe; and English merchants and statesmen seemed suddenly to realise the fact that their Dutch rivals carried practically all the trade of Western Europe and its colonies, and that this gigantic monopoly was absorbing all the profits from the colonies which they had financed. The common ties of religion and of government (1650-1660) could not keep the Protestant Republics of England and the United Provinces from each other's throats; as soon as the remnant of the Long Parliament could get its hands free from civil war, it passed the Navigation Act of 1651, and began to prepare for hostilities with the Dutch.

The Navigation Act of 1651.

This famous Act of Parliament required that all goods imported into England from Asia, Africa, or America should be imported direct in ships owned, manned, and commanded by Englishmen. The mercantile middle class wanted some immediate and tangible return from the colonies they saw growing up, and

the Dutch remonstrated in vain at the heavy blow dealt to the carrying trade, which was the very lifeblood of Holland. The resulting war (1652-4) was really indecisive; and though the English Republic carried its points and showed the world that the Dutch could be beaten decisively on their own element, another struggle was certain so soon as the combatants could recover strength.

The Restoration effected singularly little change in England's foreign and colonial policy. The legislation of the Commonwealth and Protectorate was treated as invalid; but the mercantile element was almost as strong under Charles II. as under Cromwell, and a fresh Navigation Act was passed in 1660. It enacted that sugar, tobacco, and a few other "enumerated" articles should be exported by English colonies only to England or some other colony, and also that all goods imported by a colony must be imported from England. A third clause was substantially a re-enactment of the previous Act of 1651.

The Act of 1660.

Effects of the Navigation Acts.

The effect of these Acts was considerable although it, too, has been exaggerated. There was far less trade with the English colonies in 1660 than there was a century later, and the application of the Act would largely depend upon the colonial Governors, who could usually be persuaded or coerced. In any case the mother country had in 1660 very scanty means of enforcing her will upon her colonies. Nevertheless, the Dutch lost at a blow a proportion of their trade variously estimated at one-tenth to one-seventh, and it was not long before England's commerce began to benefit correspondingly. Much has been said as to the deleterious effect of the Navigation Acts upon colonial commerce, but little has been or can be proved. If the colonist might export his sugar, rice, and tobacco to England only, he had a practical monopoly of the home market in those articles; and American trade and shipping grew and flourished apace.

Ireland in the 17th Century.

It is in his dealings with Ireland and Scotland that Cromwell most strikingly anticipated later developments. He is greater as a Unionist than as an Imperialist, though his methods of Union were hardly such as commend themselves to modern statesmen. Nevertheless, it was Cromwell who first summoned a united Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland. Neither country had profited much by the rule of the first two Stuarts, and

both were in open rebellion when Charles I. lost control of affairs. James I.'s plantation of Ulster (1610), if not very happily inspired, had at any rate lasting results. The planters came from the class of men who were being harried out of England and were founding the North American colonies; and sturdy Presbyterians from Scotland and London made prosperous Ulster out of the forfeited lands of the rebel earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell. Wentworth (1632-1640) did his best to foster Irish industries and commerce; but he was more anxious to reduce the Anglo-Irish gentry to order and subservience than to mitigate the lot of the dispossessed Irish peasant and persecuted Roman Catholic; and as soon as the English government was paralysed by the conflict between Crown and Parliament (1641) the native Irish rose in wild revolt to avenge upon their oppressors the barbarity with which they had themselves been subdued. A hideous massacre followed, and for eight years Ireland weltered in an unfathomable anarchy of Royalist, Roman Catholic, Parliamentary and Presbyterian factions. At length, in 1649, the iron hand of Oliver Cromwell was laid upon the distracted country. At Wexford and Drogheda no quarter was given; Ireland was crushed under the weight of the Cromwellian settlement, which provided an effective Protestant garrison quartered on the lands of the Irish peasant; and thirty members from Ireland were summoned to sit in the Parliament of 1654 at Westminster.

The Irish Rebellion.

This Union disappeared at the Restoration, but Charles II. found it inadvisable to disturb the Cromwellian settlers on Irish land, and in fact it was Cromwell's soldiers and their descendants who prevented Ireland in 1689 from falling completely into the hands of James II. That king's Roman Catholic zeal, and his breach with the whole English nation, led him to appeal to the Roman Catholic Irish; and his lord-deputy, Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnell, raised the standard "Now or never, now and for ever." Louis XIV. sent assistance, but James II. was no match for William of Orange, and the battle of the Boyne (1690) sealed the supremacy of the English in Ireland. The struggle ended with the "Broken Treaty" of Limerick (1691), the breach of which was more the fault of the Irish Protestant Parliament than of William, and for a century Ireland was treated as a conquered country. Few conquered countries, indeed, have been treated with less generosity; her

The "Broken Treaty."

religion and her commerce were alike oppressed. Roman Catholics were excluded from political influence and from many of the professions. Every sort of inducement, material and immoral, was offered to those who would abandon their faith. Irish industries were suppressed at the dictation of rival English manufacturers, and her commerce was regulated so that it might not compete with England's. Partly from religious, partly from commercial motives, England did its best in the early part of the eighteenth century to complete the ruin of Ireland.

Scotland Under the Stuarts.

Fortunately for Scotland, it could make itself more respected by those who recognised no argument but force. James I. had sensible ideas of a union between England and Scotland, resembling those of Protector Somerset. But his own tactlessness and the fierce jealousy of the English Parliament ensured the failure of a project by which England would have gained more than it did at the Union of 1707. Charles I. was even less successful; and his attempt to force a Laudian Liturgy upon the Presbyterian Church provoked the National League and Covenant, and the Bishops' wars. In the Civil Wars the Scots first intervened to defeat Charles I., and then sent the first of a long line of Scottish armies into England pledged to the Stuart cause. Religion caused the reversion of policy; Cromwell's army repudiated Presbyterianism, while Charles I. made terms with it, and his son subscribed the Covenant. Neither benefited by this forced conversion; at Preston (1648), at Dunbar (1650), and at Worcester (1651) the Ironsides vanquished one Scottish party after another; and Scotland, like Ireland, was driven into the Cromwellian union.

The Scottish Union.

It, too, was dissolved at the Restoration; but Scotland was no happier under Charles II. than under Cromwell. The Protector had been fairly tolerant; Charles II.'s government in Scotland fell foul of the Covenanters, and rebellions and raids became the order of the day until the Revolution. The Presbyterian kirk was thenceforth the established Church of Scotland, but it was hardly the church of the Covenanters. The mercantile secular spirit had invaded Scotland and weakened if not softened, the dour temper of the "old priest writ large." Scotland was becoming interested in colonial adventures, and it was the failure of one of these, the Darien Scheme, that brought matters

to a crisis. The Union of 1603 had been merely personal and not parliamentary. Scotland had agreed with England in excluding James II. in 1688; but both Mary and Anne were Stuarts, and there was no guarantee that Scotland would agree with England in 1714 to exclude the Stuart, and accept the Hanoverian dynasty. There might again be two kings on the two sides of the borders, and the nascent unity of Great Britain might be rent in twain. England in the throes of the struggle with Louis XIV., who had recognised the Old Pretender as England's rightful king, felt the danger more keenly, perhaps, than Scotland; but Scotland, too, had something to gain by closer union with England, and something to lose by the dissolution of existing ties. The gifts which England had to give, and Scotland was now beginning to value, were commercial—inclusion in the benefits of the Navigation Laws and freedom of trade with England. England, which rigidly refused to share these privileges with Ireland, was not anxious to share them with Scotland. But Scotland had weapons which could not be despised, and the Scottish Parliament passed an Act of Security which threatened the dynastic union of the two countries on the death of Anne, unless security were given for the preservation of the religious and commercial claims of Scotland. England at first replied with defiance, but in the end cooler counsels prevailed, and on May 1, 1707, England and Scotland became the United Kingdom of Great Britain. Scotland was to retain her own legal system, law-courts, and established church; she was to enjoy the same commercial privileges as England, and to pay a share in taxes much smaller than her share in parliamentary representation (*see* p. 81). The price was none too liberal to pay for the control to be exercised over Scotland by a Parliament in which the Scottish members would be numerically insignificant; but Scots have found ample compensation for the control which England exercises over them in the influence which they exert upon the destinies of England and the Empire.

The Revolution of 1688.

By this Union the chief danger which threatened the Revolution Settlement of 1688 was averted. The principal point in that Revolution was to establish parliamentary government in England, that is to say, a constitution in which the ministers or executive are responsible to, and controlled by, the legislature. The Great Rebellion had made

permanent inroads upon the powers asserted by James I. and Charles I. The claims of the Crown to legislate by proclamation, to tax independently of Parliament, and to enforce its edicts by means of the Star Chamber and Court of High Commission, had gone for ever. But Charles II.'s ministers were responsible to him, and not to Parliament, and in the last four years of his reign he had shown that it was still possible to rule for some time without a Parliament at all. Even the Revolution did not completely solve the problem. William III. was his own Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary; he could not coerce Parliament, but Parliament found it difficult to coerce him. The facts that Anne was incompetent and the first two Georges aliens did more than the Revolution to establish Cabinet rule and Parliamentary power. Even then George III. was able to impose his ministers on Parliament and his policy on the people. Still more halting were the results of the Revolution in the Colonies of North America. There, as in England, James II. had sought to override the legislatures and govern as a despot; and there, too, it was hoped that the Revolution would establish legislative control over the executive. In this it failed decisively; colonial executives remained responsible to English governments and not to local legislatures, and therein lay the seed of the American Revolution.

The War of the Spanish Succession.

In some respects the most important effects of the English Revolution were felt in foreign politics. It transferred England from the side of Louis XIV. to that of his enemies; instead of the Treaty of Dover we have the Battle of Blenheim, and England became the protagonist in the struggle which saved Europe from Bourbon dictation. Another result was by the capture of Gibraltar and Minorca to establish British influence in the Mediterranean, the importance of which Cromwell had seen and Charles II. had neglected when he abandoned his wife's dowry of Tangier. Commercially the war of the Spanish Succession may be regarded as a triangular duel between England, France, and the Dutch, in which England's ally fared worse really though not ostensibly than her enemy; and Holland lost more in this war, in which she was successful, than she did in her wars with England in which she was defeated. The upshot of the war and of the Treaty of Utrecht, which brought it to a conclusion, was to leave England and France the chief rivals in commercial and colonial expansion.

Rivalry between England and France.

Fortunately for the British Empire the two countries viewed the situation in a very different light. France produced great Empire builders in Montcalm and Dupleix, peers of Wolfe and Clive; but she produced no Pitt nor even a Walpole. Her eyes were averted from the New World, and her energies wasted on struggles in the Old. Englishmen were perhaps helped in resisting the temptation to squander men and money on the continent by the reflection that such efforts would turn to the benefit of Hanover which they did not love, and would not expand that colonial trade on which their hearts were set. Walpole feared war, because he feared a Jacobite restoration by French arms; he was for peace at any price and for commerce at any price save that of war. He did something to foster colonial trade and nothing to stir colonial animosities, and the foundation of Georgia by General Oglethorpe during his régime added the last to the thirteen colonies and rounded them off against Spain. But he did not consider the illicit trade which English merchants pursued with Spanish America worth a war; he was driven into it against his will (1739) and then from power (1742).

This Anglo-Spanish war expanded into the general war of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) during which England was threatened by the Jacobite rising of '45, and Holland was overrun by the French under Marshal Saxe. In India England's possessions were with difficulty retained, nothing was gained in America, and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle concluded the war on the *status quo*. It had been fought on the old traditional lines of alliance between England and the Hapsburgs against France, modified by the fact that a Bourbon and not a Hapsburg now ruled Spain. A diplomatic revolution preceded the next war. Maria Theresa of Austria, conscious that England would never help her to recover Silesia from Frederick the Great of Prussia, struck a bargain with France; and England, seeing that Austria would no longer guarantee Hanover against France, formed an alliance with Frederick who kept Europe occupied while England waged the really important struggle in India and North America.

The Seven Years' War—1756-1763.

Here the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had hardly been a truce. The French in Canada were seeking to join hands with their brethren in Louisiana, and by means of a chain of posts along the Mississippi valley to shut in the British Colonies between the Alleghanies

and the sea. In India the fate of British dominion trembled in the balance. Pitt grasped the situation, and while France was fighting Frederick, Canada and India were won for the British Empire (Quebec 1759, Plassey 1757, Wandewash 1760). Nor were these the only gains; Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica and other West Indian Islands were added to the dominions of the crown, and only the fall of Pitt prevented the permanent acquisition of Havana and the Philippine Islands, which were restored to Spain at the Peace of Paris (1763).

Party Politics.

The resignation of Pitt in 1761 ushers in a squalid period of English party politics. The Whigs had almost exhausted their mission, but there was no one to take their place. Pitt believed in efficiency irrespective of party, and would have chosen colleagues from every political section. George III. from different motives also disliked the Whig domination; nurtured on Bolingbroke's "Patriot King," and urged by his mother to "be a king," he wanted to rule through ministers and not to be ruled by ministers. He tried to break up the incipient solidarity of Cabinets, and to convert his ministers into mere heads of departments, who should be in constant consultation with him, but not with one another. The condition of English politics favoured his schemes; he could never have managed a House of Commons with the nation at its back, but the Commons between 1761 and 1784 represented few people except themselves. The franchise and redistribution reforms which Cromwell had passed were treated as null at the Restoration, and a few pocket borough-mongers returned a majority of the House of Commons. The party which controlled most of these boroughs was itself split into factions; there were the Bedford Whigs, more illiberal than the Tories, the Grenville Whigs, the Rockingham Whigs, inspired by Burke and more progressive than most, and the personal followers of Pitt. They could rarely be brought to act together; and having no particular principles, members from all these sections fell victims to the seductions held out by George III., when he took a leaf from the book of the Whig magnates, and by similar methods created a party of "King's Friends" in the House. Gradually by borough-jobbing and backstairs intrigues he developed this party until in 1770 he forced a minister of his own upon the House of Commons in the person of Lord North. He could not have done it without some popular support; and in spite of Wilkes and the "North

George III.

Briton" George was not unpopular. Unlike his grandfather and great grandfather he was born a Briton and gloried in the name. He could speak English and liked English ways; he was honest, hard-working and none too clever. He was like an ordinary English farmer seated on the throne, and he preferred to dine off boiled mutton and turnips.

The War of American Independence.

With these advantages George III. was able to govern England, and there is little evidence that his policy was unpopular before it failed. The story of his dealings with America is told in the succeeding chapter; on the legal and constitutional aspect there is a good deal to be said for George III.'s contention, but while all things may have been lawful all things were not expedient; and all the precedents in the world do not atone for the disruption of the Empire. Nor was the loss of the American Colonies the sole result of George III.'s mistakes. English influence on the continent was almost annihilated, and nearer home Lord North had to give Ireland legislative independence, because he had no force to pit against the Irish volunteers. So "Grattan's Parliament" came into existence in 1782. Ireland, of course, had had a parliament of her own almost as long as England; but since 1494 it had been subject to the English Privy Council, and in 1719 this subordination was made even more explicit. Now (1782) the Irish Parliament was declared to be on an equal footing with the English; it was completely independent. No English Act could limit or take away its powers, or legislate in any form for Ireland. The two countries ceased to have any legislative connection, and were only bound together by the fact that they had a common king. Yet this was not Home Rule; Ireland could make her own laws but could not govern herself. Her governors were appointed by the British Ministry and responsible to Downing-street; no vote of the Irish Parliament could ensure their dismissal. Ireland was still administered by English Ministers, and more or less in accordance with English ideas. For practical purposes the Irish Parliament was merely a debating society which represented a small proportion of the population. Until 1793 only Protestants could vote, although three Irishmen out of every four were Catholic; so long as it lasted only Protestants could sit, and three-quarters of the House of Commons were nominated by a hundred landlords. The independent Irish Parliament, the theme of a thousand glowing tributes, was "the corrupt con-

Grattan's Parliament.

clave of an exclusive caste." That such a body should have done anything at all to remove the Roman Catholic disabilities is wonderful, and its efforts at reform constituted but a feeble argument against the Act of Union.

The Younger Pitt.

This was perhaps the greatest work of the younger Pitt. After the fall of North in 1782, two brief Whig ministries under Rockingham and Shelburne, and the unprincipled coalition of Fox and North, George III. found his man and his match in Pitt, who at the general election of 1784 secured a greater amount of popular support than any other minister of George III. The King got rid of the Whig domination, but only to find a master in Pitt, and Pitt could rule because he was supported by the Commons and the country. He started as a peace and reforming minister, and excellent measures were carried to improve our trade with France and government of India, while settlements were made in Sierra Leone and New South Wales. But the French Revolution (1789) crossed his path and diverted the whole of Pitt's energies to the task of self-defence first against the Revolution and then against Napoleon. All ideas of reform were scattered to the winds; reaction and repression reigned in England while revolution reigned in France. In the war which broke out in 1793 England failed ignominiously on land, but more than compensated for it by her victories at sea. The French Revolutionary navy was almost destroyed on the "glorious first of June," 1794. The Dutch fleet which France pressed into her service was shattered at Camperdown and the Spanish off Cape St. Vincent in 1797, while a similar fate overtook the French Mediterranean fleet at the Battle of the Nile in 1798. When Napoleon looked to Denmark and the Northern Powers, the battle of Copenhagen (1801) averted the danger from that quarter; Trafalgar (1805) disposed of the French and Spanish fleets which Napoleon had re-created, and in 1807 Canning seized a second Danish navy. The phrase "Napoleon in search of a fleet" summarizes a good deal of his foreign policy; and when he could not find a fleet he tried to ruin Great Britain by the "Continental System," expressed in the Berlin and Milan decrees, which materially contributed to his own downfall.

The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

The command of the sea which thus passed to Great Britain bore fruit in further expansion of the Empire. In India Wellesley extended British dominion on all sides without

material interference from the French. Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope were captured from the Dutch. Malta and the Ionian Isles strengthened our position in the Mediterranean, and the occupation of Mauritius, the Isle de Bourbon, the Seychelles and Amirante Islands fortified our communications with the East, while most of the French West Indian Islands were acquired, but restored (like Bourbon) in 1815. The war, originally undertaken in self-defence, confirmed and extended the maritime and colonial supremacy of Great Britain which had first been definitely secured in the Seven Years' War.

British Expansion.

England's weak spot throughout the earlier stages of the crisis had been Ireland. Revolutionary opinions gained a foothold in the Protestant North, but the chief danger came from the rising of the Catholic peasantry in the South. The French expeditions designed to co-operate with the rebels fortunately failed, and the rebellion was finally crushed at Vinegar Hill (1798). Both the foreign danger and the difficulty of carrying reform in the Irish Parliament convinced Pitt of the necessity for Parliamentary Union. He held out hopes of Roman Catholic emancipation, but was foiled by the obstinacy of George III., and the Union was thus robbed of much of its beneficent effect. The means by which it was carried cannot be justified except on the ground that only by such means could it be carried at all. The borough mongers were losing valuable property, and although that property was not legitimate, they would not part with vested interests without compensation. The Act which was passed in 1800 gave Ireland one hundred seats in the House of Commons, and thirty-two in the House of Lords. Twenty-eight were filled by temporal peers elected for life by their fellow peers, and four by spiritual peers who disappeared with the disestablishment of the Irish church in 1869. The Scottish Union had been one of consent; the same cannot be said of the Irish. Ireland's Parliament did not represent the Irish people, and even it had been cajoled by unworthy methods, while the boon which might have reconciled the nation to the loss of legislative independence was withheld until fresh seeds of strife and roots of bitterness had been implanted in the Irish mind. The expansion of England which has been so successful at the expense of coloured races begat harder problems when it took place at the expense of a white and civilised people; the Union with Scotland only succeeded because

Union with Ireland.

England gave up the attempt to expand into Scotland at Scotland's expense; and the great Imperial task of the nineteenth century was how to harmonise the unity of the Empire with the national aspirations of states which Britons had founded across the seas or brought by conquest within the bounds of British dominion. The natural introduction to the history of that problem is the story of the one great failure in the making of the Empire.

The problem of the 19th century.

CHAPTER V.

THE ONE DISRUPTION.

Causes of the Quarrel.

England's relations with its Colonies in America during the second half of the eighteenth century are, like its dealings with Ireland, generally regarded as British failures. The lack of cohesion shown in the seventies of the eighteenth century between three million of Britons oversea and nine millions at home is not an inspiring topic. Most people avoid it or hasten to lay all the blame on the king and his ministers and to pass by. The responsibility resides really in certain traits that have been most dearly prized by Englishmen as a whole, namely English Protestantism and English love of freedom. Both these were greatly accentuated by the revolution of 1688. The New England Colonies would have liked to assert their autonomy then and there (*see* p. 56), and were only restrained by the firm hold maintained on Canada by despotically governed France.

Effects of the Conquest of Canada.

Once all fear of the French was removed by the conquest of Canada, the two great prosperous and most English Colonies, Massachusetts and Virginia, insensibly resumed the notion of throwing off their dependence on the motherland. Their destiny was now free. Whatever happened to England would not affect them very seriously. They needed neither English aid nor English patronage. The adult instinct of independence was strong among the most virile individuals in both these typical communities. This instinct was not shared by most of the colonists. On the contrary, a large majority persevered in lip service to King George until long after the first hostilities broke out. But they all liked their king at a distance; they were shocked by what they heard of the corruption and intrigue that surrounded Parliament, and as soon

Public Opinion in the American Colonies.

as a conflict seemed inevitable between their material interest and their loyalty to a government six weeks away, the active spirits who are the effective force in politics—the lawyers, the politicians, the ministers, the town councillors and the schoolmasters—these men determined that the time had come to sever a connection that no longer involved mutual support. The loyalists were from the first placed in a very awkward position. The vast majority of Americans played a waiting game, but showed a more demonstrative sympathy, as was natural, with the noisier party.

The English Point of View.

In England, since the Seven Years' War, there had arisen among the directing classes a determination to remodel existing arrangements and to find a scope for America in a new imperial scheme of revenue and defence. Unless the Colonies meant trade monopoly and military support we might as well have no Colonies at all. That was George's view, to which most of his subjects would have subscribed in 1770. The cause of the revolt may be briefly summed up in this way: that neither the effective desire of the Americans to preserve the connection, nor the effective desire of the British to compel them to maintain it was strong enough to resist the strains which became perceptible only after the removal of the French menace by the peace of 1763. The English are a sufficiently schismatic and individualistic people, but the Americans both by birth and habit and by their colonial divisions far more so; and they had no sufficient reservoir of stored-up regard or affection for the old country to counteract the strong tendency to separation.

The Real Issues.

The particular strains, apart from history, economics and geography in the wider sense, which caused the severance, were not in reality by any means so terrible as they have often been represented. Free from Continental fears, America wanted more independence and wanted to make taxation purely local. England, on the other hand, had developed a debt and with it an imperial sense. It wanted to assess the Americans for a small amount of Parliamentary taxation in order to provide the nucleus of a colonial army. It also wanted to create an American civil list in order to pay the Colonial governors and judges direct so as to have the nucleus of an imperial class of high officials over in America. "We are to have a British bureaucracy over us," said the American demagogues. Hitherto there had really been no control at all, and British adminis-

tration in the thirteen colonies had either not existed or had been purely nominal. The fear in America now was that the customs and Admiralty regulations were going to be enforced.

Taxation.

Briefly, it seemed as if the connection between the mother country and her colonies was about to be emphasised in the manner that Walpole had always so strongly deprecated, namely, by increased taxation. Taxation had hitherto been evaded, and, in fact, hardly felt at all. Now, when America was far more restive and uncontrollable than ever before, the English ministers were inspired to apply this curb. The glorious war being over, the time had come, said Grenville in effect, to talk about payment. "Taxation no Tyranny" wrote Dr. Johnson, to which America replied in the "Farmer's Letters" and Tom Paine's "Common Sense," in which the benefits of commercial connection with England were searchingly criticised.

The Colonial System.

The system in force hitherto had been something of this kind. The colonies had to send all their raw materials to England, and import English manufactures exclusively. On the other hand, the West Indies had to buy lumber and provisions from the colonies, and England had to buy tobacco in Virginia and Maryland exclusively. The direct revenue from customs was very small, and amounted to barely half the sum it cost to collect. The regulations, it seems, had always been interpreted by Americans to include unlimited opportunities for smuggling. England then, in 1765, determined to put down this free trade, and further imposed a small stamp duty on all transfers of property and written agreements. The first decision might have done considerable injury to the carrying trade of New England; but the Stamp Act could hardly be considered a severe imposition by anyone; moreover, it was accompanied by a proposal that if the Colonies would suggest an alternative scheme of taxation, equally remunerative, the measure should be abandoned. A huge outcry, utterly disproportionate to the injury, and accompanied by serious rioting, marked the first attempts to enforce the act in November, 1765. The Stamp Act was repealed next session, though this repeal was accompanied by an act affirming as a general principle the right of Parliament to tax the Colonies. The general

The Stamp Act.

wish in England was to propitiate America, and the repeal was welcomed there with extravagant acclamation.

Its Results.

But the explosion had already done serious damage. Abstract theorists had arisen in America, too, who maintained that taxation and representation must go together—an idea so revolutionary and suggestive of reform as to be very unpalatable to English politicians; for, if the Colonies were unrepresented in Parliament, so it might be urged in reply were the vast majority of Englishmen. But the agitation had done more harm still in the taste it had given disorderly mobs for looting the property of wealthy Anglicans and Tories, and the extent to which it had filled the taverns with constitutional lawyers and stump politicians. Amid all the clamour the threat might have been discerned pretty clearly: leave us alone, or we shall cut adrift. The subsequent rhetoric of Chatham and Burke (vastly encouraging as it doubtless was to the revolting colonists), was idle vapouring for the most part in such a crisis—as useless as a prayer for calm during the first puffs of a hurricane. Wiser in reality was the counsel of Dean Tucker, who said "if the Colonies want to go, let them go." England as a whole was ignorant, indifferent, over-confident, and thought little of the colonists at all except in the light of customers of uncertain civilisation and colour. The Americans, on the other hand, were refractory and contemptuous; and if one pretext failed they were quite capable of finding another. Hitherto they had been disunited, but they were already as three to nine, a native stock, three or four generations out, greatly hardened and strengthened by the conditions of colonial life, not anxious for political change, but resolute, under no conditions, to submit to foreign dictation or to oversea orders.

The Authors of the movement for Independence.

The rebellion was the work of an active minority in the two most highly organised of colonial groups, in Virginia and New England, where the descendants of the original colonists were now prospering. In addition to Massachusetts we must include in New England New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island. The last two colonies were practically self-governing, for they chose their own governors and had none of the chronic ground for complaint which constant friction with representatives of the Crown was apt to engender. The Colonies as a whole were substantially prosperous and happy. They were men in shirt sleeves, nearly all of them, English country folk

at the core, with the advantage of being able to read and write, but they had been long enough in the country to forget their relationships at home. Massachusetts and Virginia took the lead, and were the first to vote for independence in June, 1776; but, even in these Colonies conservatives who wanted to keep things as they were were very numerous. Unfortunately for themselves, they were unorganised, and their superior wealth excited the cupidity of the mobs who howled against the tyranny of the British Parliament. All the "friends of Britain" who were known to be unable or unwilling to retaliate were disarmed and cruelly intimidated at an early period of the controversy by these fierce patriotic mobs. The radicals, consequently, took the reins from the first, ran the preliminary congresses of 1774 and 1775 and organised armed opposition.

The Tea Duties.

For the moment after the repeal of the Stamp Act things were quiescent. But the colonists had already begun to formulate theories of resistance and to defy authority. When, therefore, in 1767, Townshend thought to repeat Grenville's experiment of 1765 in a safer form by imposing duties on tea and other commodities when imported into the Colonies, the latter soon showed that their objection to external taxation was quite as serious as that to internal. The winds which had slumbered in the colonial cave were soon roaring again. A circular letter of appeal for resistance was sent out to the various colonial assemblies from Boston. Samuel Adams, Henry Otis, and other demagogues were once more joyously at work. Again there was a reign of riot and outrage, this time more violent than before, culminating in the burning of the king's revenue cutter, and the tossing of a cargo of tea into the water (December 16, 1773). No government could bear this tamely. The port of Boston was closed; the charter of Massachusetts was forfeited; appointments and renewals of judges and other officers were vested in the Crown, and offenders might, at the discretion of the Crown, be removed to England for trial. Two British regiments were sent from Halifax to Boston, where they had, in March, 1770, been a collision between the soldiery and the mob, resulting in a loss of three lives, grandiloquently referred to as the "Boston Massacre." The other Colonies made Boston's cause their own, and, with the exception of Georgia, sent representatives to a congress held at Philadelphia in 1774 to consider the situation.

Resistance and Retaliation.

Growing Animosity.

Sinister events now moved apace. Attempts at reconciliation, the removal of all the duties except that on tea, and assurances that no more would be imposed, proved futile. On the colonial side there were still plenty of men like Dickenson and Galloway who desired peace with justice; but there were also men like Samuel Adams who, though they still felt it politic to wear the mark of loyalty, were resolved that there should be no peace. Of the two men who might have mediated, Chatham was lying a cripple in body if not in mind, while Franklin, the American Solon, discredited by his use of stolen letters, had been estranged for ever from the royal cause by the abuse showered on him in council on account of that misdemeanour by the coarse lips of the sycophant Wedderburn. The Germanic temper of George had now been fatally awakened, and he had the great body of opinion on his side. The pride of the imperial people had taken fire at the insulting violence of backwoodsmen, whom their arrogance regarded as humble subjects of the British crown. The Anglican clergy preached everywhere against rebellion; so did John Wesley. The merchants were divided, but the majority, perhaps, hoped for a rise in prices to follow the outbreak of war, while the Tory squires and the common people everywhere in England and Scotland were for vigorous repression. On the American side platform and pulpit spouted the fire of colonial patriotism. Burke, in pamphlets pregnant with lofty, undying wisdom, pleaded for reason, moderation and peace.

England's Difficulties.

The only possible chance of a quick peace was to take strong coercive measures at once, and to preserve at all hazards the advantage that accrued to England by the possession of a naval base. But America had so many friends in England who wanted to use the revolt as a political lever, that no combined policy could be adopted with sufficient definiteness, constancy or vigour. There were Whigs in Parliament who referred to Washington's army as "our army," and to the American cause as "the cause of liberty"; they did all in their power to discourage enlistments, and in various ways so thwarted and vexed the government that the success of the Americans was by many people ascribed to their assistance. The difficulty of getting the recruits to make the long voyage was sufficiently great as it was; the soldiers enlisted were half-hearted in the struggle from Howe downwards, and a total force of upwards

of 30,000 was only raised by hiring foreign troops from Hesse and Hanover, and from other German states to the number of 20,000. Another disability from which Great Britain suffered at this particular crisis was the strong dearth of administrative and strategic, or indeed any kind of military genius. The Secretary at War was Lord George Germaine, a man whose own military career had been tainted with grave suspicion of cowardice, a cold formalist without the redeeming features of method and exactitude, and wholly incapable of inspiring colleagues or subordinates with enthusiasm. The Commander-in-Chief, after the recall of the essentially second-rate General Gage, was Sir William Howe, an inert, pleasure-loving man, with little but tactical knowledge and personal courage to recommend him. What was worse, his sympathies were in a great measure with the colonials, and he had not yet learned the simple lesson that, however desirable compromise and conciliation may be, the lukewarm conduct of a war is the worst possible way in which to obtain them. More than one of his fiascos can hardly be explained except on the theory that he dreaded a decisive victory.

Hostilities begun.

General Gage, who had replaced Hutchinson as governor of Massachusetts, wrote home that the situation required 20,000 men. Dartmouth, the secretary upon whom colonial affairs devolved, repudiated such an estimate as preposterous. In February, 1775, North, the English Prime Minister, with the king's assent, proposed further measures of conciliation to the effect that any colony should be exempt from taxation which should make a satisfactory contribution for purposes of common defence and civil government. But before these proposals reached the various colonial assemblies (in which they received but scant attention) British authority in America had been openly challenged. The first gun was fired at Lexington, near Boston, on April 19, 1775. Gage had detached a force to capture military stores accumulated by the colonists at Salem, some twenty miles away. Here and at Bunker Hill, on June 17, Gage's regulars, fighting in regulation close order, suffered heavily at the hands of the "embattled farmers," and the English were convinced that the rebels were not "the disorderly rabble too many supposed." This was the beginning of the process which rendered Boston untenable by the British army, though it was not until March 17, 1776, that the opera-

Lexington and Bunker Hill.

tions conducted by George Washington (who had been appointed commander of the rebel forces in the previous June) compelled Howe finally to evacuate the town. In the meantime (December, 1775) two of the rebel leaders, Benedict Arnold and Richard Montgomery, had made a daring assault upon the slender British garrison in Canada, which was only repulsed by the extraordinary activity and resourcefulness of the British governor, Sir Guy Carleton.

Results.

These preliminary conflicts in both cases may be regarded as presages; on the one hand, of the courage shown by the colonial volunteer riflemen behind cover, and of their eventual success in repelling the regulars, notwithstanding their inferiority in the open field; on the other, of the failure of the colonists to shake the hold which the British government had obtained on Canada and had consolidated by the politic (though to the Americans obnoxious) concessions of the Quebec Act (*see* p. 262). Nothing decisive had occurred in the first year of the war, but the English and their opponents alike are seen committing their characteristic mistakes, in the first instance of relying too much upon the loyalists, in the second of relying too much upon undisciplined men. The one great and unmistakable gain to the rebel cause had been Washington's acceptance of the command in chief. Henceforth the war divides itself into three natural divisions: the conflict for the Hudson, marked by the early successes of Howe and the disaster of Saratoga; the Delaware campaigns; and the final struggle for the south.

The Declaration of Independence.

The colonists were sufficiently encouraged as things were in July, 1776, to issue a proclamation in the form of a Declaration of Independence, drawn up by the Virginian, Thomas Jefferson, whom the Democratic party in America revered as its father. This rhetorical document, commencing in the metaphysical spirit of that age with abstract doctrines of human equality and inalienable rights (penned by a slave owner), proceeds to level charges against the king and his government some of which were well founded, while others injure by their untruthfulness or exaggeration the cause which they were designed to serve.

Howe and Washington.

By this time Howe, who had established his base at Halifax, had over 30,000 men at his disposal. In August, 1776, he routed Washington and drove him from Long Island. The evacua-

tion showed Washington at his best, the soul of resistance under difficulties; but is certain that if Howe had pursued with energy, the American Army could have been destroyed. By the middle of September the British were in occupation of New York—the American force again being allowed to escape unharmed. Many have thought that Howe deliberately nursed the rebellion in the interest of the Whig political party. It seems more probable that he was actuated in part by constitutional half-heartedness and slackness, in part by a deluded idea of conciliating the rebels by his half-lazy forbearance. What he had gained by seizing New York was lost in a great measure by Washington's successful night attack upon the Hessians at Trenton, and by a well-designed flank assault on three British regiments at Princeton. Howe captured Fort Washington and secured Rhode Island. But the essential thing was not merely to gain and hold the lower Hudson Valley, but to clear the American troops from West Point and the Highland passes, and to extend an arm to Burgoyne, who was working down from Canada by the old route of Lake Champlain. The object of this move was to isolate the New England colonies, and it depended for success upon a co-operating force ascending the Hudson to join hands. Owing mainly to the blundering of Germaine at the War Office and his neglect to supply Howe with full particulars of the intended movement, but partly also to the lack of energy and strategic insight of Howe, and partly perhaps to the supersession of Carleton by Burgoyne, immeasurably his inferior in forest or guerilla generalship, the scheme proved very disastrous.

Trenton and Princeton.

Burgoyne's Campaign.

In the meantime Howe had left Clinton to command in New York and had set out for the Chesapeake with his main army, in order, if possible, to seize and occupy Philadelphia, the largest American city at the time, though far less important than New York from a strategic point of view. Washington was heavily defeated on the Brandywine river, where he had posted himself to cover the town, and his army might have been utterly destroyed but for the inexplicable slackness and self-satisfaction of Howe. Cornwallis now garrisoned Philadelphia, while the bulk of our army under Howe was stationed at Germantown, three miles away. Defeated in an attempt

Brandywine.

to surprise the camp there, Washington took up his winter quarters at Valley Forge, fifteen miles north-west. While these operations were in progress, Burgoyne, with a force of nearly 8,000 men, was sailing down Lake Champlain. He forced the Americans to evacuate Ticonderoga, and defeated them with loss. But after leaving the lake he got entangled in the swamps and forests and surrounded by increasing swarms of riflemen, he had in the middle of October, 1777, to surrender at Saratoga with his whole army. Clinton had been prevented from rendering any effective assistance by Howe's demands for reinforcements at Philadelphia (where Howe and his officers seem to have been amusing themselves with every kind of dissipation); and Burgoyne, terribly encumbered by his artillery train, was both outnumbered and outmanœuvred, not by Gates, the nominal American commander, but by his able subordinates, Arnold, Morgan and Stark.

Saratoga.

There was nothing in this surrender of Saratoga to prevent ultimate success in repressing the revolt so far as the Americans alone were concerned. They were already very much depressed by the course events were taking. Money was scarce and credit bad. Desertions were of almost everyday occurrence, and Washington, with a famine in his camp at Valley Forge, was reduced in the winter of 1777-8 to fear a general mutiny and dispersion. With the utmost difficulty he persuaded Congress to set on foot, in place of a militia, which was always moulting, a continental army, under a longer term of enlistment and a regular discipline. The importance of Saratoga lay almost wholly in its effect upon the policy of foreign nations. France, in particular, now grasped the opportunity of revenge for the loss of Canada and all the humiliation inflicted on her by Chatham. Spain, too, hoped now or never to regain Gibraltar and Minorca. England's naval base would thus be imperilled. The Americans were heartened to make a permanent league. Rebellion, which a year before had been a contemptible pigmy, had now developed into a giant.

Its Effects.

Franklin had already been received with enthusiasm in France at the new year of 1777 as the envoy of the American people. The pleasure taken in his writings and those of Tom Paine was hardly less than that excited by Jefferson's rhetorical

France supports the Colonists.

preamble to the Declaration of Independence. The delight expressed upon the receipt of the news of Burgoyne's defeat, early in December, 1777, culminated in the overt treaty of alliance which was signed and sealed between representatives of France and the United States just two months later. Faction at home magnified the causes of dissatisfaction abroad. These were considerable, and were due in a measure to the narrow obstinacy and corruption of the king's system of government by influence. But they were exaggerated absurdly by alarmists who said that if America were subjugated England would not long remain free. One good result of the growing dissatisfaction was that Howe was recalled. He returned to England in May, 1778, richer in money than in laurels, and it was fairly said that the only bays he could enjoy were those which drew his coach. He was replaced by Clinton, a much better, if less amiable, soldier. During June and July, 1778, a last attempt was made at conciliation, North going so far as to propose the repeal of the obnoxious tea duty, the surrender of all taxation except for the regulation of trade, and the appointment of commissioners with full powers to put an end to hostilities, grant pardons, and treat with Congress on any terms short of independence.

Howe's Recall.

Further Exasperation.

The refusal of Congress to listen to these proposals marked the end of the war in white gloves. By the way in which it treated Burgoyne's men after the surrender of Saratoga, Congress had already imported an uncivilised element into the war; this was continued in the descents made by Clinton upon several parts of the American coast. At the same time a more intense spirit of hatred and revenge began to animate the proceedings of the Whigs and revolutionaries on the one hand and the loyalists or Tories on the other. Ferocious, confiscatory, and other laws were passed by Congress, and the social boycott of Tory doctors, teachers and traders became complete. A good many loyalists were deported to the back country. Some were actually executed as traitors. Many escaped with retreating British armies and sought refuge in Canada, England and the West Indies. Had Clinton been able to prosecute the wearing out process with the same opportunities and the same military and naval resources that Howe had at his disposal, the probability is that he would have succeeded—at least for a time.

Extension of the War.

Nothing short of a huge army of occupation could have held the country for long now that the heart of the people had been alienated and the loyalists disarmed. But unfortunately for George, whose kingly obstinacy had by this time been seriously enlisted in the struggle, England was no longer able to contract the sphere of operations. The years 1778 and 1779 saw a gradual extension of the area of the war. Admiral D'Estaing, with a French fleet and some 4,000 men, began manœuvring round Sandy Hook in the summer of 1778, and encouraged his American allies in a confident hope that Rhode Island was to be recovered forthwith. But eventually he sailed off for the West Indies without having accomplished anything. The Americans were furious, and many reflected upon the defection as a kind of retribution on them for having contracted an unholy alliance with the secular enemy. The same year, 1778, before its close witnessed an extension of the war westward, where the American, George Clarke, secured the newly settled districts and the old French forts of the Ohio valley for Congress, and southward, where the British had at length determined to second the efforts of the loyalists, to occupy Georgia, and to make Charleston a new base of operations. Savannah was captured, and the combined effort of the French and Americans to retake it during the winter of 1778-9 proved a complete failure. The campaign of 1780 was opened by Clinton with an attack upon the hitherto impregnable fortress of Charleston. The success of the British fleet in entering the harbour sealed the fate of the town, and on May 12, 1780, the whole garrison (6,000 men) surrendered.

Operations in the South.

In June, 1780, Clinton returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis to command in the Carolinas. The character of the war, of which the south was henceforth the principal scene, was now changed. The roadless swamps made heavy columns useless, and so for the first time we find two lightly equipped armies, well disciplined and well and energetically commanded. On the British side, Cornwallis had shown that he had grasped the truth, so distasteful to Howe and Burgoyne, that if the rebellion were to be crushed it must be crushed by a resolute, persistent and rapid series of blows. His opponent, Nathaniel Greene, was a skilled soldier, strong in military theory and second only to Washington as a commander. The loyalists

Greene and Gates.

in the south were eager for the revenge which now seemed assured. War was too often made the pretext for scenes of rapine and cruelty. Opposition in South Carolina could only be maintained on the frontiers. Congress sent a force in relief, under Gates, "the hero of Saratoga," but this was routed at Camden, and Gates fled with a mere handful of men. The only rebel achievement to balance this was a frontier victory by guerilla troops over Ferguson, one of Cornwallis's ablest colonels, at King's Mountain, October 7, 1780. This, however, was important, as it not only brought back a number of disheartened leaders again into the field, but it precluded for the time at any rate any chance of Cornwallis advancing through the Carolinas and Virginia in order to join hands with Clinton. Early in 1781 Cornwallis lost an important detachment of 800 under Tarleton, a good sectional commander, at Cowpens, and Cornwallis's victory over Greene at Guildford in February, 1781, in the course of his driving operations, was equally if not even more costly. His small force had been successively weakened, and he depended more and more upon the co-operation of the navy for reinforcement and supply.

European Intervention.

It was now, therefore, that French aid became supremely important. Subject to the staying power of Washington, whose depot at Valley Forge had been again and again on the verge of dissolution, the future of America had in fact been decided by European diplomacy. The wished-for treaty between France and Spain, by which the latter country was to have Gibraltar and the right bank of the Mississippi was concluded on April 22, 1779. In the meantime, Frederick the Great persuaded Catherine of Russia to assert the "Armed Neutrality" against the English right of search and seizure of neutral commerce; and France, Spain, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark and other countries gladly promised their adherence. Holland, by aiding Paul Jones, the successful American privateer, by encouraging a scheme of alliance with America, and also by refusing to support England against France, as bound by treaty, provoked England to war. English naval supremacy was threatened at a time when the necessity of constant communication between Charleston and New York was most essential. Chatham's great plan of bottling up the French fleet at Brest or in the Mediterranean was

The Armed Neutrality.

neglected with fatal results. The Comte de Grasse sailed with a large French fleet in March, 1781, and effected a junction with a French naval force in the West Indies owing largely to Rodney's preoccupation with the loot of St. Eustatius, the great entrepôt of smuggled goods, the spoil of which was estimated at four million pounds. The navy had the casting vote in the contest, and at the critical moment it allowed the French fleet to co-operate with the rebels.

The Influence of Sea Power.

To return to Cornwallis in the Carolinas. This general, finding himself too weak to do anything further without reinforcement, decided after February, 1781, to leave Carolina, effect a junction with Benedict Arnold (who had transferred his services from Congress to George III.) in Virginia, and attempt the conquest of that province, apart from further aid from Clinton, who disliked the scheme, though it was approved by the Cabinet at home. Operations in Carolina were in consequence contracted to a defence of Charleston. Cornwallis and Arnold joined forces at Petersburg in Virginia on May 20, 1781. Washington and Rochambeau decided to reinforce Lafayette, against whom the operations of Cornwallis were primarily directed. This decision was affirmed by the uninterrupted control which the French fleet had obtained of Chesapeake Bay. A squadron, under Comte de Barras, had slipped in here while De Grasse was keeping the main British fleet in play outside (September 5, 1781). Cornwallis was manœuvred into a peninsula between the York and James rivers and entrenched himself at Yorktown. Washington and Lafayette were soon blocking the neck of the peninsula with 16,000 men, rather more than half of which were French. It was now merely a question of holding out in what proved to be the vain hope of relief. The defences of Cornwallis were battered to pieces by the hostile artillery, while his men were too much weakened by illness and privation to resist an onslaught (nearly 3,000 out of 7,000 were unfit for duty). Accordingly on October 19, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered his land force to the Americans, his seamen and ships to the French. The British fleet with Clinton and relief arrived five days later.

Cornwallis attempts the conquest of Virginia.

Yorktown.

Cornwallis's Surrender.

Bewildered and depressed by rumours of disaster in every sphere of a conflict against half the world in arms—Hyder

Ali in India, Minorca taken, Gibraltar in extremities, the British West Indies melting away, Ireland turbulent and apparently spoiling for revolt—the English Cabinet was incapable of reacting against such a shock. The king was overwhelmed, North resigned, and the American colonies were free. Rockingham was rapidly succeeded by Shelburne as premier, but Shelburne was equally anxious for peace, and a provisional treaty was signed on November 30, 1782, though this could not be fully operative until peace was made between Great Britain and America's allies. This was simplified by the defeat of De Grasse by Rodney, and still more by that of the Spaniards and French at Gibraltar in September, 1782. Six months before England had seemed worsted in every quarter. Now, though defeated in America, she was victorious in Europe. The avowed object of France had been to secure the independence of the United States, and this point was now substantially gained. The chief object of Spain had been to expel the English from Gibraltar, and this point was now decidedly lost. Neither of the conspirators in the end derived very much benefit from their vindictive and hypocritical league. Great Britain, which had seemed on the verge of utter ruin, got rid of an incubus, and secured a peace not wholly inglorious.

End of the War.

Position of the Independent Colonies.

The chief advantage accrued to the Americans, who had decided to set up housekeeping for themselves, and had done it pretty easily, without exerting themselves to the utmost, but relying, as they safely could, upon the universal sympathy in Europe (based upon envy and hatred of Great Britain) which their efforts excited. That the movement was not premature was shown by the germination of democratic ideas which went on during the conflict. These were soon to develop freely. But for the moment the condition of the colonists was unhappy. Cohesion among the Colonies seemed problematic. Congress was thoroughly discredited, and proved as unable to pay or reward its own veterans or carry out its obligations in regard to the private property of British subjects as it had been to fulfil its engagements with the veterans of Burgoyne. Elation was the last emotion experienced by Americans at the conclusion of the peace. The more heroic spirits among the rank and file had perished. The old colonial standards had vanished, leaving a void. It was difficult even to get together a quorum in Congress to ratify the peace. It

was at this crisis that the disinterested patriotism of George Washington stood his country in most splendid stead.

The Aftermath.

England completely falsified the prediction that the loss of its Colonies would prove the beginning of a general collapse, nor did the power of the Crown suffer any such terrible eclipse from the failure as the Whigs had anticipated. The loss was a gain in disguise so far as military strength or commercial profit were concerned (*see* p. 232). If the Colonies could not be preserved as a clear field for trade monopoly, let them go and be confederated was a sentiment as common as it was kingly; and the decision once made, the first American minister, John Adams, was received by George III. with the utmost affability. The parting was inevitable, no doubt. What was deplorable was the whole manner of it, and the train of bitter animosity which it left behind. Lacking in imagination as to the future of the Colonies, as in knowledge and interest in their past, Englishmen ruffled American feeling already sore by the profound indifference with which they treated the separation; and American resentment, though it had far less rational basis, long survived that maintained by the Spanish colonists against their mother country. This was partly due, perhaps, to the British retention of Canada which Franklin had done his utmost to avert. Opinion in England might easily have been influenced in favour of withdrawal from the American continent altogether. But policy in this point was controlled by honour.

The United Empire Loyalists.

The chief sufferers by the revolution were the American loyalists, the Emigrès of the movement, but Emigrès in this case for whom there was no hope of return. They represented a third of the population and far more than a third of the wealth of the community. They were brave and honest men who were proud of the great and free Empire to which they belonged, who had no desire to shrink from the burden of maintaining it, who remembered with gratitude all the English blood that had been shed round Quebec and Montreal, and who, with nothing to hope for from the Crown, were prepared to face the most brutal mob violence and the invectives of a scurrilous Press, to risk their fortunes, their reputations, and sometimes even their lives, in order to avert civil war and ultimate separation. Most of them ended their days in poverty and exile, and as the supporters of a beaten cause history has paid but a scanty

tribute to their memory; but they comprised some of the best and ablest men America has ever produced, and they were contending for an ideal which was at least as worthy as that for which Washington fought. But Congress would hear of no amnesty and mocked at the idea of indemnifying the vanquished party, who were called upon to testify their attachment to the old country and the old régime by going into exile. Thousands of them settled in Canada and Nova Scotia (*see* p. 263). Hundreds went to the West Indies. Some found posts in England. Sums to the extent of three and a half millions were disbursed by the British Government in their behalf, but as is commonly the case with such disbursements, a clean distribution proved no easy matter.

Anglo-American Differentiation.

It is significant of the development of America that, apart from the radical lawyers and political pastors, the two chief groups who had effected its independence—namely, the Virginia squires, whose pride revolted against absentee government, and the Massachusetts yeomen, who were jealously apprehensive of the infringement of their charter rights—should both have virtually disappeared in the course of the century that followed the war. For a time it seemed that the United States must evidently fulfil the manifest destiny of England to expand its language, laws, political and religious ideas and modes of thought. English thought had a great flowering time in New England sixty to seventy years after the revolt. Since that date the United States of America, a veritable *colluvies gentium*, has become far more continental in thought and manner. Policy, law, education, religion and society are becoming rapidly less exclusively English, and new ideas in spelling may not improbably in the near future lead to an increasing deviation of literature and speech.

CHAPTER VI.

SCOTLAND.

Conflicting Tendencies.

There are few more fruitful studies in comparative politics than the contrasts presented by England's relations with her American colonies and her relations with Scotland, Ireland and Wales. In all these multiform relations there have been fissiparous and solidifying tendencies at war with one another. In Ireland, and to a less extent in Wales, the centrifugal and centripetal forces have ever ebbed and flowed. In our last chapter we have seen the triumph of political differentiation and disunion; in the present we trace the gradual victory of the countervailing process of assimilation.

Scotland in 1707.

The history of modern Scotland dates from the Union with England in 1707. Before that time, Scotland was a poor and backward country, large portions of which were in a state of barbarism akin to that of Morocco to-day. Since the Union Scotland has made steady and even rapid progress in all the arts of civilisation, and now ranks as one of the richest countries, for its size, in the world. The first steps towards restoring order had been taken before the Union. The Presbyterian form of religion had been definitely recognised, and established by the State in 1690, and the long and painful struggle to revive Episcopacy on the English model was abandoned for ever. Later, in 1712, this settlement of the religious difficulty was completed by a Toleration Act, to protect the Episcopalians. A second vital reform had been effected in 1696, when the Estates ordained that every parish should provide a schoolhouse and pay a schoolmaster. Elementary education was thus made universal in Scotland nearly two centuries before

England adopted a similar system, and the value of these parish schools in training the Scottish people cannot be overestimated.

The Act of Union.

But the Union had to be effected before Scottish energies could have free play. This memorable treaty opened the trade with England and her Colonies to Scottish merchants, who had hitherto been shut out, save in the days of the Commonwealth (*see* pp. 54-5). For these trading privileges alone was Scotland willing to surrender her independence, and she made a good bargain. The two parties were very unequally matched. In population Scotland had perhaps only 1,200,000 to the 6,000,000 in England and Wales. In revenue Scotland had, after raising her land tax to the English scale, about £160,000, when England and Wales had over £5,600,000; the Scottish land tax was to bring in about a fortieth as much as the land tax yielded in England—or half as much as was paid by Norfolk alone. To compensate Scotland for assuming even so trivial a share of the joint national debt, England gave her £400,000. Scottish representation at Westminster was not, moreover, determined on a basis of wealth. Scotland sent forty-five members to the House of Commons and sixteen representative peers, elected for each Parliament, to the House of Lords—forming, roughly a twelfth of each branch of the legislature.

Reaction.

The Union, like all great measures, evoked much resentment. The loss of independence, though it did not affect the Established Presbyterian Church or the Law, rankled in many minds, and brought a considerable accession of strength to the Jacobite cause. The Episcopalian Church favoured the Pretender, whose father and uncle had tried so hard to confirm its privileges now lost. The Highland clans were divided by ancient feuds; the Campbells under the Duke of Argyll supported the Government, but most of the other clans were Jacobite at heart. In the Lowlands many people, who would take no active part in a rising, had for the old Stuart House a sentimental affection, which became stronger after the death of Anne, and the accession of a German-speaking King. Edinburgh suffered by the closing of the Parliament House, and the consequent emigration of many rich people to London. The increase of taxation necessitated by the terms of the Union was keenly felt, since trade did not grow immediately nor benefit all classes alike. Moreover, the free importation

of English goods caused some temporary loss to Scottish manufacturers. The extension of the English malt tax to Scotland in 1713 was violently denounced. The tax was so unpopular and so burdensome that it could not be levied. Walpole then suggested an alternative excise on beer, but finally enforced the malt tax, despite the riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1725. The high duties on French goods led to smuggling, which was not condemned by public opinion; the lynching of Captain Porteous at Edinburgh in 1736 arose out of the execution of a smuggler. All these causes combined to encourage the Jacobite party in their schemes for revolt. But both the risings of 1715 and 1745 failed to enlist the active support of the nation as a whole. The gulf between Highlands and Lowlands, or between Presbyterians and Episcopalians, was too wide in either case to be bridged. The commercial class wanted peace, and the established Kirk regarded the Stuarts with traditional distrust; without the help of these important sections, the Jacobite party could not resist the English army. Moreover, the Highlanders who formed the bulk of the insurgent army in both risings were feared and despised by the Lowlanders, who had for centuries suffered from their lawless raids into the plains. Much as the Hanoverian rule was disliked, it was felt to be preferable to the anarchy of the old Stuart days.

Division in Scottish opinion.

The Jacobite rebellions afforded the Government an opportunity for dealing with the problem of the Highlands, which Cromwell and Monk had conquered but had not had time to subdue. After the rising of 1715-6 was over, an Act was passed for disarming the clans. It proved ineffective, but the roads constructed by General Wade between 1726 and 1737 to connect the various military stations—such as Fort William, built by Monk, and Fort Augustus, erected by Wade himself—made the Highland glens for the first time accessible to regular troops, and thus weakened the power of the clans. An armed police, known as the Black Watch, was recruited from the loyal clansmen to check highway robbery and cattle-lifting, which were especially prevalent at this time. After the final rout of the Jacobites at Culloden in 1746, drastic measures were taken to pacify the Highlands once for all. The rebels were mercilessly hunted down by General Hawley, under the direc-

The Pacification of the Highlands.

Roads.

tion of the Duke of Cumberland. The insurgent chiefs were executed or driven into banishment, and their estates were confiscated—the rents going to form a fund for developing the Highlands. A more stringent Disarming Act was passed and enforced. The wearing of the Highland dress was forbidden under severe penalties. More important still, by Lord Hardwicke's Acts of 1747, the hereditary jurisdictions of the chiefs, though expressly reserved by the Act of Union, were abolished together with the distinctive Highland clan tenure, and the ordinary judicial, police and land system of Scotland was extended to the Highlands. The chiefs, who received about £150,000 as compensation for their lost privileges, became landlords, the clansmen their tenants, and the interests of the two classes rapidly diverged. The landlords soon began to raise their rents; the old tenants, who were as a rule indifferent cultivators, could not pay and were evicted to make room for new men, or, as was frequently the case, for sheep which began to replace black cattle in the Highlands. Many Highlanders emigrated to America; many took service in the Highland regiments raised by Pitt during the Seven Years' War. The Church made special efforts to educate the children. The whole situation changed so rapidly that the Highlands under George III. were as peaceful as any other part of Scotland, as Dr. Johnson found when he made his tour to the Hebrides in 1773. The Government, however, did not deem it prudent to allow of the enrolment of a Scottish Militia until 1797, though the suspicion thus cast on the loyalty of the Scottish people was much resented.

Hereditary Jurisdictions abolished.

Chiefs converted into Landlords.

Prosperity of the Lowlands.

Freed from the Highland menace, the Lowlands from 1750 onwards experienced a continuous growth of prosperity. At the Union Edinburgh, the largest town in Scotland, had only 30,000 inhabitants; Glasgow had only half as many, Aberdeen and Dundee barely a third. The only important manufacture was that of linen, and even this was sorely hampered by the restrictions placed on its export by the English Navigation Acts. Agriculture, even in the Lowlands, was in a very backward state, as compared with that of England. The Union, in opening trade with England and the American colonies, gave new impetus to Scottish industry. Glasgow at once took a lively interest in the tobacco trade,

and was able in 1718 to send ships of her own across the Atlantic. Linen weaving, hitherto a home industry, began to be carried on in factories at Glasgow, while the neighbouring Paisley became noted for its thread and its shawls. Calico printing was introduced at Glasgow in 1742. Perth began to be famous for its dyeing houses and bleach works, Dundee for its sailcloth. These and other industries were encouraged by the Board of Trustees for Manufactures, established in 1727, and endowed with £2,000 a year under a clause of the Treaty of Union. The towns of central Scotland grew rapidly. Glasgow trebled its population in eighty years, and laid the foundations of its future success both as a port and as a manufacturing centure. The dredging of the Clyde was begun; by 1775 ships of light draught could reach the Broomielaw. A canal joining Clyde and Forth was made at the instance of the Board of Manufacturers (1762-8). Soon the Glasgow district began to rival Lancashire in the textile trades. New Lanark was founded by David Dale. The steam engine was used as a motive power in cotton spinning from 1792. Turkey-red dyeing became an important industry. The coal and iron mines of Lanark and Ayrshire were developed. In 1760 the famous Carron Works were established to smelt native iron ore, and from these beginnings sprang the vast engineering trades of the Clyde. A little steamboat was constructed by Symington as early as 1803, and Bell's Comet propelled itself by steam on the Clyde in 1812.

Scottish Industries.

While industry was thus leaping ahead, agriculture was being transformed by the patient endeavours of various societies, and of public-spirited landowners, assisted by the fact that every Scottish farmer, however poor, had had a sound elementary education at his parish school. The Society of Improvers in Agriculture was at work in the Lowlands from 1723; the Highland Society performed similar services for the ruder north from 1784. English farmers were engaged to teach the tenantry; English ploughs were imported to supersede the primitive implements hitherto in use. The potato was grown on a large scale from about 1740; the turnip was introduced later. Much distress and discontent was occasioned by the growth of sheep farming, which led, as in the Highlands, to many harsh evictions, attended in Galloway by riot. The dispossessed tenants drifted to the towns or

Agriculture.

emigrated. But the farming class was, as a whole, much richer at the end of the eighteenth century than it had been at the beginning, and the State had now begun to show an interest in the farmer's welfare, through the Board of Agriculture of which Sir John Sinclair was the leading spirit.

Political Conditions.

After Culloden, Scotland sank into political torpor. The old electoral system, which had, like the Church and the courts, been unaffected by the Union, was based on a very narrow franchise. The thirty members representing the Scottish counties at Westminster had in 1788 a total electorate of about 2,600. On an average, there were eighty electors in each country; Aberdeen had as many as one hundred and seventy-eight, Bute as few as twelve. The franchise was restricted to those who held land directly of the Crown —or, as in Sutherland, of a feudal magnate owning a whole shire—and whose estates were, if of recent origin, worth £400 a year or, if of ancient descent, worth about £100 a year. By a technical device, the "superiority" or tenure-in-chief entitling to the franchise might exist apart from the land. By making fictitious grants of parcels of his land, securing fresh Crown charters for the grantees, and then obtaining from them a regrant of the actual lands in question, a great landlord could, and often did, create faggot voters. These holders of "naked superiorities" appear at the end of the century to have formed nearly half the electorate. The great landlords through them exercised a preponderating influence over the county elections. The ordinary farmers had nothing to do with politics. It was much the same in the burghs. Edinburgh returned one member, and the sixty-five other royal burghs, arranged in groups, returned fourteen members. But there was no popular election. The burgh members were chosen by the corporations, which were for the most part self-elected oligarchies and which gradually fell under the control of the Crown or of neighbouring landowners. In 1831 it was calculated that only 1,303 persons had even a nominal share in all the burgh elections. More votes were cast at a single by-election in Westminster than in a Scottish general election.

The County Franchise.

The Burghs.

With a franchise like this it was easy for the Government to manage and control Scottish representation. The Duke of Queensberry at the Union, John Duke of Argyll and his

brother, the Earl of Islay (later Duke of Argyll), under Walpole and Newcastle, and Henry Dundas (later Lord Melville), under George III., acted successively as what Americans would call the political "boss" of Scotland. It was their business not only to see that the constituencies returned friends of the Government but also to buy over and keep in good humour the Scottish members as a body. Dundas, who described himself once as "a cement of political strength" for Pitt's ministry, showed peculiar skill in managing the Scottish representatives. In 1802, for instance, he arranged matters so that, out of the 45 Scottish members returned, only two were Whigs. The secret of his success lay not so much in his personal charm of manners as in his command of patronage, which he used solely for political purposes. He was for many years the dominant member of the Board of Control for India, established by Pitt in 1784. Adventurous young Scotsmen who desired employment under the East India Company had to apply to Dundas, through a Scottish member, and were appointed for the member's sake. It was the same in each office that Dundas held by turns. In the army, the navy, the colonial service, he found innumerable posts for friends and dependents of his Scottish colleagues; he did not disdain, when his own patronage list ran short, to importune fellow ministers to give places to Scotsmen in whom he was interested. The public services were thus filled with educated young men who had no chance of a career in Scotland, and at the same time the Scottish members were kept faithful to the Government.

Patronage and Corruption.

However, they were not unmindful of their country's interests. Though they voted for any cabinet that was in power and were soundly abused by English contemporaries for their servility and lack of principle, they always acted as a body in opposing any scheme for increasing taxes in Scotland or in securing an equal share with England of any reforms that might be attempted. They were quick to resent any slight on Scotland; thus when after the Porteous riots the angry Court desired to humiliate Edinburgh by removing its gates, the Scottish members, though obedient and mostly well paid followers of Walpole, raised so strong an opposition that the punitive measures had to be reduced to a mere fine. It must be said, too, that Scotland did not stand in such need of social reform as England, inasmuch as the old Scottish Estates had in

Patriotism of the Scottish Members.

the generation before 1707 adopted many useful measures. A Poor Law of 1672 permitted parishes to rate themselves for poor relief, and collections were regularly taken at the church doors for the same object. The land laws were comparatively liberal, and the local courts were fairly accessible and cheap.

Riots.

There were occasional murmurs from the body politic. Thus Glasgow, almost alone among the burghs, protested against the American war, which ruined her trade with the Colonies. In 1773 there had been "meal mobs" on Tayside—riots of town artisans who thought that the high price of bread was due to the excessive export of grain. In 1779 there were serious riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow, caused by dislike of the proposed measure for abolishing Catholic disabilities; but these disturbances were not so dangerous as the Gordon riots in London in 1780. These were rare exceptions to the political lethargy that generally prevailed.

The withdrawal of the prohibition against wearing the tartan in 1783 and the restoration of the forfeited Jacobite estates in 1784 removed much soreness among the old Highland gentry. Economic development and ecclesiastical controversy occupied the attention of the Scottish people to the exclusion of politics for many years after the Forty-five.

Political Agitation.

The French Revolution was not without its effect on Scotland, as on other countries. In December, 1792, Edinburgh was startled by the holding of a Convention organized by the Society of Friends of the People, which was in touch with the Jacobin Club at Paris. It was the first meeting of the unenfranchised that had been held in Scotland for generations, and it excited much alarm among the governing class. Thomas Muir, a young advocate who was vice-president of the Society and took the lead at the meeting, was tried in August, 1793, and sentenced to fourteen years' transportation for sedition. Other delegates also received heavy sentences; Fysshe Palmer, an English Unitarian minister at Dundee, was among them. The movement was checked for the time, but the sedition trials sowed discontent, which was voiced by Henry Erskine, Dean of Faculty, or leader of the Scottish Bar, and a few other Whigs, and which ultimately grew into an agitation for Parliamentary reform. Party feeling ran so high that Erskine was not re-elected Dean by his fellow advocates in 1796. But the Whig revival continued and was much assisted

by the *Edinburgh Review*, founded in 1802 by Sydney Smith, and edited after the first few months by Jeffrey. The distress caused by bad trade after 1815 accentuated the discontent. Weavers' strikes in 1812 had already shown that new problems were arising out of the industrial movement, as in England. The Manchester tumult of "Peterloo," 1819, had its Scottish counterpart in a working men's demonstration at Bonnymuir, outside Glasgow, in 1820, which was checked by an imposing but perhaps unnecessary show of force, and for taking part in which three men were tried and hanged. Another sign of the awakening of Scottish opinion to the questions of the day, was the evangelical and social work of Chalmers among the Glasgow poor (1815-23).

Parliamentary Reform.

At last in 1832 Scotland shared with England and Ireland the benefits of the Reform Act. For the first time in history Scotland was now given popular representation. In the counties £10 freeholders and £50 leaseholders received the franchise. The holders of "naked superiorities," less fortunate than the English borough owners, were refused compensation for the loss of their rights. In the burghs £10 leaseholders were to elect the members. Eight additional burgh seats were created. Edinburgh was allotted two members; Glasgow, hitherto sharing one member with three other and much smaller burghs, was to have two members of its own; Perth, Aberdeen and Dundee were to return one apiece. Three of the old royal burghs were merged in counties; the remaining fifty-eight, in groups, were to elect sixteen members. A year later the burgh administration was drastically reformed by the Scottish Municipal Corporations Act, under which ratepayers were to elect the councillors who had hitherto elected each other.

Increasing Political Importance.

From this time Scotland took as active a share in British politics as any other part of the United Kingdom and its members were divided by the ordinary party lines. It was significant of a complete change of sentiment that when Lord Aberdeen became Premier in 1852, no one complained of him because he was a Scotsman; nearly a century before Lord Bute, on assuming office, had been assailed with coarse invective as much on account of his nationality as for his subservience to George III. and his mother. Fifty-three years later, one Scotsman, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman,

succeeded another, Mr. A. J. Balfour, in the highest office of the Crown. Scottish influence at Westminster increased through the nineteenth century with the growth of the population. Under the Reform Act of 1867, Scotland gained seven members—two for the counties, one for the Border Burghs, one more apiece for Glasgow and Dundee, and two for the Scottish Universities, which were now represented for the first time in the House of Commons. The Redistribution Act of 1885 gave Scotland twelve more members, bringing the total to seventy-two; thirty-nine sit for the counties, thirty-one for the burghs; Glasgow has seven members, Edinburgh four, Dundee and Aberdeen two apiece. The franchise was widened in 1867 and 1885 throughout the kingdom (*see* p. 163).

Religious Revival.

Parallel with the political revival and not unconnected with it came a great religious revival, which occupied the Scottish public through many years of the nineteenth century. The Established Presbyterian Church had not included all Presbyterians from the outset, and it suffered from various small secessions during the eighteenth century. These were mainly due to dislike of the Acts of Anne (1711-12) requiring Presbyterians as well as Episcopalians to abjure the Pretender, and restoring the right of lay patrons to nominate ministers. Some opponents of lay patronage, headed by the brothers Erskine, seceded after 1732 and formed the Associate Presbytery, which was especially strong in Fife and the neighbouring counties; others left the Church in 1761 and formed the Relief Presbytery. A strong minority within the Church continued to assert the universal right of presbyteries to choose their ministers, and resented the intrusion of men nominated by patrons. Thomas Chalmers, whose preaching did much, as he hoped, to "excavate the heathen" of Glasgow, between 1815 and 1823, took the lead of the Evangelical or Non-Intrusion party in the General Assembly from 1828, when he became Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh. The reform of the burgh corporations, which had a share in electing to the General Assembly, indirectly helped the Evangelicals to secure a fuller representation on that body. In 1834 they carried in the Assembly the Veto Act, which encouraged the presbyteries to make full use of their formal right to confirm nominations made by patrons, and thus convert that right into a veto. The legality

Lay Patronage.

The Veto Act.

of the Veto Act as affecting patrons' rights was denied by the Court of Session in the Auchterarder case, 1838. Lord Kinnoul had nominated a Mr. Young to this parish; the majority of the presbytery had refused to "call" him, but without assigning a reason. It was held by the court that such a refusal was invalid. The House of Lords in 1839 confirmed this decision.

The Disruption of 1843.

Nevertheless, the General Assembly continued to encourage presbyteries to thwart the lay patrons, and it imposed disciplinary measures on those ministers and presbyteries that favoured lay patronage, or, as in the Strathbogie case, that obeyed the court. The judges for their part issued injunctions against the refractory Assembly and its adherents. The Church and the law were in direct antagonism. Peel's Government declined to change the law, or to consider the Claim of Right formulated by the Assembly in 1842. The Royal letter to the Assembly of 1843 bluntly reminded the Scottish Church that it was established by law and owed its rights and property to law, and that it could not place itself above the law. This letter, dated May 15, removed all hope of a compromise. Three days later, when the General Assembly met, the retiring Moderator, Dr. Welsh, read the Protest drawn up in 1842, and then left the hall, followed by Chalmers, Candlish, Brown, and hundreds of other resolute Evangelicals. The seceders marched in procession through the streets to Tanfield Hall, and there constituted the first Free Assembly, with Chalmers as its first Moderator. "We are not Voluntaries," said Chalmers in his address: "we quit a vitiated Church; we should rejoice in returning to a pure one." About 450 ministers resigned their offices and stipends in the Establishment to join the Free Church thus solemnly founded. The disruption took from the Established Church many of its ablest and most earnest ministers, and a large proportion of its congregations, especially in the Highlands. The new Church was speedily organized on a secure basis through the efforts of Chalmers; in the first year of its existence, £382,000 was raised for its sustentation fund, its schools and its missions, and for the new churches that had to be built. When Chalmers died, in 1847, the future of the Free Church was already assured. In the year of his death, another considerable Church outside the Establishment was formed by the union of

The Free Kirk.

several older bodies of seceders in the United Presbyterian Church. This was based on the Voluntary principle and repudiated all connection with the State; the founders of the Free Church, on the other hand, believed in Establishment, holding that the State should maintain the Church but that the Church should be free to make her own laws and determine her own doctrines, The difference between the two Churches was illustrated when the Free Church accepted State grants for denominational schools from 1846-7, while the United Presbyterian Church declined them. As time passed, however, Voluntaryism gained ground in the Free Church. Lay patronage was abolished in the Established Church by an Act of 1874, but the reform had come too late to bring back the Free Churchmen. On October 31, 1900, after long negotiations, the majority of the Free Church amalgamated with the United Presbyterians in what has since been styled the United Free Church. A minority of Free Churchmen declined to abandon the old Covenanting tenets, and, in a law suit which was taken to the House of Lords, established their technical right to the property of the Free Church. The Government now intervened. A Royal Commission reported in April, 1905, that the remnant of the Free Church was too small to carry on the work done by the whole Church before 1900, and that a statutory Commission should be appointed to divide the Church property between the majority and the minority. A Bill giving effect to these recommendations was passed in the same year, and the Commission has since divided the buildings and funds between the old Free Church and the new United Free Church. By the same Bill the Established Church was released from the formula prescribed for all ministers by the Act of 1693, and was left free to define its confession of faith for itself—a second point in the old Evangelical programme, not less important than the abolition of lay patronage. The Established Church, momentarily stunned by the Disruption, had very soon recovered itself, and in the last sixty years has rivalled the non-established Churches in energy, scholarship and breadth of view. It claims about half the population as adherents.

The United Presbyterian Church.

Amalgamation of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches.

In the nineteenth century Scotland shared to the full in the economic and social progress of Great Britain. Her population had grown by at least a third since the Union, and was

Economic and Social Progress.

in 1801 returned at 1,608,420. By 1901 it had grown nearly three-fold to 4,472,103. In that year, for the first time in history, Scotland was more populous than Ireland, which a hundred years before had had four times as many inhabitants as the northern kingdom. This vast increase of population was due to the continued growth of manufactures in Southern Scotland, and especially in the Clyde valley, which gradually rose to the first place as a ship-building centre. One notable pioneer of the modern Clyde shipping industry was George Burns, who ran a fleet of steamships from 1830, and who, in conjunction with Samuel Cunard, founded the Cunard Atlantic service, carrying the American mails, in 1840, with four steamers built by Napier. The first screw-steamer was built on the Clyde in 1850; ten years later the first Clyde-built ironclad was launched at Govan; and in 1874 the first steel warship was launched at Dumbarton. An enormous industry, lining the Clyde below Glasgow with shipbuilding yards, has developed from these beginnings; the Tyne alone can rival it. The engineering trades of the Clyde have had a parallel growth, encouraged by the spread of railways from 1827, when a steam railroad for carrying minerals was opened near Glasgow. Edinburgh and Glasgow were connected by rail in 1842, Edinburgh and Berwick in 1846. Five companies now work nearly 4,000 miles of railways in the country. The Forth Bridge, completed in 1889, is the most remarkable of many modern engineering triumphs in Scotland. The census of 1901 showed that 186,108 persons were engaged in the various Scottish iron and steel industries—nearly half as many more than were employed twenty years earlier; about half the number were living in Lanarkshire.

Clyde Shipping.

Railways.

Mining at the same date afforded occupation for about 112,000 people; the Scottish coal miners formed an eighth of the army of British coal miners. The cotton trades of Lanark, Ayr and Renfrew employed 27,850 persons, the woollen trade of the Border counties 27,400, the flax and linen trades, chiefly in Forfar and Fife, 28,850, and the silk trade, mainly in Lanark, 2,800; but these numbers showed a considerable decrease since 1881. Other important industries are leather, in Lanark and Edinburgh; paper, in Edinburgh, Lanark and Aberdeen; chemicals, in Lanark and Ayr; glas-

Coal, Iron and other Industries.

and pottery, rubber and vulcanite, in Edinburgh; floorcloth, in Kirkcaldy; and mineral oil products, in Linlithgow and Lanark. Glasgow, the centre and mainspring of Clyde industry, has multiplied its inhabitants five-fold since the Reform Bill. Then it was a town of about 150,000 people, or thrice as many as it had in 1785; at the close of 1907 the city had a population of 803,187, and was thus the second largest city in the British Empire (excluding India). Its municipal policy has been peculiarly bold and enterprising since 1866. In 1906 Glasgow stood fourth on the list of British ports in respect of the value of goods imported and exported. At the close of 1907 Edinburgh had 341,967 inhabitants, Aberdeen and Dundee about 175,000 each, Paisley 79,363. As in other civilised States, the urban population of Scotland has grown far more rapidly than the rural; in 1901 nearly 70 per cent. of the people lived in towns.

Glasgow.

The Highlands have not shared in the general prosperity. Since 1847, when Queen Victoria set the fashion by going to stay in the Highlands, they have become a popular holiday resort, and large tracts have been set apart for deer forests. The crofting population suffered much through the failure of the kelp industry, rendered obsolete by the progress of chemical science, and latterly has been placed under the special care of a Congested Districts Board, which endeavours to promote agriculture and fishing in the Highland counties. It may be added that the old Gaelic language is still spoken by more than half the people in Ross and Cromarty, Inverness and Argyll, but most of those who speak Gaelic know English too. In the whole of Scotland in 1901 28,106 persons were returned as speaking Gaelic only; but 202,700 spoke both Gaelic and English. The figures attest the thoroughness of the work done by schools and church missions in civilising the Highlands since 1745.

The Highlands.

Among the social changes of the nineteenth century in Scotland the development of a poor law system and the progress of education are perhaps the most notable. Poor relief was voluntary under the old law of 1672, but when the towns began to increase rapidly in population, the voluntary system proved inadequate. In 1840 it was found that half the population was living in parishes where no compulsory assessment for

Poor Law and Education.

relief had been adopted. The potato famine of 1845, from which Glasgow and the Highlands suffered severely, demonstrated the need for the general and compulsory Poor Law which was enacted in 1845; the pauperism existing in 1855-9 was estimated at about 4 per cent. of the population, but it is now barely half as much, though the cost of relief has doubled. In education Scotland has fully maintained the lead which the enlightened policy of her old Parliament had given her. The parish schools which had existed since 1696, together with the four ancient Universities of St. Andrew's, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh, had made Scotland an educated nation. It was the task of the nineteenth century to improve and develop this admirable system. The Universities were reorganised in 1858 and in 1890 by Commissions, and were much strengthened both by State grants and by private munificence; the Carnegie trust of £2,000,000, for promoting university education, has been the largest of many gifts from public spirited Scotsmen. The elementary schools have since 1872 been administered by elected School Boards, the character of the religious teaching being determined locally. Many secondary and technical schools have been founded, and those of old foundation have been much improved, so that Scotland now possesses an educational system which may compare with that of any other country.

Universities.

The special needs of Scotland continue to be recognised by special legislation. The office of Secretary for Scotland, combined with that of Lord Advocate after the Union, was revived in 1885, and for some years the work of examining private Bills has been done by Commissions sitting in the Scottish cities instead of by a Parliamentary Committee at Westminster. After two centuries, Scotland enjoys to the full all the rights that she retained at the Union, and has also benefited to a remarkable degree by the close and friendly intercourse with England that the Union rendered possible for the first time. The success of that measure has been largely due to the fact, that under the formal and legal supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, Scotland has been practically governed by Scotsmen and in accordance with Scottish ideas.

Special Legislation.

CHAPTER VII.

IRELAND.

Brief reference has already been made to the nominal conquest of Ireland under Henry II., to its real conquest under Elizabeth, and to the circumstances under which it recovered its legislative independence in 1782 (*see* pp. 45, 52-4, 59-62).

The Irish Union.

For the last seventeen years of the eighteenth century the only link between the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland was the fact that George III. wore the crown of both. On an important question, the Regency of the Prince of Wales owing to the incapacity of the unfortunate king through insanity, the two Parliaments had taken opposing views. The French Revolution, which had little effect on popular opinion in England, had in Ireland inspired the men who led the Rebellion of 1798 in alliance with the revolutionary leaders of France. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that Pitt should have fallen back on the old idea of Union. England and Scotland had become one country. Why should the process of amalgamation rest here? The Irish Act of Union passed the Parliaments of both countries, and with the birth of the new century was born a new country—"The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." Unfortunately, the old problems remained and the old quarrels continued.

Defects of the Union.

It is clear that the international position made it impossible for Pitt to see any other alternative to Union. But in one respect, Pitt is justly blameworthy. The greatest bribe, and one he very properly offered, was not paid. This was the emancipation of the Catholics from the last fetters of that savage "Penal Code" which had once treated them as if they

had been noxious beasts. As long as no Catholic could sit in Parliament, only a fraction of Ireland was united to Great Britain. In other respects, too, the Union was incomplete at first and was only completed by steps that were deeply injurious to Ireland. Still further, Ireland was throughout the nineteenth century the object of special legislation —very different from that applied to Scotland—by the United Parliament. She has received equal treatment only where equal treatment has been hardest for her to bear, namely, in the yearly budgets since 1853. That there has been no real union is proved by the simple fact that at the present time four-fifths of the Irish members demand "Home Rule" for Ireland. The instinct of race, the feeling that a separate nation should have a separate government, even hatred for England—a sad though perfectly natural heritage from a past which is discreditable to us—all combine to create this demand. The Irish say, and there is no gainsaying the statement, that England has either never understood Irish problems or, understanding them, has resisted the solutions demanded by the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Ireland, and has only grudgingly and in a piecemeal fashion conceded them, not to expedite justice, but to conciliate anger and to diminish the motives for that form of retaliation which English law calls crime but Irish opinion far too readily condones as warfare.

The Irish Problem.

On the other hand is another fact which again admits of no dispute. In the interests of Ireland, just as much as in her own interests, Great Britain cannot permit Ireland to be an independent country. As such she would be the easy prey of the first great power that quarrelled with her, or the facile tool of the first to quarrel with Great Britain. The history of the foreign relations of Scotland before the Union of the Crowns in 1603, is too full of warning to be misunderstood. The geographical position of Ireland makes political union with the larger island inevitable. "The ocean," said Grattan, "protests against separation, and the sea against union," and if the improvements in the means of communication have weakened the protest of the sea, the policy of foreign nations has tended to strengthen that of the ocean. The Irish question is obviously a difficult one, but the nineteenth century made it easier by putting out of court two impossible solutions. Political independence has now no supporters worth conciliation or

argument, even if they were open to either. On the other hand, the need of Ireland for special treatment and the capacity of Irishmen to apply it are being more and more widely recognised. It is no longer a sign of weakness—or worse—to hold that Ireland should be governed by Irish ideas. The records of Colonial stability, resourcefulness and patriotism are steadily creating an impression nearer home, and the emphatic expressions of Colonial opinion in favour of a more generous Irish policy have helped to make Ireland the object of national endeavour rather than of party recrimination.

The Two Irelands.

Sir John Davies, an Englishman who held high office in Ireland, wrote in 1612 his "Discoverie" of the reasons why English rule in Ireland had hitherto failed. They were two in number: Ireland had never been thoroughly conquered and had never been equitably treated. There was never an English force competent to hold all Ireland, and therefore to kill the "mere Irishry" was held to be no crime, since it only diminished the odds against the English. The alternative throughout has been to plant in Ireland an "English garrison," not of soldiers but of landlords and officials. Thus there were two Irelands: the one native and Catholic, deprived of all influence in the government and despoiled of nearly all proprietary rights in the soil; the other British by birth or extraction, Protestant, official and landowning. The two groups were never quite exclusive, especially in commercial and industrial circles; influential leaders of the garrison and advocates of the English connection have been Catholic landlords. Great leaders of the Irish do not fit into the classification: O'Connell and Parnell, both considerable landlords, belonged to different religions, and Thomas Davis, a fine poet and great journalist, was a Protestant member of the professional classes. This notwithstanding, the two Irelands stand in clear contrast.

Ulster.

But this division is not complete; it applies to more than three-quarters of Ireland, but not to half of Ulster. There live Protestants who are not official and a tenantry which is not Catholic. The Plantation of Ulster (*see* p. 53) involved an extrusion of natives almost as extensive as the extermination of the Red Indians from the North American Colonies. It was the only part of Ireland really colonised, and Irish history would have been more peaceful and Irish problems less complex, if the same ruthless methods had either been applied throughout

the island or not applied at all. As it was, side by side with the mercurial imaginative Celt was planted a population dour, thrifty, matter-of-fact, alien in race, religion, temperament and tongue; and Ireland was cursed with a hatred sometimes smouldering, sometimes fanned to massacre and war. In 1641 the natives massacred their intruding taskmasters; in 1649, at Drogheda and Wexford, Cromwell's soldiers massacred their rival rebels. In 1689 the Catholic Celts rose against the Protestant Scots and English, and in 1690 the latter retaliated under William of Orange at the Boyne. It was civil war in Ireland, and Orange became the emblem of the antipathy between the north-east and the rest of the Emerald Isle. The antagonism is not so brutal as it was, and the growth of common interests among the working classes has modified religious hatred. But Ulster still sends Members to Parliament to resist the demands of the rest of Ireland, and to repudiate not only the government of Ireland by Irishmen but its government by Englishmen according to Irish ideas. At the side of the Irish shamrock flourishes the Scottish thistle's seed.

Concessions to Ireland.

In 1801, it was only English Ireland that was really united to Great Britain simply because it had never been really sundered from it. Deliberate oppression of Irish Ireland and avowed preferential treatment of English Ireland almost ceased with the Union, but the inequalities and inequities which existed in 1801 were not for a long time freely removed. The political history of Ireland in the nineteenth century is concerned with the way in which the Irish people and the Irish representatives at Westminster have wrung concession after concession from British Cabinets. The weapons have been crime and agitation in Ireland, and Parliamentary opposition in London. By fair means and foul, Ireland has occupied the lion's share of public attention and Parliamentary discussion, and with beneficial results to herself. In forming an opinion on the methods of the Irish agitators, it should be remembered that both Peel and Gladstone acknowledged the effectiveness of those which were offensive or criminal.

Catholic Emancipation.

The first great victory was Catholic emancipation. The Penal Code had been dropped or discarded, but in all parts of the United Kingdom Catholics were still under weighty disabilities. They could not, for example, sit in either House of Parliament; they could not hold certain offices. These disabilities were the

relics of former antagonisms, and came down from a time when they were regarded as necessary safeguards in a Protestant country against the political claims of an alien church. It was, however, a more important question in Ireland, and the Irish under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell established in 1823 a powerful organisation which set the first example of peaceful, constitutional agitation. O'Connell was a typical Irishman, with the organising genius and political astuteness of an Englishman. He built up his Catholic Association on the basis which comprehended nearly all Ireland—the peasants led by their parish priests. The Government proscribed it, and he reformed it, with his keen legal mind, by a flimsy evasion of the words of the Act that deceived nobody though it thwarted the Government. A considerable English party in the Commons, supported by Canning, had been trying in vain since the Union to carry emancipation, but Wellington and Peel successfully opposed it. O'Connell's agitation forced their hands, and they in turn compelled George IV. to drop objections which certainly sound oddly in our ears, coming from such a man. The decisive moment was when O'Connell, ineligible as a Catholic, was elected for Clare, in spite of all the influence that the landlords could bring against him. The forty shilling "freeholders" (not really such in English eyes) had been deliberately multiplied since 1793, because their votes were always at the disposal of their landlords. O'Connell and the priests altered this. Out of 8,000 electors, all but 200 were forty shilling freeholders, and O'Connell's majority on the third day was so overwhelming that his opponent, Vesey Fitzgerald, withdrew. O'Connell claimed his seat, and was, of course, refused it; but within a year, in March, 1829, the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed. It was, however, followed by an Act which restricted the Irish franchise to real freeholders of not less than £10 annual value. The English Government could no longer tolerate the Irish peasant as a voter, but the means adopted to get rid of him were disastrous. Now that the landlords had no political use for them, they were evicted in great numbers, and this still further aggravated the agrarian problem.

The Church in Ireland.

In the Tudor period, the Church of the Irish Pale followed the example of the Church in England. It accepted the headship of the English crown and adopted the doctrine and ritual of the Anglican Church. As the narrow limits of the Pale were

extended, the Anglican Church in Ireland enlarged its borders; and, in 1613, when the first Parliament of all Ireland assembled, the process was completed. In England, the bulk of the people transferred their fealty to the new Church; the Catholics were merely an oppressed minority, some of whom frankly held views which would have made toleration difficult even in a more enlightened age. In Ireland, the new Church was officially associated from the first with the English garrison, and the native population remained true to the old faith. Even the shameful "Penal Code" made no impression on this fidelity, and at the Union the Established Church of Ireland, though it drew its tithes from the whole of its soil, was the Church of a small minority. It did not even embrace the whole of the "garrison," of which the Presbyterians of Ulster, planted there by James I., formed an important section.

Pitt, who had certainly contemplated Catholic Emancipation as one of the conditions of the Union, seems to have gone even further, and to have desired to support the Catholic Church by payments from the State. If he had to give way on emancipation, the chance of carrying "concurrent endowment," as it was called, was not worth more than a hint as to its equity. In effect, the Act of Union made matters worse; for, by uniting the Established Churches, it made it possible to resist all attempts at reform of the Irish Church on the ground that attacks on the English Church would inevitably follow.

The Tithe War and Disestablishment.

No other plea was indeed worth consideration. In 1834, a religious census of Ireland showed that the Catholics numbered nearly six and a-half millions, the Churchmen 853,000, and the Dissenters 665,500. In 41 parishes there was not a single Churchman; in 165 others there were fewer than twenty-five Churchmen; in 157 the incumbent did not live in his parish, and no service was performed. The total revenue of the Irish Church was £865,525. The tithe was paid everywhere; very often in such small sums that a number of families would together owe but a few pence. On one occasion, the peasantry saw the horse of their Catholic priest seized for tithe by the Anglican vicar, and incidents like this naturally engendered deadly hatred. Immediately after Catholic Emancipation, a "tithe war" set in. The tithes could not be collected even by the Govern-

ment, which was obliged to lend one million pounds to the suffering clergy. Tithe-collectors and clergymen were murdered and assaulted. Bad as this was, reformers found it impossible to do much to remedy the indefensible system which gave rise to it. In 1833, the Irish Church Temporalities Act made some reforms in the internal organisation of the Church. It reduced the bishoprics and abolished unnecessary livings, but it left the reduced Church in possession of the old revenues. In 1838 a further step was taken. Tithes paid by the tenants were changed into a rent-charge paid by the landlords, who received one-fourth of it for their trouble in collecting it. Both these Acts, said Gladstone, deliberately wasted the revenue of the Church to make it appear less unproportioned to its position and duties; in both of them there had been clauses applying surplus revenues to secular purposes for the good of Ireland, but the House of Lords struck them out. The Irish complained that they still paid the tithes in the shape of rent, and it was probably true. In any case the Irish Church still maintained its indefensible position, a rich alien State-supported Church in a poverty-stricken country. Thirty years passed before this perfectly reasonable ground of complaint was removed by Gladstone. His first words after being commanded in 1868 to form his first ministry, were "My mission is to pacify Ireland," and his first missionary enterprise was to disestablish the Irish Church, still leaving it with an income adequate to its needs, but applying its surplus revenues to the improvement of certain administrative services in Ireland (1869).

The Land Question.

In the following year (1870) Gladstone made the first adequate attempt to deal with the Irish land question. A great part of the soil of Ireland is owned in very large estates and cultivated in very small holdings. The owners in most cases are the heirs and successors of the Englishmen among whom the confiscated lands were divided at the successive periods of conquest; the cultivators are the native Irish whose ancestors were thus displaced. The memory of these confiscations is still vivid. Moreover, the confiscated lands were not the property of the old Irish chiefs in the sense in which they became the property of the new English landlords. They were tribal lands the cultivators of which had a very distinct right in their holdings. The Irish have held very tenaciously to the tradition of these rights, and the landlords have pushed to the

very extreme the rights of property as known to English law, and obtained from a friendly legislature modifications of that law favourable to themselves and only applicable to Ireland. There are two reasons why a system which has not been unfavourable to the tenant-farmer in England has been ruinous to his class in Ireland. The English landlord supplies many things with the land; farmhouse and buildings, hedges, and drains. The Irish landlord supplies nothing but the soil. The reason is that in law everything which is fixed in the soil belongs to the owner of it; rightly so in England because he had placed the fixtures there, but most unjustly in Ireland, because they were the work of the tenant at his own expense. An English landlord has to place these things there because he could never find a yearly tenant to rent his land unless he did. In Ireland the absence of them makes no such difference. Two-thirds of the population is agricultural. Manufactures hardly exist outside Belfast, Dublin and a few other towns near them. There are very few coal mines, and the working of such coalfields as are known is hindered by the worst railway system in existence. Right through the nineteenth century the demand for land was the demand for permission to live, and the rents offered by the cultivators had no relation to the economic value of their farms. They were habitually in arrear with their rents, and were often compelled to owe one payment (the "hanging gale") so that the landlord had them at his mercy. Consequently, the proceeds of a good year were always swallowed up by rent. To make an improvement was to invite eviction, for it would raise the letting value of the land, and there was always someone willing to come in at the higher rent.

Irish Land Law.

One other bad point of the system was the absenteeism of the landlords. In 1880, one-fifth of Ireland was owned by 2,793 persons, not one of whom had ever set foot in the country; over one and a-quarter million acres more were owned by 180 persons who only paid infrequent visits to their estates. "Middlemen," often four or five of them, stood between these absent owners and the actual cultivators; or at best the estate was managed by an agent, whose interest depended upon the amount of the rent-roll he exacted.

Absenteeism.

Economically, the system was the worst conceivable both for landlords and tenants. High nominal rents and low actual

receipts had deeply embarrassed many of the landlords. The poor yield of the overcropped and ill-used soil kept the cultivators on the poverty line. In 1846 the staple food crop of the people failed, and the fact that it was the potato is significant of the wretched condition of the masses. They died of hunger by scores of thousands, in spite of noble charity and effusive Government aid. Hundreds of thousands of the survivors emigrated, and the population which had been eight millions in 1841 gradually sank to four millions in 1901.

The Potato Famine.

What were the remedies? From the landlords' point of view they were few and simple. Small farms did not pay; large farms might. Corn and potatoes rarely paid, especially after Free Trade was introduced; large pasture farms did. These results could only be obtained by evicting the small tenants, and between 1849 and 1885, nearly 110,000 families were turned out of their homes. Large tracts of Ireland looked as if they had been swept bare by a hostile army. Men could not raze houses fast enough, and machines were invented to do it. Force with law behind it was met by force with public opinion behind it. Agrarian crime—the murder and illtreatment of landlords, agents, and tenants who took farms vacant by eviction—flourished everywhere. It is impossible not to condemn it, but men to whom eviction meant death by starvation must be expected to brave death by the gallows, especially when the one is almost certain to follow, and the other, thanks to a favourable jury, is almost certain to be escaped. In the period, 1800 to 1887, there were no fewer than sixty-six Acts specially directed against agrarian crime in Ireland, some of them so severe that their like must be sought in the worst features of Russian rule in Poland. They were necessary, if the law as it then existed was to be carried out, and this is the first duty of a government. Very slowly was it made clear that force alone would not do, and that the second duty of a government must be attended to—the revision of the law in favour of the injured classes. When Thomas Drummond, the only English official who has ever won the affections of an affectionate race, wrote to the magistrates of Tipperary in 1838 "Property has its duties as well as its rights," his letter was suppressed for containing such a startling statement. A little later, in 1852,

Evictions.

Agrarian Crime and Coercion.

The Times said "the name of an Irish landlord stank in the nostrils of Christendom."

Demands of the Tenants.

From the tenant's point of view the remedies were also few and simple. If he could be made into the owner of his holding, not by robbing his landlord of it, but by purchasing it under some easy scheme of instalments, that would be most to his mind. Failing this, he wanted by law certain advantages which some tenants, chiefly in Ulster, obtained by custom: the famous "Ulster tenant right" or "the three F.'s." Each of them involved some diminution of the legal rights of landlords, so that Lord Palmerston said "Tenant right is landlord wrong." Hence the introduction of them was bitterly opposed by the landlord class in the Parliament. The tenant wanted: (1) to be secured in his holding so long as he paid the rent agreed on between his landlord and himself; (2) to receive compensation on giving up his holding for any improvements he had made in it; (3) to have "a fair rent," fixed by some authority instead of a "rack-rent" determined by fierce competition.

The Land Acts.

In 1870, Gladstone conceded the first demand to the extent of giving the tenant evicted for any other cause than non-payment of rent, or refusal to accept reasonable conditions desired by his landlord, a compensation for disturbance according to a given scale. The second demand was granted to yearly tenants but not to leaseholders. The third and most considerable demand was not conceded till 1881, when a tribunal was erected to fix rents judicially. Tenants could also agree to sell their interest in their holdings to a new tenant, nor could the landlord refuse to accept this new tenant except on reasonable grounds. The new Land Court was soon flooded with applications to fix fair rents, and the result was a general though not great lowering of rent. The rent was to remain as fixed for 15 years, but in 1887, after a very severe winter and a general refusal of rents, except such as the tenants themselves considered fair (the "Plan of Campaign"), the Conservative Government was obliged to re-open the question of rents already judicially fixed, and also to admit leaseholders to the benefits of the Act. There had been more evictions in 1882 than in any year since 1852-5. Things were almost as bad as ever, the great Land Act notwithstanding. Men, whom General Buller described as on the point of starvation, were ruthlessly evicted.

The Latest Phase.

It is often objected against the system which the Acts established that there are two owners of each farm, the landlord and the tenant, and that consequently each fails, through this dual ownership, to do what the best interests of the nation demand—to make the farm as productive as possible. The single ownership of the landlord having produced misery, discord and crime, often through causes inherent in the system and not to be laid on the shoulders of individual landlords, the only other alternative is to get the single ownership transferred to the cultivator. John Bright had long advocated this remedy, and the "Bright clauses" of the Act of 1870 enabled some tenants to buy their holdings. In 1885, by Lord Ashbourne's Act, the sum of five million pounds (increased to ten millions in 1889) was to be devoted by the Treasury to paying the purchase price of farms, and the new cultivating owners were to repay the State by forty-nine yearly payments of four per cent. of the purchase price. By 1891 over 25,000 holdings were being purchased by their cultivators on such terms. A later act somewhat checked progress by changing the payment to the landlords from cash to securities which began to fall in value owing to the South African War.

The Act of 1903.

This led to the comprehensive act of 1903. No limit is now fixed to the amount of money which the Treasury may advance to enable farms to be purchased by their present tenants. Landlords were tempted to sell by a bonus of twelve per cent. on the purchase price to be paid by the State. Tenants were tempted to buy by a reduction of the yearly payment to three and a-quarter per cent. of the purchase price, though the payments now last for 69½ years. By March 31st, 1906, 85,638 agreements to purchase had been made at a total purchase price of nearly 33 million pounds, which is about one-third of the total estimated value of the soil of Ireland. The old competition for the use of land continues, and is raising prices; prospective tenants are often willing to pay sitting tenants very large sums merely to let them change places; the closing of English ports to cattle from certain foreign countries is leading to a great demand for pasture lands, and this again is rousing old agrarian animosities in the form of "cattle driving." Evicted tenants are clamouring for reinstatement, and the Land Courts are crowded with cases awaiting decision. On the whole, however, con-

siderable improvement is manifested; the end of the long agrarian struggle, if not in sight, is at any rate being approached; and the darkest page of Irish history, red with blood and black with infamy, has been turned.

There is a sad contrast between the glowing accounts which earlier writers have given of the economic possibilities inherent in the soil, climate and people of Ireland, and the actual facts of the last seventy or eighty years. Arthur Young thought that Ireland could support a population of 100 millions; much later De Beaumont put the figure at 25 millions. These estimates belong to the age before the great economic changes which have so profoundly modified the life of the great nations.

Congested Districts.

Uninspiring as is the account of the whole of Ireland, outside the limited manufacturing district between Dublin and Londonderry, there are large areas in the west and south-west, the "congested districts," which are so poverty-stricken and hopeless that a special board has been established to deal with them. Not one quarter of the Irish race can, at present, live in Ireland. There is a Greater Ireland beyond the Atlantic; there the expatriated Irish flourish under another flag, and nothing is more remarkable than their intense hostility to England unless it be the liberality with which they send their savings over to Ireland to support their aged and to transport their capable relatives.

Taxation.

One cause of the poverty of Ireland is now admitted to be the fact that she has been steadily overtaxed. At the Union it was agreed that fiscal union should only take place when the debts of the two countries were in the ratio of 2 to 15, but this was accomplished not by decreasing the debt of Great Britain but by increasing that of Ireland. It was Gladstone who first brought the two countries under the same system of taxation (with a few unimportant variations) by extending the income-tax to Ireland in 1853. Ireland is overtaxed in proportion to England just because she is poor. Indirect taxes, *e.g.*, those on tea, tobacco and alcoholic drinks, always press most heavily on the poorer classes who spend a very large proportion of their incomes upon them. Unfortunately the United Kingdom cannot do without these indirect taxes, and they must be the same throughout or there would be the danger of a vast smuggling trade. In 1795, the population of Ireland was about

the same as in 1895, five and a-half millions; in 1795 each inhabitant paid 9s. 2d. a year in taxes, in 1895 this had increased to 49s. 6d. If £12 is allowed as tax-free income to every person, and the rest of his income is called his taxable income, then the taxable income of Great Britain is 1,092 million pounds, and of Ireland 15 million pounds. Of this the amount actually taken in Great Britain in 1895 was 117 million pounds and in Ireland 11½ million pounds. These are very serious figures. No distinction is made in law, for the budget applies equally all round, and such exceptions as exist are in Ireland's favour. Ireland at present could only escape by consuming less of the heavily-taxed commodities, tea, tobacco, and spirits. Another plan, already carried out on a small scale, would be to make grants from the Imperial Exchequer. It is really a very perplexing problem, which would not altogether cease to exist if Ireland were placed in the position of one of our self-governing colnoies.

Relations Between England and Ireland.

A few words only can be devoted to the great question thus indicated. Just as the agrarian thread runs throughout the economic history of Ireland in the nineteenth century, so the thread of her relation to the larger island runs throughout her political history. The Irish had no voice in making the Union, and from the first began to organise a political party pledged to demand its repeal. The practice of governing Ireland without the slightest reference to the views and wishes of the Irish members gave the Union from the first the appearance of a transparent device for securing the predominance of England and the English garrison. It is true that in 1801 the Government of England was not democratic, and the wishes of the English people had no more direct effect on legislation than the wishes of the Irish people. But so late as 1880-2, when a great minister with a large majority was giving the world a stimulating example of democratic government, the minister responsible for Ireland never deigned to consult a single Irish member, not even those of his own party, on Irish business. Under such circumstances, the demand for the repeal of the Union is not surprising, and has for half a century been supported by the bulk of the Irish people.

The Repeal Agitation.

Daniel O'Connell turned immediately after his victory in 1829 to attempt to obtain the repeal of the Union by the same means which had been successful in winning Catholic Emancipation. In

Ireland he formed a vast organisation—the Repeal Association; he addressed numerous monster meetings, marshalled with military precision and conducted with the seemly orderliness of religious assemblies; in England he supported the Whig party, and hoped for repeal as the price of his support and as a concession to the solid demand of the Irish nation. He was so sure of success that he promised repeal for 1843. One section of his supporters was in favour of an appeal to force, and all of them would have followed O'Connell if he had made it, though in fact he was strongly opposed to any unconstitutional methods. The Government, in 1843, made preparations for the civil war which, to them, seemed imminent, and then suppressed at the last moment, a proposed meeting at Clontarf. O'Connell ordered the meeting to be abandoned, and the hundreds of thousands who were marching towards the place obeyed him. This was a splendid testimony to O'Connell's power with the Irish people, but it was the last of his triumphs. He had loaded the cannon and then blown out his match. He died in 1847; his son, John, was altogether incapable of carrying on his work; the physical force party, "Young Ireland," made a ridiculous attempt at a rising in 1848; and for a long time Ireland was too stricken by the evil consequences of the famine to support a vigorous agitation for repeal. One side of the movement bore fruit in later years. The "Young Ireland" party had contained a number of brilliant writers connected with a newspaper, *The Nation*, founded to advance their views. Much of their writing was more than good journalism. "Young Ireland" knew no distinction of creed: but Catholic and Protestant, the cotter of the west and the artisan of the north, must unite for the one thing they had in common—their native land. Their Protestant poet, Thomas Davis, wrote—

Fruitful our soil where honest men starve;
Empty the mart, and shipless the bay;
Out of our want the Oligarchs carve;
Foreigners fatten on our decay!
Disunited,
Therefore blighted,
Ruined and rent by the Englishman's sway;
Party and creed
For once have agreed
Orange and green will carry the day.
Boyne's old water
Red with slaughter,
Now is as pure as an infant at play.
So, in our souls,
Its history rolls,
And Orange and Green will carry the day.

The Fenian Movement.

In 1859, two survivors of the "Young Ireland" party founded a new society, the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, to agitate for repeal. The society, generally known as the Fenian Society, soon grew very powerful. It, too, had its newspaper, *The Irish People*, published in Dublin. Two crimes, one in Manchester and the other in London, both committed in attempts to rescue Fenian prisoners, have cast a stigma on the Fenians. Nevertheless, Isaac Butt, the lawyer who defended some of them in Dublin, was converted by their character and conduct from an opponent to an advocate of repeal, and became the first leader of the Home Rule Party in the House of Commons. A young Irish Protestant landlord, educated at Cambridge and long resident in England, was attracted to the study of Irish questions at the same time and by the same means. As the Fenians converted Butt, so they converted him, and gave to Ireland, in Charles Stewart Parnell, one of the most remarkable political leaders that have ever entered the House of Commons. Further, the intensity of the Fenians, shown in their speeches from the dock, which resemble the speeches of martyrs not of criminals, attracted the attention of Englishmen towards Irish questions, and it followed, of necessity, that they soon began to wear another aspect. Gladstone expressly admitted this in 1868; and the legislation of 1869-70 was the result.

Home Rule.

The modern phase of the repeal movement is associated with the term "Home Rule," used to denote the policy of the Home Government Association founded in Dublin in 1870. It embraced many Protestants from the first, and soon obtained the allegiance of the moderate Fenians. Up to 1874, the Irish members had been known by English party names. In that year, however, fifty-eight Irish "Home Rulers" entered the House of Commons under the leadership of Butt. At first they supported the Liberal Party, but Parnell in 1875 started a movement towards independent and hostile action. This split the new party, but in the end Parnell's policy prevailed, and in the Gladstone Parliament of 1880 he led sixty Irish members as part of the opposition, and in 1885 it was the hostile vote of the Home Rulers that defeated Gladstone's government. The last extension of the franchise had largely increased the Irish electorate, and in the new Parliament the forces were exactly balanced: Liberals 335, Conservatives

249, Irish Home Rulers 86. As some English Liberals supported them, the Home Rulers were in a position to play the political part which the Labour Party in some of our Colonies has found so effective. The weakest point in their position was the strenuous resistance of Ulster, the most prosperous part of Ireland, to any form of Home Rule; and their plea that Home Rule meant Rome Rule caused thousands of British Nonconformists to vote against their party.

Apart from the merits of the case, on which opinions are still strongly divided, the strategical position of the Irish soon led to important events. It is known now that a responsible leader of the Conservative Party, with the knowledge of Lord Salisbury, in July 1885, before the general election, took steps which can be interpreted to mean that he did not look upon accommodation with the Home Rulers as beyond the region of discussion. After the election, in December, Gladstone privately informed his leading supporters that he would not become Prime Minister unless the Liberal Party would support "a plan of duly guarded Home Rule." The split in the Liberal Party, the long wrangle over the Home Rule Bill, its defeat, the split in the Irish Party, the triumph of Gladstone in 1892, his second Home Rule Bill, its success in the Commons and defeat in the Lords, Gladstone's retirement, and the long tenure of office by the Unionist Party, from 1895 to 1905—this long chain of events is too recent and too complicated to be more than mentioned.

Local Self-government.

The probable future of the Home Rule movement is also beyond our scope. Whatever it may be, the one great outstanding fact is that Ireland started the new century with hopes that are daily bearing fruition. It is one of the most satisfactory features of the present situation that it owes much of its hopefulness to legislation passed by the Conservative Party. The Land Purchase Act of 1903 has been mentioned. In 1898 Ireland received the system of Local Government already established in England, thus removing one of the most obvious signs of her political inferiority, and giving her people an opportunity of obtaining an education in practical politics. In 1899, a Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was established, which enabled Sir Horace Plunket to do better as a responsible minister work which he had been most assiduously doing since 1895 as a private individual. Wherever in Ireland a group of private persons, or a local

governing body, starts out to develop the economic resources around them, they have the help, advice, and financial assistance of the new department. Irish capital is beginning to find industrial openings in Ireland, instead of being used mainly in the London money market; the more successfully every industrial opening is pursued, the easier will it be to finance the great agrarian revolution which the Land Purchase Act of 1903 has made possible.

CHAPTER VIII.

WALES, MAN AND THE CHANNEL ISLANDS

Three outlying portions of the Kingdom, each with a distinctive character and special history of its own, have yet to be considered. In race and, to a large extent still, in language, they stand apart from England, and all three, in varying degrees, possess institutions of their own.

Early inhabitants of Wales.

The primitive inhabitants of Wales and of the greater part of Britain appear to have been the non-Aryan people known as Picts. Several centuries before the Christian era they were conquered by the Goidels, the first wave of the Celtic movement westward which spread further to Ireland, Man and the Highlands of Scotland, as is shown by the Goidelic or Gaelic languages of those countries. The Goidels in turn were conquered, not very long before the Roman invasion, by another Celtic people, the Brythons, who have given their name to the whole island. The Welsh race to-day represents an amalgam of the three original races, affected to some extent by later Saxon, Dane, Norman, Flemish, Irish and English invasions or settlements.

The wars against the Anglo-Saxons.

It fell to the Brythons, on the departure of the Romans in the fifth century, to defend the province against Picts and Scots from the north, and Angles and Saxons from over sea. The legendary Arthur is said to have led them. A more real figure is Cunedda, who is said to have commanded the forces along the Roman Wall in the fifth century, and from whom the princes of North Wales (Gwynedd) traced their descent. For a time the Brythons held their own against the invaders. But the Saxon victory at Deorham, 577, cut off the Brythons of Wales from the Celts in Cornwall, and the Anglian victory at Chester, 616, severed the Brythons from their kindred in Strathclyde, the region between Mersey and Clyde, which still shows in

place-names such as Cumberland traces of its old Cymric or Celtic population. Cadwaladr, the last Cymric prince who could claim to be ruler of Britain, died about 664. Towards the end of the eighth century, Offa, King of Mercia, felt strong enough to mark a permanent frontier between England and Wales, constructing the earthwork known as Offa's Dyke from the Dee to the Wye. Thenceforward, Wales was clearly a separate country.

The Norman Conquest of Wales.

The Norman Conquest of England was welcomed by the Welsh as a check on the Saxons. But it was the prelude to a deliberate and irresistible conquest of their own country. From Chester and Shrewsbury as bases, bands of Norman adventurers pushed forward into Wales, making good each step by building a strong castle; they were helped to a large extent by the incessant blood feuds between the native chieftains. Rhuddlan, Montgomery and Cardiff castles were among the more notable outposts, from which the Normans operated, assisted now and then by regular invasions conducted by the king. The reign of Henry I. saw the whole of Wales, except Gwynedd, or what is now the counties of Carnarvon, Anglesey, and Merioneth, subject to his vassals, Norman or Welsh. These Lords Marchers, as they were called, exercised over their vassals a complete feudal sovereignty such as was unknown in England, save perhaps in the anarchy of Stephen's reign. That anarchy encouraged the Welsh to revolt, so that Henry II. had to subdue the country anew, though he could not destroy the independence of Gwynedd. Under John and Henry III., Llewelyn (d. 1240), the last great prince of Gwynedd, contrived to hold his own by allying himself with the discontented baronage of England; three clauses of Magna Carta (Nos. 56-58) show that Llewelyn extorted concessions to Wales in that famous treaty between king and people.

The Lords Marchers.

Edward I.'s Conquest.

His grandson Llewelyn also sided with the barons against the king and allied himself with Simon de Montfort, who promised him the hand of his daughter Eleanor. After the fall of Simon, Llewelyn was yet strong enough to conclude, in 1267, a favourable peace with Henry, by which he was recognised as feudal superior of almost all the Welsh barons. The peace did not last long. Edward I., soon after his accession, gave shelter to Llewelyn's

rebellious brother David, and declined to restore Llewelyn's bride Eleanor, who had been captured off Scilly on her way to Wales. Llewelyn, for his part, intrigued with the De Montfort faction against the king. War broke out in 1276, and in 1277 Edward, with a large army and a fleet blockaded the Welsh prince in the Snowdon range. Llewelyn did homage to Edward and married his bride Eleanor in the king's presence at Worcester, 1278. But disputes soon arose. Llewelyn and his brother David were reconciled, and in 1282 headed another revolt. Edward then advanced and again blockaded Llewelyn in Snowdon. The prince broke out with a small force, but was killed in a skirmish in the Wye valley on December 10, 1282. His brother, David III., succeeded him as prince of Gwynedd, the last of his line; he was soon betrayed into English hands, tried as a baron before the Parliament at Shrewsbury, and hanged as a traitor in October, 1283.

The Principality. The Principality, so long independent, was now annexed to the English Crown, and was conferred in 1301 upon the king's younger son Edward, who was born at Carnarvon. Edward lost no time in organising the conquered land. By the Statute of Rhuddlan, 1284, he set up the shires of Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth in what had been Gwynedd, Flintshire in what had been the "Four Hundreds," Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire in his crown estates in the south. Pembroke and Glamorgan had long been regarded as counties. The six new shires, which did not yet correspond precisely with the present counties, were placed under English law, save in regard to the inheritance of land. The justice of Snowdon was to administer the law—not the courts at Westminster. The estates of the Lords Marchers remained as before, subject to their feudal jurisdictions, in which English law and Welsh custom were strangely intermingled. Wales had been conquered, but not yet reduced to order. The last serious insurrection took place as late as 1400, under Owain ab Gruffydd, lord of Glyndwrdwy, in the upper Dee valley, one of the few rich Welsh landowners. Wales had sympathised with Richard II. in his troubles and was restive under the Lancastrian Council, of which Hotspur was president.

Owen Glendower. Owain proclaimed a national revolt, and by skilfully avoiding pitched battles and intriguing with the English faction, the Percies and Mortimers, opposed to Henry IV., he was able for some years to maintain his ground

as "Prince of Wales." He made a treaty with France, which sent troops to help him in 1405, with little success; he obtained the support of the Avignon Pope, and thus gave the rising an ecclesiastical flavour, as England only recognised the Roman Pope. Gradually, however, the Lancastrian forces subdued South Wales and drove Owain into Snowdon. He was still at large in 1416, and is believed to have had a peaceful end. Owain was a distant cousin of Owain Tudor, who went to the court of Henry V., and after his death married his widow, Catherine of Valois. The grandson of Owain Tudor and Catherine was Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who ascended the throne as Henry VII.

The Union of Wales with England.

In the fifteenth century Wales, like England, was a prey to disorder. The independent courts of the Lords Marchers, numbering nearly 150, were so many centres of disturbance. They carried on private wars; they harboured rogues and felons, whom the law of the land could not touch. Edward IV. made some attempt to control them, but it was reserved for the Tudors to complete the work begun by Edward I. Henry VII. established on a permanent footing the Council of Wales and the Marches, first created in 1478, and extended its sway over the English border counties, with headquarters at Ludlow. Appeals lay from the Marcher courts to this powerful body, corresponding to the Star Chamber in England. A further step was taken by Henry VIII. in 1535, when Wales was incorporated with England, and the Lords Marcherships were either added to the existing shires or formed into the five new shires of Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery, Denbigh and Monmouth. The Lords Marchers were deprived of all but certain manorial rights. For the first time Wales received full representation in Parliament. Another statute in 1543 legalised the Council of Wales and also set up a separate legal system, with courts known as "The King's Great Sessions in Wales," and arranged in four circuits. At the same time the old Welsh land-tenure, under which estates were equally divided among the heirs, was replaced by the English tenure, under which the eldest son succeeded to his father's property. This Tudor system, so far as it gave Wales courts of her own, lasted until 1830, when Wales was definitely brought within the jurisdiction of the English courts. The Council of Wales, however, shared the unpopularity of the Star Chamber, and was abolished at the Revolution of 1688.

Welsh torpor in the 17th century.

These sweeping Tudor reforms, which gave security for life and property to the humblest Welshman, brought peace to Wales at last. The Reformation, attended by the suppression of the monasteries, raised no disturbances. The gentry profited by the distribution of the monastic lands, and their tenants acquiesced in silence. Puritanism appears, however, to have made no headway; though one at least of the "Martin Marprelate" pamphleteers, John Penry, was a Welshman. In the civil wars, the Welsh gentry took the king's side, and supported him to the last. One or two Welsh castles held out for months after the surrender of Oxford to the Parliament. Two years later South Wales rose in sympathy with the Presbyterian and Royalist movement against the Independents and the army. Poyer's stubborn defence of Pembroke (May-July, 1648) delayed Cromwell's march northward and gave Hamilton and his Scots time to reach Preston. But Wales settled down peacefully under the Commonwealth. With their innate conservatism, the Welsh gentry were naturally Jacobites at heart after the Revolution, but though a few took part in the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745, the Principality as a whole remained quiet, sunk in what appeared to be a lasting torpor.

The religious awakening.

Nevertheless, the awakening of Wales dates from the first half of the eighteenth century. It was due to a remarkable religious movement akin to that of Methodism in England. The Welsh Church, though revived for a time under Laud's direction, had lapsed into a state of ignoble sloth; Nonconformity had made little progress, especially in North Wales, and could claim barely an eighth of the population as adherents. But, under the first and second Georges, the preaching of Griffith Jones, Howell Harris, Daniel Rowlands and others stirred the Welsh people as they had never been stirred since the loss of their independence. Like Wesley, the preachers regarded the Church with affection, but were forced in the end to establish a separate organisation, the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church, which finally left the Welsh Church in 1811. The Independents and the Baptists also grew rapidly in numbers and influence, and by the end of the century Wales was pulsating with religious enthusiasm such as she had never known before. The progress was continued; the 105 Nonconformist congregations in the Wales of

Nonconformity in Wales.

1742 had increased to 2,927 in 1861. The Welsh Church soon began to reorganise itself, although technically it is only four dioceses of the Church of England, and at length recognised the necessity of appointing Welsh-speaking bishops and clergymen. Its four dioceses, St. David's, Llandaff, St. Asaph, and Bangor now contain about 950 beneficed clergy.

Educational Progress.

Out of this religious movement grew an equally remarkable educational movement. Griffith Jones had been moved by the ignorance and illiteracy of the farmers and labourers to found a "circulating school" in his parish of Llandowror, in Carmarthenshire. Here adults as well as children received elementary instruction for a portion of the year. The school proved an immediate success, and similar schools sprang up elsewhere, so that at Jones's death, in 1761, there were as many as 218, with about 10,000 pupils. Sunday schools were also started in the latter part of the century, and spread over the whole of Wales, owing much to the efforts of Thomas Charles of Bala. The Nonconformist bodies founded colleges for the training of their ministers; the Brecon Memorial College dates from 1755, the Baptist College, Cardiff, from 1807. The Church was moved by the activity of the rival bodies to establish St. David's College, Lampeter, in 1827, mainly for Welsh Churchmen. Such was the beginning of the educational revival in Wales, which has made a very rapid advance in the last forty years. School boards were established in most places under the Act of 1870. A complete system of secondary education has been organised under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889, in advance of England. University colleges were established by voluntary effort at Aberystwith (1872), Cardiff (1883) and Bangor (1884), and State assistance was secured for them in 1882. The three colleges were united in the University of Wales, which received a charter in 1893. Recently, the Board of Education has constituted a separate department for controlling the schools and colleges of Wales.

The Nationalist Movement.

The religious and educational movements in modern Wales have had the further effect of emphasising the consciousness of nationality. Great efforts have been made to check the decline of the old language, threatened both by the increasing immigration of English people and by the teaching of English in the schools. It would appear that these efforts

have been successful, for, although the proportion of its two million inhabitants who know no English—about fifteen per cent. in 1901—is declining, the proportion of those who speak Welsh is fairly constant and includes about half the inhabitants. The wealthier classes no longer regard Welsh as a vulgar idiom, but often have it taught to their children; the poor are now enabled to learn Welsh to some extent in the schools. The growth of the Welsh language movement is illustrated by the large numbers of newspapers, periodicals and books printed in Welsh. It has been fostered, on the literary side, by the modern revival of the National Eisteddfod, which concentrates once a year the activities expressed in innumerable literary societies (often attached to churches and chapels) and in local Eisteddfodau all the year round. The chairing of the bard in the presence of a vast concourse at the Eisteddfod is an annual function that does much to stimulate the study and practice of the typical Welsh forms of poetry, and prizes are also awarded for prose writings and for works on the history of the nation. The importance and value of these festivals, in which music, literature and art are honoured, cannot be over-estimated. The national awakening has also found expression in politics, by the rise of a distinct Welsh party which, though acting with one English party, concentrates its energies on promoting the special interests of its country.

The Eisteddfod.

The spiritual revival of Wales in the last century and a-half has been accompanied, and no doubt largely assisted, by a remarkable growth of material prosperity. Agriculture is still the chief industry, but in the south coal mines, ironworks and tinplate works give employment to a large population; and Cardiff has rapidly grown to be one of the great ports of the world. In 1906 it cleared a heavier tonnage than any other port in the United Kingdom; and Welsh steam coal is unrivalled for its quality.

Material development.

The Isle of Man.

The Isle of Man is another old Celtic kingdom which, though conquered by successive alien invaders, still retains in some degree its ancient language, and, unlike Wales, has preserved a certain amount of independence. It lies in the middle of the

Physical conditions.

Irish sea, roughly equidistant from Scotland, England, Wales and Ireland. Each of these countries in turn has influenced its fortunes. The island is 34 miles long and varies in width from 8 to 12 miles; its area is 227 square miles. The island is traversed diagonally from north-east to south-west by a mountain range, with a narrow valley across the centre and fertile plains at either end. The mountains rise abruptly from the coast, which is famed for its fine cliff scenery. The climate is noted for its mild and even temperature, due to the Gulf Stream. A few lead mines have been worked within the past two centuries; agriculture and fishing are the only natural industries. But the chief occupation of the bulk of the islanders for the past century has been that of entertaining summer visitors, who flock in hundreds of thousands from the North of England and elsewhere to the Manx pleasure resorts.

Its History.

Man was converted by early Irish missionaries. The Welsh are said to have held it from the sixth to the tenth centuries. The island, like all the neighbouring lands, was attacked by the Vikings, and early in the tenth century was permanently occupied by Norse settlers. It was ruled for the next 350 years by petty kings, acknowledging the supremacy of Norway; the Norse institutions set up by them—the Tynwald Court, or legislature, the two deemsters or judges, and the six sheadings into which the island is divided for administrative purposes—still survive. The Norse Kings of Man, of whom Orry is said to have been the first, ruled over all the Hebrides until 1165, when a partition was made, Man retaining only the Southern Hebrides—the "Sodorenses insulae" whose name is preserved in the title of the Bishop of Sodor and Man. After the sea fight off Largs, 1263, in which Alexander III. of Scotland defeated Hacon of Norway, Man and the Hebrides became subject to Scotland. The dispute as to the Scottish succession after 1290 led to English intervention in Man, but the island was not definitely occupied by the English until 1343, when it was taken by Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, whose ancestor had married the daughter of one of the last Norse kings. After changing hands several times, Man was granted by Henry IV. to Sir John Stanley in 1406, to be held of the English Crown for the service of rendering two falcons at each coronation. The Tynwald was now revived, and the lord's power greatly strengthened. At the Reformation the monasteries were dissolved one by one,

English intervention,

apparently without disturbance, though more slowly than in England. From 1595 to 1610 Man was administered by Crown nominees, while a family dispute as to the inheritance of the fifth Earl of Derby (Stanley) was being determined. In 1610 the sixth Earl obtained from James I. a new grant of the island, which was confirmed by Act of Parliament. Under the seventh earl, James, Man was held for the king against the Parliament, but after the earl's execution in 1651, the Commonwealth occupied the island without opposition, and granted it to Thomas, Lord Fairfax. At the Restoration the eighth Earl of Derby recovered his father's estates, including Man. Disregarding the English Act of Indemnity, he had William Christian tried and executed for complicity in the surrender of 1651; for this illegal act he was censured by the Privy Council and compelled to make redress to the victim's family.

Sovereignty of the Earls of Derby.

In the eighteenth century the island, which had now a population of about 14,000, increased in prosperity. This was in part due to the Act of Settlement of 1704 by which the farmers, till then leaseholders at will, became perpetual tenants paying low quit rents. The island also benefited as a headquarters of smuggling, which was openly conducted on a large scale, and as a place of refuge for debtors, who, under a Manx law of 1737—not repealed till 1814—were exempt for arrest for debts contracted in other countries. Smuggling was stopped in 1765, when the third Duke of Atholl, whose father had inherited the island in 1736, was induced to sell his sovereign rights to Great Britain for the sum of £70,000 and an annuity of £2,000 a year to the Duke and Duchess. The import of foreign goods into Man was restricted, and an efficient preventive service established. The fourth duke tried to upset the bargain of 1765 and, after many years of importunity, secured from Pitt in 1805 an additional grant of one-fourth of the customs revenue for ever. The Atholl family connection ceased under an Act of 1825 empowering the Treasury to purchase the lord's manorial and other remaining rights; the purchase price was £417,144. To recoup itself, the Treasury retained all the surplus revenues.

Acquisition by the Crown.

Since that time, Man has been administered by a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Crown, with wide powers of control over the official Council and the House of Keys which comprise the Tynwald. In

Present Constitution.

1866, after much controversy, the Treasury sanctioned an arrangement by which the island pays £10,000 a year to the Imperial Exchequer and disposes of the rest of its revenue as the Tynwald thinks fit. The House of Keys was at the same time made an elective body. The population in 1901 was 54,752. Half the people were living in the towns of Douglas—with a population of 19,223—Ramsey and Peel. A sixth were of alien birth. Fifty-nine persons were returned as speaking Manx only, while 4,598 spoke English and Manx. The Manx language is decaying, but laws have still to be promulgated both in English and in Manx on the Tynwald Hill, in the centre of the island. The population slightly declined between 1891 and 1901, but it had grown by a third since 1821. The revenue is mainly derived from customs duties, which correspond in the main to those of Great Britain. There are few taxes, and the rates are very low, so that many retired business men from the North of England settle in the island.

The Channel Islands.

Physical Conditions.

The Channel Islands form another outlying possession of the English Crown. They lie in the Bay of St. Michel, off the north-western coast of France. Jersey, the largest and most southerly of the group, has an area of nearly 45 square miles, and had in 1901 a population of 52,576. Guernsey, 20 miles to the north-west, has an area of 30¼ square miles; its population in 1901 was 43,042. Alderney, with Berhou, the most northerly of the group, which is only a few miles west of Cape La Hogue, has an area of about 3 square miles, and 2,062 inhabitants. To the east of Guernsey are several small isles—Great Sark and Little Sark, with a combined area of about 2 square miles and a population of 504; Herm, Jethou and Brechou, with a total area of 400 acres and a population of 30. The islands are famous for their rocky coasts, for their mild and equable climate, and for the richness of their vegetation, which is unequalled in Northern Europe. Jersey has one large town, St. Helier, which contains 27,866 inhabitants, or more than half the population, and is a military station of some importance. The chief town of Guernsey, St. Peter Port, also a military station, is two-thirds the size of St. Helier, with 18,264 inhabitants; St. Sampson, with 5,614 inhabitants, is another Guernsey town, lying a few miles north of St. Peter Port

The land is split up among many small proprietors. Owing to this and the climate, the chief industry of the islands is market gardening. Immense quantities of early vegetables and fruit are cultivated under glass for the English market. Dairy farming is also carried on, and the island breed of cows is noted. The islands also benefit by their popularity with English and French people as a holiday resort, at all times of the year.

Constitution.

The islands are the only portion of the old Duchy of Normandy which has been retained by the English Crown. Many of the people still speak the old Norman-French, especially in the smaller islands and in the country districts, and the old Norman institutions are still maintained. The islands are virtually self-governing. Guernsey, which for administrative purposes includes the smaller islands to the east and north, has a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Crown, and an assembly called the States. The States comprise the Bailiff, or President of the Royal Court of Justice, the Procureur or Attorney-General, the beneficed clergy, the twelve jurats, elected for life, who assist the Bailiff, and twelve delegates elected at short intervals. In Jersey, which is also under a Lieutenant-Governor, the States are composed of the Bailiff, the twelve beneficed clergy, the twelve jurats, twelve constables elected every three years, and fourteen deputies elected at similar intervals. The ordinances or decrees of the States, unless sanctioned by the Crown, are valid for three years only. English Acts have to be registered by the States before becoming law in the islands. The Lieutenant-Governors have power of veto, but disputes between the executive, directed from London, and the legislature, seldom occur and are adjusted without much difficulty. French and English are both used in the States. The islands are subject to the supreme appellate jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and the records of that court contain many interesting arguments on the constitutional position of the islands.

History.

The islands have played no great part in history. They were acquired from Brittany by William, Duke of Normandy and afterwards King of England. They were definitely attached to the English Crown by John, when he lost the rest of his Duchy. Under a Papal Bull, they were regarded as neutral territory from the fourteenth to the seventeenth cen-

tury, but this neutrality was not always respected by French corsairs and adventurers, especially during the Wars of the Roses. At the Reformation the islands embraced the new religion; Jersey was reconciled to the Church of England by Bandinel, and took the Royalist side in the Civil War; Guernsey, on the other hand, clung to its Presbyterianism and declared for the Parliament. In the end, Jersey, after serving as a refuge for Prince Charles and other Royalist exiles, had to surrender to the Commonwealth forces in 1651. In the French wars of the eighteenth century the islands were noted as the headquarters of smugglers and privateers. The French made one serious effort in 1781 to capture Jersey, but were foiled in the moment of victory by the gallantry of Major Peirson. In the nineteenth century the islands formed a convenient refuge for Frenchmen, whether monarchists or republicans, driven from home by successive revolutions. Victor Hugo, the most illustrious of them, lived for many years at St. Peter Port.

CHAPTER IX.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

The Unification of the British Isles.

We have now sketched the development of the various parts of the British Isles to the point at which it becomes inextricably woven into the common history of the United Kingdom and subject to the common control of the Imperial Parliament. It would be absurd to maintain that those dominions of the Crown have had no history since their respective unions with England; and the last three chapters have attempted to indicate the important points in their individual careers. But the Acts of Union, together with other forces, economic and social as well as political, have brought them all under the common influences described in the following pages. The industrial revolution, commercial expansion, and political emancipation have affected in greater or less degree all the component parts of the United Kingdom.

The Transformation of Britain, 1770-1820.

In the half-century which followed the loss of her American Colonies, Great Britain took on her modern shape. The great transformations of history have required long periods to work themselves out, and it would be easy to exaggerate the changes even of this mighty epoch of vitality and growth, and still easier to underestimate the strength and variety of the forces which had prepared the way for it. Yet, notwithstanding these qualifications, it remains true that the things most characteristic of the many-sided life of to-day belong essentially to the half-century which was ushered in by the greatest blow ever struck home to our country (*see* pp. 78, 232). One of these characteristic features is that Great Britain purchases the greater portion of her food and raw materials from abroad by

the sale of her manufactures, and that these manufactures are, in the main, produced in vast establishments in large towns by workpeople, whose interest in the raw materials of their industry and in the wonderful machines which make them up is limited to the receipt of wages fixed beforehand by a contract with the owner of both. It requires a steady effort of the imagination to picture an England in which these things did not exist. They did not exist in the Great Britain whose crown George III. received from George II.; they did exist in it when he handed on that crown to George IV. The system of which they are essential features is sometimes called the "capitalistic system," not because capital played no part, or only a minor part, in the system which it displaced, but because the most striking feature of the new system was the great aggregations of capital in the hands of a comparatively small number of "captains of industry." This name is perhaps most frequently used by those who dislike the system and wish to see it transformed into something different and, as they hope, better, and is, therefore, hardly so good as its other name, the "factory system," based on the circumstance, which was new, that industry came to be carried on in large factories. The change itself is so important, and took place so rapidly, as to deserve a special name, and the name which Arnold Toynbee gave it has come into general use. It is, therefore, spoken of as The Industrial Revolution.

The Factory System.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the population of England was 6½ millions, about one-half of whom lived south and east of the line of the Trent, Avon and Severn. The most thickly peopled part was a broad belt stretching east and west from Yarmouth to Exeter, but the part in which population was growing most rapidly was (excluding London and its district) a belt of land stretching, from Birmingham, in the centre of the former belt, northwards towards Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. A "cross-post" was established between Plymouth and the North, evidently to meet the demands of the growing population along the new route. This broad account of the distribution of population throws into strong relief the contrast between the old England and the new. The economic basis of the former was corn and wool, of the latter coal and iron. The economic centre of gravity has shifted from the fertile uplands and rolling downs

Distribution of population.

of the South and East to the coalfields of the Midlands and the North. Commerce, important as it was then, was not, as it is now, the means by which our population is fed and clothed. Had England in 1750 been suddenly surrounded by Roger Bacon's wall of brass, she would have been greatly incommoded but not extinguished. The farmer-spinner would have done more farming and less spinning; the cottager-weaver would have spent more time in his garden and less at his loom. The specialisation of industries had already gone far enough to make a sudden change difficult; then came the Industrial Revolution which made it impossible.

The Domestic System of Manufacture.

The manufactures of England were carried on under the Domestic System, *i.e.*, in the home of the worker and not in the factory of the master. There are many such domestic workers to-day, as an observant eye would soon see in any town or village in England, but they are rarely found at work on the great staples of trade. In the eighteenth century England had but one staple manufacture—the woollen industry. Its importance had long been typified by the wool-sack which formed the seat of the Lord Chancellor. Its method had long been crystallised into the English word for an unmarried woman—"spinster." In Goldsmith's *Good Natured Man*, published in 1768, Mr. Croaker, who represents a permanent type, groans over the signs of decay. "I have seen a lady dressed from top to toe in her own manufactures formerly," he says, and rudely, and, it is to be hoped, unfairly, adds that now "there's nothing of their own manufactures about them, but their faces." Mr. Croaker's ladies belonged indeed to a type long anterior to the domestic system, when textile goods were not only made but also used at home. The manufactures of cotton and iron were then in their early stages, but they too, where carried on, were domestic industries. Wolverhampton made "every manufacture in brass and iron," and obtained its raw material, iron, from the forges scattered over the district. "In this country every farmer has one forge or more, so that the farmers carry on two very different businesses, working at their forges as smiths, when they are not employed in the fields as farmers." The great domestic industry was that of turning wool into cloth, and so expeditiously could it be done that once, at Newbury, a gentleman supped at night wearing a coat which had been wool on a sheep's back at sunrise.

The Woollen Industry.

The woollen manufacture was so widespread that "every hamlet and village resounded with the clack of the handloom" and "the great sheet-anchor of all cottages and small farms was the handwheel." There are few of the towns and villages mentioned in Defoe's well-known *Tour* in which the manufacture is not noted. There were, however, five districts in which it was carried on as the staple manufacture: (1) the Eastern counties; (2) the West Riding; (3) Lancashire; (4) the Somerset-Wiltshire borders, and (5) Devonshire. Each district had its centre in a large town—Norwich, Leeds, Manchester, Frome and Exeter. Norwich was the weaving centre of a large district, in which 120,000 people were employed. The clothiers of Frome and other towns sent out wools into the villages to be spun, and brought it back as yarn ready for their looms. In Yorkshire the clothiers of the Halifax district fetched their own wool from market and carried the finished cloth to the great cloth market at Leeds. Here it was that the traveller saw "the houses full of lusty fellows, some at the dye-vat, some at the loom, others dressing the cloths, the women or children carding or spinning, all employed from the youngest to the oldest; scarce anything above four years old but its hands were sufficient for its own support." The finished cloth was, earlier in the century, sent by the Leeds merchants on packhorses to the fairs, which were then of great importance as distributing centres, but the demand for transportation soon called into existence a body of carriers, whereupon the "outriders" of the merchants travelled for orders only, and the goods were conveyed by the new carriers. In the chief centres of each district there were buyers for London and continental houses, the agent of one continental house at Halifax buying £60,000 worth of cloth every year. Still, the chief market for English cloth was England itself, and the preservation and increase of this market was the end at which the commercial legislation of the century was aimed.

Expansion of England's Markets.

The expansion of manufactures in England was preceded by an expansion of her oversea trade. Adam Smith, in 1776, when the two movements were in simultaneous progress, enunciated in his *Wealth of Nations* the proposition that the extent to which any manufacture can be divided into separate processes in order to enlarge the output while decreasing the

cost of each unit manufactured is limited by the extent of its market. As long as the whole of the machinery necessary for the manufacture of cloth could be purchased by a cottager and accommodated in his cottage, an increase of output could be obtained at best only at a constant price, by attracting more and more labour. With the growth of commerce the market for English cloth grew too, and in a remarkable anonymous pamphlet published in 1701 we find the very arguments in favour of admitting foreign goods which Adam Smith made classical, together with a prediction that the extended market thereby obtained would lead to the invention of machinery. It is important to distinguish between a tool and a machine; each of them abridges and facilitates the processes of industry; each of them allows a given result to be obtained with less human effort. But the number of tools cannot be increased without equally increasing the number of workers, and hence there is always a limit to the amount of raw material that can be worked up. The weaver was also a farmer, because, however industriously his household spun, they could not keep his loom supplied with yarn; he, of course, tried to purchase yarn from the spinsters of his neighbourhood, but the constant demand for yarn kept up its price and thus again limited the expansion of the industry. Machinery does not take the place of the tool, for it is a tool; it takes the place of the man. John Wyatt, therefore, in 1735 aptly described his new invention as a machine "to spin without fingers." In 1905 there were five million spindles added to the English cotton trade; in 1705 that, if it could have happened at all, would have involved the addition of five million spinners. The whole population of England then would have been quite unable to cope with an addition to industry which now takes place without attracting much attention, except in a few Lancashire towns. That is what the Industrial Revolution has enabled us to do, and the fact may perhaps lend an additional interest to an outline (1) of its progress and (2) of its immediate results.

Tools and Machinery.

The Industrial Revolution began with a series of inventions which established an exotic industry on English soil. It had taken centuries to enable this country to work up its own raw material, wool, into cloth; in barely two generations it was turning a raw material, every ounce of which had to be im-

The development of cotton manufacture.

ported, into fabrics which were clothing the world. Since the middle of the seventeenth century "cotton-wool" had been used in Lancashire to make the warp of heavy calicoes, the weft being spun from linen yarn imported from Ireland. These coarse fabrics found no favour with the ladies, whose "passion for their fashion" made them prefer the wonderful fabrics of India. In that country the cotton manufacture was a domestic industry, and the tools used in it had remained practically unimproved for centuries. Yet it was long before English machinery could turn out fabrics comparable to those produced by Indian fingers. This Lancashire cotton manufacture was carried on as a domestic industry. There were five operations between the pod and the finished article: (1) clearing the cotton of seed; (2) carding it—that is, turning the shapeless mass into flat masses with the fibres running one way; (3) roving, by which this mass was turned into a number of thick loosely-twisted ropes; (4) spinning, by which the rovings became yarn, and finally (5) weaving the yarn into cloth. The first necessity was to accelerate the processes of roving and spinning, inasmuch as one weaver could keep three spinners hard at work; but the first invention was John Kay's "flying shuttle" (1738), which enabled one weaver, instead of two as before, to weave the widest cloth. This invention, by widening the existing gap between the supply of yarn and the demand for it, led to the invention of spinning machinery. Both roving and spinning were done on the spinning wheel by the same woman, being in fact the same operation repeated. About 1764, James Hargreaves, a weaver living near Blackburn, made a machine which he called the "spinning jenny," the one wheel of which could turn as many as sixteen spindles. It did not, however, perform the preliminary operation of roving, which limited its usefulness. Moreover it was only a tool, required no motive power which the spinners could not supply, and was, therefore, an improvement on the equipmeot of the domestic worker. Arkwright's invention, re-invention or improvement (it is not easy to decide on his exact merits) in 1769 of the process of spinning by rollers was the first step towards the factory system.

Kay's "flying shuttle."

Hargreaves' "spinning jenny."

In 1771, in partnership with Need and Strutt, he erected at Cromford, in Derbyshire, the first cotton mill in which roller spinning was done by water-power. It will be seen

that each new invention necessitates an improvement in the earlier stages of the manufacture if it is to be fully utilised. Arkwright's new "water frame," as it was called, did both roving and spinning, but his machines would have been idle most of the time if he had not invented or improved (for again his claims are contentious) the carding machine. In 1779 Samuel Crompton's "mule" combined the principles of the water frame and the spinning jenny in one machine. The effect of all these inventions was obvious. The demand for weavers grew enormously; the weaver-farmers gave up farming and filled their houses and barns with looms, but the equilibrium between the two branches of the manufacture was now broken from the other end. In 1785 Samuel Cartwright, a clergyman, having been told by several "practical" manufacturers that no improvements in weaving were possible, set to work and invented the power loom, which was still further improved by "a dissolute but ingenious workman" named Johnson. All the operations performed in England were now done by machinery, and a constant succession of improvements—140 were patented between 1800 and 1836—both increased the quantity and improved the quality of the work turned out at a given cost.

Arkwright's inventions.

Crompton's "mule."

Cartwright's power loom.

Arkwright, as we have seen, used water-power to turn his machines, and many cotton mills had been built where water-power was available by 1787. They were, therefore, not confined to Lancashire, and though they never crossed the Pennines, they could be found as far south as Berkshire. The climate of South Lancashire is, however, exactly suited to the production of cotton goods. The humidity of its atmosphere allows the characteristic "kinkiness" of the cotton fibre to be best utilised. Therefore, another limit soon began to make itself felt—the available water-fall was soon monopolised; there were three hundred mills on the tiny Irwell and its tributaries alone. Moreover, the people had to be taken to the places where power was available. In 1782 James Watt first applied the power of steam to produce rotatory motion; in 1785 he erected his first steam engine in a cotton mill at Papplewick, and in 1790 Arkwright, the organising genius of the cotton industry, made cotton goods by steam-driven machinery

South Lancashire the centre of cotton manufacture.

Water-power and Steam.

It was years before the new motive power, steam, superseded the old one, falling water; nor is this surprising since so much capital had been sunk in the erection of water-driven cotton mills. The cotton industry was not created by the steam engine but by the spinning jenny and its developments. In 1800 there were but thirty-two steam-engines in Manchester, and twenty in Leeds, their average horse-power being only 14.

Cotton imports.

The fact has already been emphasised that all the raw material of this premier manufacture of England has had to be imported, and this fact has had an enormous influence on the economic and social development of the Colonies which we had lost in 1783. In the following year an American ship arrived at Liverpool having on board eight bags of cotton, which were seized, under the provisions of the Navigation Acts, on the ground that cotton was not a product of the United States. Up to this time our raw cotton had been imported from the Levant, the West Indies and South America, the total import in 1786 being only 20 million lbs. In 1832 the United States exported upwards of 320 million lbs. of raw cotton, of which Great Britain alone took 228 million lbs. and France 78 million lbs. In 1822, a French botanist found cotton growing wild in the streets of Cairo, though in the time of Pliny it had been cultivated for industrial purposes. It was again cultivated, and Egypt soon began to add a small quota to the enormous British demand. Under the existing British Administration she is producing about 700 million lbs. weight of raw cotton yearly.

Woollen manufacture.

The growth of the cotton manufacture is the most striking feature of the Industrial Revolution. The new machines were, of course, applied to other textile fabrics, but the effect of the cotton industry was to check at first the expansion of the woollen industry, because the newer and cheaper fabric could be substituted for the older and dearer. Moreover being old the woollen industry was conservative, and adopted new machines but slowly; its widespread distribution also operated against rapid concentration in large towns. Yorkshire streams offered an abundant supply of the motive power first applied, and the Yorkshire coalfield an equally abundant supply of the second. Hence the old industry was gradually uprooted from the hundreds of villages and market towns in which it had long prospered, and became centred

in the woollen towns of the West Riding. Here, too, it is likely, the competition of the rival industry across the hills raised the wages of labour and compelled the manufacturers to resort to machinery.

It is, of course, obvious that the rapid progress of the textile industries must have reacted on every sphere of industrial activity, and a little reflection will suggest those in which its influence would be felt soonest and most forcibly. The vast mills and the new towns, with their teeming populations of artisans, required large numbers of bricklayers and carpenters; the making of the new machines themselves employed large engineering establishments, which, again, demanded largely increased supplies of iron. Within a radius of thirty miles of Manchester in July, 1835, one hundred and seventy firms were erecting mills and ordering steam engines developing 7,500 horse-power in the aggregate. Iron ceased to be a domestic manufacture settled in wooded districts like Surrey and Sussex, for after various attempts it had been discovered how to smelt it with coal.

Iron and coal.

Anyone who, standing at the mouth of an English mine, picks out of the bucket which has just reached the surface a mass composed partly of coal and partly of iron ore, understands more clearly than any form of words can render it the twin foundation of industrial England. Again, these various products, raw cotton, cotton goods, coal, iron ore, pig iron, machines, bricks, &c., had to be transported, and the old roads and the old vehicles soon proved inadequate. The first improvement was the construction of canals, now so little used in comparison that until we see them marked on a special map it is difficult to realise their number and length. That the railway grew up on the basis of the new industries is shown by the facts that the first railway *line* was for transporting coal from Stockport to Darlington, and the first railway *engine* was George Stephenson's "Rocket," which ran between Liverpool and Manchester. The ramifications of the new system are endless, and it is impossible to do more here than suggest the main lines on which it developed as a whole and its later effects on the social order.

Canals.

Railways.

Changes such as these could not take place without leading to important modifications of the structure of society. Their results can be summed up by saying that the Indus-

trial Revolution led to the capitalistic or factory system of production. The influence of great masses of capital had indeed long been felt in the commercial world, where companies trading or banking on a large scale were familiar enough. Even production on a large scale—large, that is, in comparison with the ordinary run of things—had been tried. "Jack of Newbury" had a hundred looms in his factory so far back as the time of Henry VIII., and Sir Thomas Lombe had a large silk mill at Derby early in the eighteenth century. That the latter was "a curiosity of a very extraordinary nature," as Defoe calls it, is evident, however, from the many descriptions we have of it in the books of the time, all telling us of its engine containing "26,586 wheels and 97,746 movements which work 73,726 yards of silk thread every time the water-wheel goes round, which is three times in one minute". It was in a "house five or six storeys high," a veritable factory, and six mills were built at Stockport on the same model. But no industrial revolution could ever have grown out of this capitalisation of the silk industry; the demand for its products was too limited by reason of their price. When the new machinery removed all practical limits to the supply of cheap cotton fabrics, there was no practical limit to the demand for them. The capitalistic system then became inevitable, and for two reasons. First, because great masses of capital were now indispensable. The cheap and simple tools in a cheap and tiny cottage had once sufficed. A cotton mill erected at Staleybridge in 1835 cost the following sums:—

The development of capitalism.

Buildings for containing the machinery	£30,000
Engine house, boiler house and gas house	3,000
Two steam engines, of 110 horse-power each	8,800
Heating and lighting apparatus	2,400
40,000 mule spindles	11,500
Machines for preparing the cotton	12,000
1,280 power looms with appurtenances	18,000
Contingencies	2,300
Total cost of factory	£88,000

One inventor is said to have spent £300,000 in experiments; for one of his machines he charged a royalty of £1,000, yet a manufacturer, when the patent had but six months to run, found it profitable to buy a machine.

In the second place, the organising ability of the new capitalists was just as essential as their money. A mill

like the one just described does not run of its own accord, and the skill and acumen necessary to keep it running are not common characteristics of mankind. At first, the new men were drawn from the old ranks, and improved on their former status in nothing but wealth. Their sons, born to coarse habits and bred to luxury, not infrequently had careers which are vividly epitomised in the Lancashire proverb, "Clogs to clogs is three generations." The worst of these cotton barons were hardly an improvement on the worst of the feudal barons of an earlier age, but the type rapidly improved. The best of them entered Parliament after the Reform of 1832; the new industry had already given Sir Robert Peel to British statesmanship, and was soon to give Richard Cobden. During the last three-quarters of the nineteenth century the manufacturers of the North contributed as largely to the welfare of their country as they did to its wealth.

The new capitalists.

It is impossible in this place even to outline the effects of the Industrial Revolution on the working classes. These effects are summed up by saying that, as the result of it, they began to occupy that relation to capitalistic production which they hold to-day. There are many who think that the modern organisation of industry is radically unsound, and we shall, in a subsequent chapter, have to consider their criticisms of the present system and their proposals for introducing a new one (*see* pp. 202-213). We are here concerned only with the effects of the Industrial Revolution up to the time when it had become firmly established. The working classes were, of course, in a new position, without experience and without leaders. They were placed, too, under disadvantages which have since been removed. They had no share in the parliamentary system, and they were prevented by law from forming combinations to further their own industrial claims. Any number of labourers could, of course, ask for an advance of wages separately, but to combine to do so in a body was a legal offence, which could be, and was, severely punished. In 1825, the repeal of the Combination Laws allowed Trade Unions to come out into the open instead of being conducted with the secrecy of an anarchist plot, but notwithstanding the repeal, the most atrocious case—the transportation of the six Dorsetshire labourers for meeting to discuss means of getting an increase of wages—occurred in 1833. The language of the judge in passing sentence, and of

Effects on the working classes.

The Times in commenting upon it, reveals an attitude of hostility and alarm which was as devoid of justification as it was of insight. Even when the existence of the Unions was declared legal their aims were unanimously declared impossible of realisation. They stuck to their task, with results which we could not now be persuaded to regret or relinquish.

Some of these results have been achieved in co-operation with workers and thinkers drawn from all ranks of society. The earlier results of the great changes soon made it evident that conditions of labour could not be left entirely to the higgling of the market. The treatment of children can only be adequately described as murderous. Sixty-nine hours' work a week was exacted from children of the tenderest years, and they were kept to their work when tired and sleepy by an instrument which would have disgraced a cotton plantation. It is useless to blame their parents. Children's wages were a necessary addition to the family budget; and the parents, even when they hated to do it, could not disregard the demand of the mill owners for child labour. In the absence of any power of resistance on the part of the workers, the conditions were set by the worst masters. All could get the newest and best machinery; the demand for the products was such that all could find a market, and therefore those masters did best who exacted most from their "hands." The wages were probably not lower than could have been earned under the old system; but other conditions were less favourable. In 151 cotton mills in Lancashire in 1833 there were 48,645 operatives who, in the month ending May 4, worked on an average 68·65 hours a week and earned on an average 125·13d. a week. Males over eighteen numbered 13,740 and females 14,821; males from fourteen to eighteen numbered 4,353 and females 5,190; boys under fourteen numbered 5,941 and girls 4,600. The average weekly earnings of the children were 46·35d.

Child labour.

Wages and hours of work.

We shall have occasion to see how deeply the Industrial Revolution affected our national life by giving rise to problems which the institutions and ideas of the old order were incapable of solving. It had been taken for granted that the State should regulate every detail of industrial life. In some of our Colonies to-day the State interferes to fix wages, and this is considered to be very "advanced" legislation, but it was one of the duties of

State control and *laissez faire.*

the Justices of the Peace in England from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. But the means which the State had of enforcing these industrial regulations had broken down. It had relied partly on the guilds and partly on the Justices. The former were obsolete and the latter independent and indifferent. The Industrial Revolution began at a time when English statesmen were absorbed in foreign politics; its later stages coincided with the prevalence of a powerful school of political thinkers who advocated the policy of *laissez faire*. That policy was not rigidly carried out, and, so far as it was carried out, it was applied to men who were not in a condition to make the best use of it. The old policy of interference had been futile; the new policy of non-interference soon proved impossible. So it has come about that one of the most hopeful results of the Industrial Revolution is that the policy of State interference has been re-affirmed, established on a rational basis, and made to reflect the deliberate will and purpose of the people.

CHAPTER X.

COMMERCIAL EXPANSION.

Industry and commerce.

The Industrial Revolution had been preceded and facilitated by an expansion of British Commerce, and in its turn was followed by a further and still more rapid growth of trade. Industry and commerce are joint results of the same group of economic forces. As soon as a nation increases its supplies of the raw materials of wealth, the motive to industry is quickened into activity. Now a man can only become rich by turning raw materials into finished goods and finding a profitable market for them. When they are sold he is in a position to go through the process again, or rather he is continually producing and continually selling—a stream of raw materials pours into his factory and a stream of finished goods issues forth into his market. He may, and often does, especially in the earlier stages, when he is building up his business, produce more in order to be able to sell more cheaply and therefore more extensively, or the stimulus to production may come from the other side—a larger market giving him larger and larger orders. He has to arrange his supply of goods so as exactly to meet the demand for them. But, taking the world as a producing and selling unit, it is clear that the supply of goods and the demand for them are not two different things, as they are for each individual producer, but one and the same thing. Hence increased production and increased trade go together, for the separation of employments compels all producers to be traders. The Industrial Revolution made the commercial expansion of England possible because it gave her more things to sell; it also made it necessary because she had

now more things to buy. The great result of the changes we have already described was that England became dependent on foreign countries for the essentials of existence—food to eat and raw materials to work up. Her ever-increasing multitudes of workers demanded an ever-increasing supply of each, and she was enabled to pay for them because her finished products were greedily demanded by foreign nations who had more food and raw materials than they could themselves consume. And what is true and obvious when England is contrasted with other countries, is just as true, though not quite so obvious, when one group of producers in England is contrasted with all the other groups therein. A man can only produce more on condition that he sells more, and he can only sell more on condition that he buys more, and a trading nation is only a group of trading individuals. This is the simple explanation of the commercial expansion which followed the Industrial Revolution.

England becomes dependent on food and raw material from abroad.

It would be interesting if this expansion could be illustrated by reliable figures, but unfortunately the only available figures are very confusing and inexact. When the tables tell us that in 1783 exports were 12½ million pounds and in 1792 just over 22 millions, they only tell us that there had been a considerable increase in the bulk and weight of the goods exported. For these values were "official values," which were calculated from an old book of rates, and were, on the whole,

Imports and exports.

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Year.	Imports.	Exports.
1701	5·6	6·6	1801	31·8	35·4
1711	4·4	5·7	1811	26·5	28·9
1721	5·4	6·8	1821	30·8	51·5
1731	6·7	7·2	1831	49·7	71·4
1741	7·5	8·9	1841	64·4	117·0
1751	7·3	11·2	1851	110·5	214·4
1761	8·7	13·4	1861	217·5	159·6
1771	11·4	14·6	1871	331·0	283·6
1781	11·1	9·2	1881	397·0	297·1
1791	17·2	20·0	1891	435·4	309·1

(1) 5·6=£5,600,000, and so on—the nearest £100,000 being given.

(2) Up to and including 1771, the figures refer only to England, thence up to 1791 to Great Britain, onwards to the United Kingdom.

(3) In 1853 the exports in "official" values=242·1, in 1854 in "real or computed" values they=115·9; the tremendous fall is not in the trade, but is due to the different method of measuring it.

far out and in some particular cases incredibly inexact. For 1800 the official value of the imports was 30·6 million pounds, of the exports 43·1; the real values are said to have been 55·4 and 55·8 millions respectively. As the new century advances the figures get more reliable, though imports are given in "official values" as long as duties were levied on them. After the tariff was simplified, a great change in the method of keeping the accounts was made in 1854, and this vitiates all comparisons between years before and after that date. The preceding table therefore, until after 1854, must be taken as only indicating and not exactly measuring the growth of British commerce.

The Corn Laws.

The growing dependence of this country on foreign sources for her food supplies was viewed with great alarm by many people. A Committee of the House of Commons reported in 1813 that the value of the foreign corn imported in the twenty-one years from 1792–1812, was 58½ million pounds, and that notwithstanding this importation the average price had been 77s. 3d., and during the last four years 105s. 3d. They thought that the interposition of Parliament was necessary to apply some remedy for evils of such great prejudice to the public welfare. The remedy they proposed was protection; as long as wheat was under 105s. 2d. per quarter it was to pay a duty of 24s. 3d.; if it rose above 105s. 2d. the duty was to fall to 2s. 6d., and if it went to 135s. 2d. the duty was to be 6d. only. Parliament did not at the time adopt the proposal since the average price of wheat for 1812 had been 126s. 6d. The effect of this high price had been to bring much grass land under the plough, and therefore to increase rents. A rapid fall in price, which set in in 1814, therefore alarmed the landed interest, which was then dominant in Parliament, and in 1815 a "Corn Law" was passed. Until wheat was 67s. per quarter in the home market none could be imported; at that price colonial wheat could come in duty free; when the price rose to 80s. foreign wheat could also come in duty free.

It is not easy at first to see that such a law could be supported by any argument worth a moment's consideration The advocates of the various Corn Laws of this period (for it is impossible to go through their numerous modifications) relied on the following arguments:—

(1) It was essential that the country should be independent of foreign supplies of food. Hence Lord John Russell thought

that "corn was an exception to the general rules of political economy," and Lord Melbourne that "to leave the whole agricultural interest without protection" was "the wildest and maddest scheme" conceivable. Most of the imports came from the corn belt of the north of Europe, and the whole of that territory had been, and might again be, in the hands of an enemy who would scruple at nothing to defeat us. Moreover this corn belt was subject to much the same vicissitudes of climate, so that the whole available harvest might be a bad one, when in self-defence the corn countries might be obliged to prohibit the exportation of corn, and this country would then suffer from a famine. The argument was then nearer to the facts than it is to-day, but even then the answer was that our fleet had kept the seas open to our traders right through Napoleon's supremacy on the Continent, and that, as a matter of fact, the necessary corn had come in, and this was indeed one of the things of which most complaint was made.

Arguments in their favour:

(1) Independence necessary.

(2) Protection for the farmers.

(2) The paramount object of being independent of foreign supplies of corn during war could only be secured if the home producer was protected from foreign competition during peace. He would then sow as much corn as the population needed, and hence there would always be enough land under tillage to supply our fullest needs. This argument was usually carried further, and in view of the national importance of the object aimed at, it was asserted that the nation should by law secure to the wheat grower "a remunerating price." The Committee of 1813 regarded about 105s. as the price which was necessary to bring the farmer to his country's aid, but the Act of 1815 fixed on the more modest sum of 80s. The fixing of a remunerating price by law would protect the farmer against low prices and the consumer against high prices. It was assumed that, if the remunerating price was higher than would be the market price under free trade, the labourers would not suffer as their wages would rise in proportion. Moreover, assured of protection against the foreigner, the farmers would grow so much corn that the price would be as low as could be desired in good seasons, while in bad seasons the high price of home-grown corn would open the ports to supplies from abroad.

(3) The landed interest needed protection because it was subject to burdens which fell on it exclusively. The chief of

them was the poor rate which, under the sad and vicious system then prevalent, was a great burden. Then there was the land tax, the malt duty, and some others. It is not true that these burdens fell exclusively on land, but a fair-minded opponent of the Corn Laws, the economist David Ricardo, thought that they pressed so much more on land than on other forms of property that he advocated a fixed "countervailing duty" of 5s. a quarter as a set-off.

(3) Compensation to the landed interest for its burden of rates.

(4) An equivalent for the duties on manufactured articles.

(4) The advocates of the Corn Laws asserted that protection of the farmer was equitable inasmuch as the manufacturing industries were protected by the tariff from foreign competition. It is true that this tariff was very comprehensive, so that on one occasion a mummy imported from Egypt was duly classed as a manufactured article and paid an import duty of £200.

These are arguments which have some substance, considered in the light of contemporary economic conditions, and they account for the fact that men whose independence, fairness and humanity are as far beyond question as their statesmanship long held to the Corn Laws. Still, it is undeniable that the bulk of the supporters of the Corn Laws were men whose financial interests were served by their maintenance, and who knew quite clearly that this was so. Byron's scathing lines on the "*un*country gentlemen" could be justified by quotations from the indiscreet words of members of this class, as well as by inevitable deductions from their deeds. Lord John Russell was right when, in his famous "Edinburgh letter," of November, 1845, he declared that the repeal of the Corn Laws would strengthen the political position of the aristocracy by divorcing their social position from an intimate connection with the misery of the poor.

Arguments against the Corn Laws.

The arguments against the Corn Laws were of two kinds: (i.) those used against any limitation of the freedom of trade and (ii.) those used against this particular limitation of free trade in corn. The former will come better when the introduction of free trade is being described. The chief of the particular objections were as follows:—

(1) If this country is not a regular customer of the corn countries, she will find that when her own harvest fails she will either be unable to get any corn or will have to pay very heavily for it.

(2) These huge intermittent purchases of corn at high prices lead to the exportation of bullion to pay for the corn, and this deranges the financial system with disastrous results.

(3) Under a regular trade the corn would be paid for by manufactures; therefore the prohibition to import corn was equally a prohibition to export manufactures. This was an unfair interference of the State in the interests of one class, and against those of another. The manufacturers, on the other hand, were accused of vaulting ambition. They wanted, said one speaker in the House of Commons, to manufacture for the whole of Europe! The favoured class, moreover, was just the class which needed favour least of all—the landlords. The farmers did not benefit, but actually lost by the Corn Laws, since their rents were fixed on the assumption that prices would be high, and a plentiful harvest hit them very hard.

(4) It was not true that the landed interest had burdens peculiar to itself, and, if it were, the proper remedy was a readjustment of the tax system, not the granting of a right to recoup the loss by plundering the rest of the community.

As a matter of fact the repeal of the Corn Laws did not take place until considerable progress had been made in the direction of free trade, as the governing principle of our commercial policy. It will be best, then, to turn our attention to this wider topic till the question of the Corn Laws came up under Cobden's leadership for its final solution.

Tariff history.

In the reign of James I. it had been decided in Bate's case that the imposition of import duties was within the Royal prerogative, and in 1608 the tariff was settled by the Royal "Book of Rates." The object of the tariff was to collect a revenue, yet its industrial effects were not ignored, since some of the leading merchants were consulted as to the new duties. In 1635 a new book was compiled "for the better balancing of trade in relation to the impositions in foreign parts upon the native commodities of the kingdom," and also for adding £70,000 a year to the revenue. Down to the beginning of the nineteenth century financial considerations governed the successive additions to the tariff. Constant wars increased the national expenditure, and since the existing direct taxes were cumbrous and unproductive, the readier method of the customs duty was applied. As the tariff grew by successive

additions it at last became unwieldy and complicated. The duty payable on any article in 1785 had to be painfully extracted from no fewer than sixty-eight Acts of Parliament. A cargo of 2,000 ells of Russian linen had to pay a total duty of £69. 17s. compounded of ten imposts varying in date from 1661 to 1783; and the duty thus collected had to be divided amongst seven different branches of expenditure. In 1787 this vast mass of tariff legislation was consolidated and therefore simplified, but even then it contained 1,414 different duties with all sorts of complications and preferences. The wars of the Revolutionary period defeated Pitt's intentions of further reform, and many new duties for revenue purposes were imposed on the top of the consolidated duties of 1787, thus bringing back much of the old confusion. In June, 1815, the month of Waterloo, there were one thousand one hundred Customs Acts in force, "All these," says the first Customs Report, "with the additions between 1815 and 1825 were repealed on July 5, 1825, by one Act (6 Geo. IV., c. 105), in which four hundred and forty-three statutes were enumerated and the rest repealed by a general definition; thus sweeping away all the laws of the Customs accumulated during the space of five hundred and fifty years." The tariff was simplified, but it remained as comprehensive as ever, for the duties of 1825 occupy one hundred and fifty-two closely printed pages of a folio Blue-book. While the officials were simplifying the tariff in the interests of efficiency, a growing body of statesmen and practical men were advocating an entirely new departure—free trade.

Complexity of tariff.

Tariff reform.

The argument for free trade had been developed by Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, with a trenchant vigour never since surpassed by any of his followers. Not that he hoped for the establishment of free trade in this country; to expect that, he said, was as absurd as to expect that a Utopia would one day be established in it. He miscalculated the effect of his great work. It immediately made Pitt his disciple, though in free trade, as in parliamentary reform, Pitt allowed the French Revolution to drive him from his best ideals. When the restoration of peace thrust this unwelcome disturber aside, the idea of free trade revived, and was supported by Huskisson, under whom the abolition of the old system began.

The *Wealth of Nations*.

The Free Trade movement.

Adam Smith had been pessimistic because he thought that the interest of the merchants and manufacturers would always be thrown on the side of the tariff. The *Merchants' Petition* to the House of Commons, in 1820, in favour of free trade is an indication that the arguments of the *Wealth of Nations* had convinced practical men that free trade was the best policy for them as well as for the nation. The manufacturers had a double interest in the removal of restrictions. Their workers would get their food cheaper, and their efficiency would be increased without additional cost to the masters. The incontrovertible fact that imports of food stuffs would be paid for by exports of manufactures promised them what they most needed—a larger foreign market. With these interests behind it, the cause of free trade made rapid progress.

There were three stages in the introduction of free trade, each connected with the name of a great statesman. Commercial Reform was begun by Huskisson, carried very far by Peel and consummated by Gladstone. The theoretical basis was worked out by contemporary writers like Sir Henry Parnell, whose work on *Financial Reform*, published in 1832, supplied the principles on which Peel acted, while the administrative details were provided by great public servants like James Deacon Hume and J. M'Gregor, who were successively permanent heads of the Board of Trade.

Huskisson.

Huskisson, pupil of Pitt and student of Adam Smith, became President of the Board of Trade in 1823, Peel being at the time Home Secretary. Huskisson's views were far more advanced than his legislation, and he is by no means to be credited with the introduction of free trade. He modified the Navigation Laws (*see* pp. 51-2), the original purpose of which was political rather than commercial, by arranging reciprocal concessions with other countries. He removed most of the prohibitions from the tariff on the ground that they were "a premium on mediocrity." He fixed upon 30 per cent as the maximum duty. If an article required more protection than this it was not worth protecting, and in fact could not in most cases be protected, because a high duty was invariably defeated by smuggling—the extent and ingenuity of which are hard for us to realise to-day. He also reduced the duties on raw materials; that on wool from foreign countries was reduced from one penny to one halfpenny a lb., and if imported from

a colony came in duty free. "Satisfied," as he said, "that the general rule of free competition is the best for all trades as it is certainly the best for the public," he stood strongly for reform, and achieved as much as circumstances would permit.

Reforms proposed in 1840.

In 1840 the House of Commons appointed a Committee to inquire into the tariff. It heard a great body of evidence, and finally reported, briefly but pregnantly, against the existing system, as (1) presenting neither congruity nor unity of purpose; (2) being devoid of general principles; (3) aiming at incompatible ends; and (4) protecting a great variety of particular interests at the expense of the revenue. M'Gregor proposed in his evidence to substitute (1) twenty leading heads for the 1,200 separately rated articles; (2) 10 per cent. as the maximum duty on manufactures, with an exception of 20 per cent. for a few reared under protection; (3) 2½ per cent. *ad valorem* on raw materials; and (4) 8s. a quarter on corn. He estimated that the change would increase the customs revenue from £22,900,000 to £28,800,000, besides reducing the cost of collection very considerably.

Peel's measures.

Peel became Prime Minister in 1841, and in 1842 introduced his first great reform of the tariff. Leaving the Corn Laws untouched for the present, he went nearly as far as M'Gregor had proposed. He arranged the articles in twenty groups; he removed all prohibitions; he reduced the duties on seven hundred and fifty articles; the maximum duties were—on raw materials—5 per cent., on partly manufactured articles 12 per cent., on wholly manufactured articles 20 per cent. So far there was no repeal—some duty, however small, was levied on every import. In 1845, repeal became the order of the day. The duties on over four hundred minor articles and on a few leading articles—hemp, flax, raw silk, hides, indigo, skins, furs, oils, and saltpetre—were abolished, and in 1846 the Corn Laws were repealed and also all duties on animals and meat.

Movement for the repeal of the Corn Laws.

The repeal of the Corn Laws was the work of the Anti-Corn Law League. It is true that the failure of the potato crop in the autumn of 1845 hastened on the final triumph by providing both Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel with a favourable opportunity of announcing a decision already inevitable. Cobden had acutely prophesied this very result. "Three weeks of showery weather when the wheat is

in bloom or ripening, would repeal these Corn Laws," he said in June, 1845; and in September came "the rain that rained away the Corn Laws." The League had at first been supported mainly by the middle-classes and the dissenters; it was largely identified with Manchester and the manufacturers, and the cotton-lords were no more popular than the landlords. But Cobden's arguments and Bright's eloquence, ably seconded by the arguments and the eloquence of men hardly inferior to them, had by the middle of 1845 made a sensible impression on the farmers, while physical sufferings had made the working-classes, though they had as yet no votes, a factor to be reckoned with as they had been in 1832. The chief thing was that the leaders of both political parties were being converted to the policy of repeal. Gladstone long wavered, advocating free trade, as was acutely remarked, in his arguments and protection in his parentheses. Lord John Russell, the advocate of a small fixed duty, was finally convinced that corn was no exception to the laws of political economy at the very moment when such a conviction happened to be the best weapon for defeating his political opponents. Palmerston had talked free trade as far back as 1828, though he had since supported the Whig policy of a duty. Sidney Herbert was moving in company with Gladstone, and came slowly to the conclusion that protection of the landed interest was not a part of the Constitution, and not essential to Conservatism. The growing force behind the League, the growing conviction in the minds of the leaders who really counted, would soon have carried repeal without a potato famine and even without Peel. The victory came earlier because the potato-famine compelled Peel to decide.

Peel's conversion.

The arguments on which Peel had rested his defence of the Corn Laws had one by one to be given up as his slow, but sure and perfectly conscientious intelligence found that they had no real basis. That to lower the price of corn by repealing the Corn Laws would make no difference to the working-classes, because wages would be lowered in proportion, had been his sheet-anchor in the debate of 1839. In 1842 he had relied on the equity of the Corn Law as countervailing the special burdens on agriculture, and on its necessity as the premium paid during peace and good harvests for sufficient supplies of corn during war and bad harvests. He had learned by 1845 that high wages meant low cost of labour;

that the special burdens on land only existed in the imaginations of the landlords, and even if they had existed were to be remedied by a redistribution of the burden; and that the rapid improvements in the means of ocean transport were lessening our dependence on the corn belt of Europe and throwing open to us the vast fertile wheat areas of America and our own colonies.

The Act of 1846.

The destruction of one great food-stuff, the potato, made it inevitable that the ports should be freely opened to supplies of another kind, to which they had long been closed by the Corn Law. To reimpose the Corn Law when the crisis was past would be impossible. The Tory party split into two parts, but Peel, aided by many Tories and most of the Whigs, carried the Act of 1846 which provided for the rapid reduction of all duties on corn to a registration duty of one shilling a quarter on February 1, 1849. Twenty years later this was dropped too, and corn came in absolutely free of duty.

Gladstone's budgets.

In 1853 Gladstone became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his budget of that year was the first of the wonderful series which made him the greatest financier his country has ever produced. During his first period of office as Chancellor he was struck with the extraordinary increase in the revenue-producing powers of the tariff, as it was simplified and narrowed by successive changes. From 1832 to 1841, £2,060,000 of duties had been imposed, and over £3,380,000 remitted; revenue from them had increased £1,710,000, and the exports £15,150,000. From 1842 to 1853, £1,030,000 of duties had been imposed, and £13,240,000 remitted, the revenue from them had increased £2,660,000, and the exports £43,040,000. The obvious inference was that commercial reform meant greater ability and greater willingness to pay taxes, and any Chancellor of the Exchequer would have been led to continue the process which eased his task so much. Gladstone, when once convinced as to his principles, was never half-hearted in his application of them. He made "a sweep, summary, entire and absolute" of all duties on manufactures. Only twenty-six groups of duties remained, and of these several were to disappear at fixed dates. The duties that were left were for revenue purposes only, and were imposed on commodities not produced at home, *e.g.*, tea, or to countervail excise duties on articles produced at home, *e.g.*, beer. The abolition of over

four hundred protective duties, cost the revenue less than one and a-half million.

Repeal of the Navigation Laws. In 1849, the Navigation Acts were repealed after being in operation for nearly two centuries. They probably contributed in their earlier years to the growth of British shipping, though opinions differed as to their efficacy even in the seventeenth century (p. 52). In the nineteenth, they had become fetters on the movements of trade, and their repeal was the more necessary after the repeal of the Corn Laws. Since their repeal the trade of the United Kingdom has grown enormously, but the proportion of the work of carrying our oversea trade done by British ships has also increased notwithstanding the repeal of the Navigation Acts, from fifty-nine per cent. in 1854 to seventy per cent. in 1902.

"Free Trade." "Free Trade" is only a popular epithet, and no terse yet exact phrase has been invented which exactly describes the fiscal system thus slowly built up after a century of argument and experiment. Duties are imposed under it which, in the year ending March 31, 1907, yielded £32,894,636, and some of the most productive of these duties are on staple foods like tea and sugar. Its distinguishing feature is that it completely avoids giving any advantage to the home producer over any of his foreign or colonial competitors. So carefully does it hold the balance between them that the excise duties on alcoholic liquors are slightly lower than th corresponding customs duties in order to compensate the home producer for the inconvenience he has to endure in meeting the requirements of the revenue officials.

Its results. The growth of Great Britain in population, oversea trade, financial stability and wealth since the middle of the nineteenth century is a powerful argument for the soundness of the fiscal system elaborated by Peel and Gladstone. During the period since 1902, while the merits of the system have been under discussion, our oversea trade has expanded in a phenomenal manner. The arguments in favour of changing it owe their influence to causes which are, perhaps, political rather than economic in character. There are some valid arguments in favour of introducing a protective system in a young country, and also in favour of retaining an existing protective system in an old country, though in both cases there are

weighty counter arguments which most English economists think ought to prevail. But the purely economic argument in favour of introducing a protective system into an old, developed country which has long had a "free-trade" system is comparatively weak. If this change is to be made, it must be because the political advantages of the alternative system outweigh its economic disadvantages.

Revolution in methods of transport.

Many factors co-operate to produce a sound and expansive industrial system, and they limit and determine each other in a way that can be realised as the result of close inquiry, more easily than it can be indicated in words. The capacity to produce goods, which was given by the Industrial Revolution, was set free from all unnecessary restraints by the gradual introduction of Free Trade, the stimulating effect of each instalment being the chief practical argument in favour of the next and larger enfranchisement. Both would have been comparatively useless but for the happy coincidence that the methods of transporting goods were revolutionised along with the revolution in the method of producing them.

Canals and macadamized roads.

The roads of England, in the middle of the eighteenth century, were in a vile condition, partly from bad methods of construction and indifference to their importance, but chiefly because no effective system of administering them had been built up. When Arthur Young, whose maledictions on English roads are frequent and hearty, got to France he found the roads there magnificent, though they were obtained by methods that Englishmen would not have tolerated for a day. Before any great improvement was made in English roads, the growing needs of industry had been met by the construction of canals; the first, authorised in 1755, being made to carry coal into Manchester. Early in the next century, no place south of Durham was more than fifteen miles distant from water conveyance. In 1811, John Macadam reported to Parliament his improved method of making roads with small angular stones welded into a mass, a service for which he was properly rewarded with a grant of £10,000. "Macadamised" roads are perhaps even more important now than then, but canals became of minor importance on the introduction of railways, though with better methods of towing boats they seem likely to come into greater use again for heavy goods for which speed in transit is not requisite.

Railroads.

The railroad is too familiar to need description. Rails as a method of reducing friction were used for horse-drawn wagons in Tyneside collieries as early as 1676. At the end of the eighteenth century, James Anderson advocated their use on the main roads all over the country, since one horse could pull on rails as much as fifty on an ordinary road. Cygnot, a Frenchman, had invented, in 1769, a steam-propelled vehicle to run on an ordinary road. The two ideas were put together in England by 1802, when a locomotive made by Trevithick ran on a tramway at Merthyr, but its load and speed were small. In 1825, George Stephenson used iron rails for the line from Stockton to Darlington, and made a locomotive which successfully hauled a considerable train of wagons. "I am sorry to find the intelligent people of the North country gone mad on railways," wrote Lord Eldon. The great improvement of 1830, when Stephenson's "Rocket" ran on the new line from Liverpool to Manchester in two and a-quarter hours, set England, and, indeed, all the leading countries hard at work on building railways. The inevitable speculation came, and in the railway mania of the forties much effort was misdirected and capital lost. In 1854 there were 8,054 miles of railway in the United Kingdom, with a paid up capital of 286 millions sterling, earning over 20 millions yearly, with working expenses of 9 millions, and a net profit of 11 millions.

George Stephenson.

The effect on the industrial expansion of the country was enormous. Gladstone once carefully estimated the relative importance of free-trade and railways in contributing to the growth of our industry and wealth. He came to the conclusion that free trade contributed 70 per cent., and railways 30 per cent. His opinion is, of course, valuable and instructive, but it is impossible to apportion the credit so nicely as this because other factors count so much.

Steamships.

The rapid overland transit of goods and letters had given the captains of industry a wonderful additional advantage, which was increased again by the introduction of the steamship. In 1833 the first steamer, the "Royal William," crossed the Atlantic from Nova Scotia to Gravesend in twenty-two days. In 1838 the "Sirius" and the "Great Western" raced westward across the Atlantic, steaming over 200 miles on their best days, and reducing the time to fifteen days.

In 1840 the Cunard line was established (*see* pp. 92, 277), and the "Britannia" did the eastward voyage in ten days. These were tiny ships, measured by modern standards, but they led the way to the vast liners of modern times.

The Electric Telegraph.

Meanwhile "King Steam's" efforts to aid in commercial expansion were being seconded by a still more wonderful rival. In 1736, an electric current had been sent some distance along pack-threads. A century later, in July, 1837, the first telegraphic message was transmitted by the Wheatstone-Cooke system, between two London stations on the London and North Western Railway. In August, 1858, Queen Victoria and President Buchanan exchanged messages across the Atlantic. In 1865, Downing-street and Calcutta were made as close together as Downing-street and Buckingham Palace had been in the older age (*see* p. 228).

The world-market.

These improvements have made the world one great market. The London merchant and the Manchester manufacturer can master, over their breakfasts, the chief movements of yesterday in every trading centre of the world. The economic effect of this has been very important. Production on a large scale was the outcome of the Industrial Revolution. At first it was production for an unknown market. But now that London and New York, Berlin, and Calcutta, Paris, and Melbourne, New Orleans and Montreal, Valparaiso and Pekin, for all the purposes that determine the direction which productive effort shall take in the near future, are as close together as houses in the same street, the uncertainties of industry and commerce which spring from ignorance of distant movements of supply and demand, have been reduced to a minimum.

Effects on the British Empire.

These economic changes have largely made the British Empire what it is to-day. While its claims had been "pegged out" before the close of the Napoleonic era, they were only made effective by occupation in the period which followed Waterloo; and the history of the Colonies is mostly covered by the nineteenth century. The development of material resources consequent upon the revolution of British industries and expansion of British commerce produced a rapid growth of population (*see* p. 186) which peopled British colonies. Commercial expansion had another result; the greatest cities of the Empire are now ports dependent on the sea for their existence and on sea-borne trade and naval strength for their prosperity.

CHAPTER XI.

POLITICAL EMANCIPATION.

Political effects of the economic changes.

No less momentous than the conversion of England from an argicultural into a manufacturing country, or the expansion of the mediæval town market into the world market of to-day was the political emancipation of the mass of the British people. To some extent the movements overlapped in point of time; but, speaking broadly, the economic preceded and produced the political revolution. According to feudal theory the possession of land was the basis of political rights; and long after the feudal ages a "stake in the country" was regarded as the only title to political privilege. The idea yet survives; no amount of intelligence, and no amount of wealth will give a man a vote unless that wealth is translated into terms of ownership or occupation of lands or buildings. Not manhood, but land and what is built thereon, is still the basis of the suffrage in the British Isles. Nevertheless, the old feudal conception has been expanded until it almost coincides in its practical application with the idea of manhood suffrage; and this transformation of the political monopoly of the landed interest was intimately connected with the economic revolution which substituted the "cash-nexus," as Carlyle called it, for land tenure as the prime factor in political society.

The Electorate.

The House of Commons has been an integral part of the English Constitution since the "Model Parliament" of 1295 (*see* pp. 32-3). From its earliest days it has been a representative body, giving greater or less effect to the wishes of the electors, and having power to bind them by its votes. The county electors were at first all who had a right to

attend the county court, which we may look upon as the local government of the shire. Apparently this rather vague electorate became in practice those who were actually present, so in 1430, the first franchise Act was passed, to shut out "the people of small substance, or of no value," who "pretended a voice equivalent . . . . with the most worthy knights and esquires." Henceforth no one could vote unless he held "a free tenement to the value of forty shillings by the year, at the least, above all charges." The "forty shilling freeholders"—the "yeomen" famous both in war and agriculture—would have grown very numerous in course of time, owing to the increase of population, and the fall in the value of the shilling, but for the fact that this movement was more than reversed by the growth of large estates when wool became the most profitable agricultural product. No other way of holding land conferred a vote. Copyholders, leaseholders, and tenants-at-will had no vote, no matter how much rent they paid.

(i) In the counties.

(ii) In the boroughs.

At the time when the House of Commons was acquiring a strong position in the constitution, the boroughs were, as a rule, very small places. Woodstock, near Oxford, may serve as an illustration of the kind of town which sent two burgesses to Parliament, and thus had as much voting power as the whole of Yorkshire. The selection of towns to send burgesses depended on the King, often, in practice, even on the sheriff, and the list was modified from time to time by omissions and additions. Of the way in which borough elections were conducted very little is known; the only clearly ascertained point, that the fixing of the electorate was a matter of local custom, giving rise to a great variety of qualifications. Cromwell made considerable reforms, but, to Clarendon's regret, they were dropped at the Restoration and the system, with all its anomalies and inequalities, became fixed. So early as the reign of William III. it was pointed out that there was a rapidly growing divergence between the actual constituencies and the real centres of wealth and population. The smallness of the boroughs had mattered little so long as resistance to the royal will was the chief task of the House of Commons. But after 1688, there were two parties anxious to control the House of Commons by indirect means—the Whig Lords and the Crown, and then the small boroughs gave them their opportunity. By about 1820, when economic forces had grouped the popula-

tion along other lines, the parliamentary system had become so bad that an account of it is as amusing as it is amazing.

Anomalies of the unreformed electorate.

We may suppose, borrowing a common though useful illustration, that a foreigner, having learned to admire our parliamentary system from afar, had landed in England towards the close of the eighteenth century to study its actual working. He would have found "a green mound," "a stone wall with three niches in it," "a noble park"—and park, niches, and mound each returned two burgesses to Parliament. As a contrast he would have found large towns full of busy people who returned no members. In one "borough" he could have seen the solitary elector take the chair at a formal meeting of the electors, propose, second and put his own nomination, and duly carry it unanimously. He could have made the acquaintance of a noble lord, the type of many, who employed and dismissed eleven members of Parliament just as he employed and dismissed his footmen and his grooms. He would have learned that there was nothing to prevent an English constituency from being the private property of the King of France, as indeed some of them were of the Nabob of Bengal. He would have found numerous boroughs where the election of a member was a matter of bargain and sale, carried on by a professed class of boroughmongers, and even one (Sudbury) which, seeking its best market, publicly advertised itself as for sale. In somewhat larger towns he would have found a paternal government shepherding a crowd of excise officers to the poll, and electors openly selling their votes to the highest bidder. He would have been told that all this was against the law, but also that the most strenuous of the buyers was the King himself. There was no end to the anomalies in England, but had the inquiring foreigner gone to Scotland he would have found that even the pretence had been given up, and that a general election there attracted no more attention than an auction (*see* pp. 85-6). Finally he would have learned that six thousand people returned an absolute majority of the House of Commons, and that William Pitt had proposed to reform the system by allowing the rotten boroughs to sell themselves once for all to the government, and that, Prime Minister as he was, his proposal had been scouted.

A House of Commons elected under such a system was bound to become a hot-bed of corruption. Even the Long Parliament was tainted with it, and the first parliament

after the Restoration earned and deserved the name of the "Pension Parliament." Sir Robert Walpole turned the bribery of members into one of the most useful branches of politics as understood by that "crafty and vulgar animal, the politician," to use Adam Smith's plain words. Members who had bought their constituencies sold their constituents. Horace Walpole tells how the Government obtained the consent of the House of Commons to the preliminaries of peace in 1762. "A shop was publicly opened at the Pay Office, whither the members flocked and received the wages of their venality in bank-bills, even to so low a sum as £200, for their votes on the treaty. £25,000, as Martin owned, were issued in one morning; and in a single fortnight a majority was purchased to approve of the peace." The accounts of the Secret Service money for the year show that this account, even if exaggerated, is well founded. There is one unimpeachable witness to what went on. In a letter to Lord North, when Prime Minister, in 1781, occurs this passage: "Mr. Robinson sent me the list of speakers last night, and of the very good majority. I have this morning sent him £6,000 to be placed to the same purpose as the sums transmitted on August 21." The writer was George III., who called the English Constitution of his day "the most perfect of human formations."

Parliamentary corruption.

The mighty Mother of Parliaments had fallen into evil ways. When we consider, however, how slowly we progress even now that parliaments are chosen by an electorate practically co-extensive with the manhood of the nation, and bribery, even where it exists, is driven underground by law and public opinion and so hardly affects the larger results of the parliamentary system, we shall see more clearly how the old rotten system not only did not drive the nation to destruction, but existed alongside of much that was sound and noble, so that the evil could be cut away leaving the social structure intact. It was said by a competent authority of the nineteenth century that the House of Commons was better than the best man in it. And in the eighteenth century the member who had corrupted others and was himself corrupt, had, for his leaders, at least some men who were aflame with high ideals and whose integrity was unimpeachable. The two Pitts, Edmund Burke, Charles James Fox, and George Canning would have purged any assembly of its grosser elements, while among the

Redeeming features.

rank and file behind them were occasionally a Romilly and a Wilberforce.

Movement for reform.

The accession of the younger Pitt to the Premiership in 1783 was soon followed by the coherence of the personal groups that had hitherto fought for the hands of their leaders into the two great parties—the Whigs and the Tories. It is often asked whether the two-party arrangement of politicians is essential to the successful working of a parliamentary system. The question obviously does not permit of a definite answer, but it is more than a coincidence that the cleavage in our own House of Commons soon made Parliamentary reform possible, by making it part of the programme to which the Whigs had pledged themselves. The movement for reform began as early as 1745, and in its earliest stages received the powerful support of the elder Pitt. George II. well expressed the stimulus which "the Great Commoner" gave to English politics when he said that Chatham had taught him to look elsewhere than in the House of Commons for the sense of his people. In 1792 the Society of the Friends of the People was formed to advocate reform. Charles James Fox gave it his support, and one of the earliest members of the Society was his political pupil and heir, Charles Grey, who, as Earl Grey, was the head of the Whig Cabinet which passed the Reform Bill of 1832. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the bulk of both parties were opposed to reform The younger Pitt had changed his mind. He had been convinced, he said, by the opposition of England to Jacobinism, that no reform was necessary—an intellectual process which it is hopeless to attempt to explain. When the young Whig, Lord John Russell, third son of the Duke of Bedford, introduced a motion in favour of reform, he was denied the use of the party "whip" in its support. Canning was against it, and the Duke of Wellington bluntly expressed the Tory view by a panegyric on the existing system, in November, 1830.

But the movement had made enormous strides before the end of George IV.'s reign; and even the Lords were surprised at Wellington's impolitic declaration, which led to the fall of his ministry. Peel, always "right-headed and liberal," was moving cautiously towards reform, but he now preferred to stand by his leader. The new Prime Minister, Earl Grey, took office pledged to reform, and he had the great advantage of the support of

The struggle of 1831-2.

the new King, William IV. He offered a minor post in his ministry to Lord John Russell, who had distinguished himself, since he first entered the House in 1813, by consistent and temperate advocacy of reform. He was called upon to take a leading part in preparing the Reform Bill, and it was he who introduced it on March 1, 1831. So drastic was it that the general impression was that "so mad and revolutionary a proposal" could not, and was not intended to, succeed. The second reading was carried on March 21 by a majority of one. Defeated in Committee by a majority of eight, the ministers appealed to the country. Public opinion was so overwhelmingly in favour of "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill" that the constituencies, narrow though they were and rotten though they had been, reflected on this occasion the wishes of the nation. On the one side there were regrettable though open excesses; on the other a regrettable though secret attempt to estimate the possibility of crushing the movement by armed force. Between these extremes lay the great mass of the nation, including hundreds who had much to lose and thousands who had nothing to gain by reform. The new House of Commons carried a new reform bill by a majority of 109; the House of Lords rejected it by 41. Parliament assembled again in December, 1831, and the Commons carried a third bill by 116. The Lords passed its second reading by a majority of nine in April, 1832, but defeated it in committee. The King, who had grown somewhat less strenuous for reform, declined to make sufficient peers to carry the bill, and the ministers resigned. The Duke of Wellington tried but failed to construct a ministry pledged, by the King's wish, to some reform, and the old Cabinet came back on the understanding that sufficient peers would be created, if necessary, to carry the bill. It was not necessary, for on the Duke's advice, a number of opposition peers absented themselves, and thus allowed the bill to be carried. It had proved impossible for "the whisper of a faction to prevail against the voice of the nation."

The Reform Act of 1832.

The Reform Act of 1832, so far as the counties were concerned, continued the old qualification of the forty shilling freeholder with the proviso that he must occupy as well as hold the land. If he did not occupy, the clear annual value necessary to confer a vote was raised to £10. Copyholders of the same value, £10, got a vote, and leaseholders for not less than sixty

years of the value of £50. Tenants-at-will at a rent of not less than £50 also got votes by the "Chandos clause," which was one of the concessions made by the government. Thus the old simple county qualification was superseded by a somewhat complicated system. The representatives of the English counties were largely increased. From the very beginning of Parliament each county had returned two knights (the familiar term was retained in the new bill), irrespective of area or population. Now only six counties kept to the old number; seven returned three members each; each Riding of Yorkshire got two members, and each of the remaining twenty-six counties was divided into two constituencies returning two members each.

The counties.

The boroughs.

It was in the boroughs that the greatest changes were made. Fifty-five boroughs, each returning two members, and one returning one member, were disfranchised. Thirty boroughs returning two members were deprived of one member each. Twenty-two large towns, hitherto unrepresented, got two members each, and twenty smaller unrepresented boroughs got one member each. Altogether there were to be one hundred and thirty-three towns returning two members each and fifty-three with one member each. It was said that the bill took the representation from the barley field to give it to the coal field. No epigram could be more unjust to the facts, unless barley had been a common crop in the streets of the disfranchised boroughs; though it must be remembered that the ancient borough was much more agricultural than the modern town. The borough franchise had hitherto been complicated in the extreme, ranging from an extreme democracy to a ridiculous oligarchy. The complications were all swept away, and the borough franchise was given to the "ten pound householder."

The Government carried its original proposals without serious modification. The only change of real consequence they made was to give up their intention of introducing the ballot-box.

The effects of the Reform Act.

So far as the old system had had a reasonable motive, it had been that of connecting political power with the ownership of land. Other forms of property were less important, were under legal disadvantages as compared with land, and were

chiefly valued as means wherewith land could be purchased. The landed class was the ruling class; the other classes had no continuous interest in politics, and did not actively demand a franchise which they had not learned to value. If the electoral system had been pure, no charge would lie against it now, on account of its narrowness, because that narrowness was consistent with the state of public opinion. But interest in politics had expanded with the development of new forms of wealth fostered by the Industrial Revolution; and other kinds of wealth than land were now admitted to a share in power.

The effects of the Reform Act of 1832 are usually summed up in the statement that it handed the country over to the rule of the middle-class. Some working-class voters had found a lodgement in the nooks and corners of the old chaos of franchises, and these were disfranchised by the £10 qualification. It is significant, in view of later discussions, that Sir Robert Peel objected to this severance of the working-classes from all direct share in representation. The objections of the class represented by men like Inglis and Croker are now only interesting because events have proved that they were instinct with panic. The dreaded extensions of the franchise came in due time, but the national debt has not been repudiated, neither are the lower orders lying down like wild beasts gorged with spoil and satiated with rapine. The more guarded protests which the dissentient lords entered in the Journal of their House are valuable as frank statements of the doctrines of a political creed which now pretends to be dead.

Further reforms demanded.

The new system was allowed to work undisturbed for a generation which was fruitful in much useful legislation and was, according to Gladstone, "the golden age of administrative reform." Then the history of the earlier struggle was exactly repeated. Extremists at home and revolutionists abroad alarmed the timid and thwarted the zealous. Yet the question of further extension never slumbered. That the work of 1832 had not been complete was proved by the fact that Sudbury, in 1844, and St. Albans, in 1852, had to be disfranchised for corruption. Year after year motions for the ballot, for the levelling of the county franchise to that of the boroughs, for the lowering of the latter below £10 were introduced, only to be defeated by large majorities.

In the meantime, the beneficial effects of the Reform of 1832 were manifested beyond the possibility of denial. Legisla-

tion became more vigorous and liberal. The new electorate proved its worth, and came into high favour with the opponents of further extensions of the franchise. "That class," said Robert Lowe in 1867, of the £10 householders, "is a humble one, but it has discharged its duty up to the present in a manner that defies criticism." Prophecies which the sequel of 1832 had proved to be without foundation were repeated; for they were the most telling arguments which the interested could use to convert the timid. They had all along been correct in assuming that reform would mean further reform. Lord John Russell, "the stoutest reformer of them all," as Brougham called him, declined in 1838 to disturb the settlement of 1832 by forcing on the Ballot Act, advocated by the Radicals. Reform had been made extensive in the hope that it would be final. Hence he was nicknamed "Finality Jack" by the Radicals, but notwithstanding this conservative utterance he still retained his enthusiasm for such further reforms as were compatible with the general level of public opinion. He became Prime Minister in 1846, and by 1851 had definitely pledged himself to reduce the county occupation franchise to £20, and the borough qualification to £5 rateable value.

Gladstone and the extension of the franchise.

The question now becomes inextricably interwoven with party dissensions which do not concern it except in so far as they hastened its solution. The two great parties were in a ferment from the death of Peel in 1851 to that of Palmerston in 1865, from the premature cessation of Peel's fine influence to the time when Gladstone's began to make itself the force it afterwards became. Men like Sidney Herbert, aristocrats and conservatives on the surface but reformers at heart, were watching with satisfaction the excellent results of the change of 1832, for the stimulus it had given to legislation and administration were now obvious. This was the middle period of Gladstone's political career. In it he made himself the most brilliant financier that English statesmanship has ever produced, and in it, by the play of circumstance and the ripening effect of contact with affairs on a singularly open and receptive mind, he was made the doughty champion of the forward movement in domestic politics. In 1864 he made his pronouncement on reform, and though he was careful to limit his statement the public naturally noted only the luminous general principle: "I venture to say that every man who is not presumably

incapacitated by some consideration of personal fitness or of political danger, is morally entitled to come within the pale of the constitution." Palmerston, his chief, promptly objected: "You lay down broadly the doctrine of universal suffrage which I can never accept. I entirely deny that every sane and not disqualified man has a moral right to a vote." The distinction between the new creed and the old could not be more tersely put than in these statements of their most prominent supporters. The liberal triumphed ultimately over the whig, but the first line of the whig defence was rushed by the conservative party.

Need of reform.

Reform was needed in two directions. There were about four million inhabited houses, and five and a-half million adult males in England and Wales, but only 900,000 voters. Of the town voters only one in four belonged to the working-classes, and of the county voters only such working men as owned a forty shilling freehold had votes. The question of redistribution was equally pressing. Many glaring anomalies had been left in 1832, as a concession to those who thought that small boroughs were likely to elect a peculiarly valuable class of representatives, as Newark in 1832 had elected Gladstone. Robert Lowe was in 1865 member for the tiny borough of Calne, not, however, because the electors of Calne appreciated gifts that would have been spurned in Manchester or Leeds, but because Calne was Lord Lansdowne's "pocket-borough," as Newark in 1832 had been the Duke of Newcastle's. Englishmen are patient of a glaring anachronism so long as it either works well or does no harm, but there was no reason whatever to look upon Gladstone and Lowe as the typical representatives of the tiny boroughs which still nestled in some great landowner's hand, and on the more reasonable modern view it was impossible that Totnes with 4,000 inhabitants, should return as many members as Tower Hamlets with 647,000.

The Bill of 1866.

In March, 1866, Gladstone, then leader of the House of Commons in Lord Russell's Administration, introduced the Bill which was to settle the question for a long time, "perhaps to the end of the century," as the Prime Minister said, with a touch of his old optimism. It proposed to reduce the qualification to £14 rental in the counties, and £7 rental in the towns, and to introduce a new class of voters, viz., lodgers paying a clear annual rent of £10 and upwards. The £7 qualification would add 330,000 working-class voters to the electorate, whereas the £6

qualification proposed in 1859 would have added 428,000. It is significant of the timorous attitude of the anti-reformers that the Government was defeated on a proposal to substitute "rateable" for "rental" value in fixing the borough qualification, thus slightly diminishing the number of working-men entitled to a vote.

Defeat of the Government.

This defeat was due to the secession of about thirty Liberals whom John Bright promptly and happily called the "Adullamites." The nickname implies discontent of a personal nature, and in the case of their leader, Robert Lowe, it is clear that he is reasonably open to the charge. He attacked the bill with vigour, and made for himself a reputation which it is not easy now to appreciate. He did more; he attacked the working-classes, "the people who live in small houses," in language which would have been intemperate and unjust if used in private conversation, but which was monstrous when used in the House of Commons. This is the more to be regretted, because when he left invective and came to argument, he put the case against the Bill in its most reasonable and weightiest form. His points were: (1) that the franchise is not a right, a debt which the State owes to a man as man, but a means to an end, namely, good government, and as no fault was found with the character of the Government, there was no need for change; (2) that in giving the franchise regard should be had not merely to the fitness of the person receiving it, but also to the influence of his *class* on the general well-being; (3) that no one class must be allowed voting power enough to enable it to swamp the rest.

Disraeli's Act of 1867.

The Ministry resigned and Earl Russell practically retired from public life, having "through storm and sunshine . . . . built up a great reputation." Lord Derby became Prime Minister, with Disraeli as his lieutenant in the House of Commons. With the defeat of the Bill, as in 1831, the great power which moulds the legislature, made itself felt. Even Gladstone had perhaps under-estimated the demand for reform. "Certainly as far as my constituents go there is no strong feeling for reform amongst them," he had said to the Speaker in private conversation before the meeting of Parliament. The defeat of the Bill and Lowe's bitter language made a great change. A Reform League was formed and called a great meeting in Hyde Park. The Government closed

the Park, and the excluded demonstrators tore down the railings and took possession. The new Government was pledged to reform, some reform, and announced in the Queen's speech that they would freely extend the franchise, but without unduly disturbing the existing distribution of political power.

The upshot of the matter was the "Representation of the People Act" of 1867, which went further than had been proposed even by Bright. In boroughs, household suffrage was established; in counties, an occupation franchise of £12; in both a lodger franchise of £10. In England, six boroughs returning two members and five boroughs returning one member, were totally disfranchised; thirty-five boroughs returning two members were deprived of one member each. Of these fifty-two seats, nine were given to new boroughs, nine distributed amongst the large towns, one given to London University, and twenty-five to the counties. This was a loss of eight seats, of which Wales got one, and Scotland seven. The Act increased the electorate of the United Kingdom from 1,364,000 to 2,448,000, in a population of 30,400,000.

The Ballot Act.

The Act of 1867 remained unaltered until 1884. It left one great class unenfranchised—the agricultural labourer. Year after year Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Trevelyan introduced motions for extending the county franchise, only to lose them by large though gradually falling majorities. Gladstone became Prime Minister in 1868 on the defeat of the Conservatives in the general election of that year. In 1871 the Ballot Act provided a necessary complement to the extension of the franchise. "All the highest abstract arguments were against secret voting," says Lord Morley, and Gladstone, who in 1831 had fulminated against the proposal to include vote by ballot in the Reform Bill, long remained unconvinced. Indeed, even after voting for his own bill, he noted in his diary that his mind was satisfied, but "as to feeling, a lingering reluctance." But, to quote his biographer again, "experience showed that without secrecy in its exercise, the ballot was not free." The Lords rejected the bill, but yielded in 1872 to the unmistakable feeling in its favour. The operation of the bill has proved that the real basis of the opposition to it was unfounded.

When Gladstone became Prime Minister again in 1880, the question of the extension of the franchise was considered ready for solution. In introducing the Bill in 1884

he emphasised the view with which twenty years before he had shocked the political world, reviving, as he was told, the doctrines of Tom Paine. "I am not prepared to discuss admission to the franchise now as it was discussed fifty years ago, when Lord John Russell had to state, with almost bated breath, that he expected to add in the three kingdoms half-a-million to the constituencies. It is not now a question of nicely calculated less or more. I take my stand upon the broad principle that the enfranchisement of capable citizens, be they few or be they many—and if they be many so much the better—is an addition to the strength of the state." Capacity for citizenship hitherto had been connected with the possession of "a stake in the country," and the battle of reform had been fought around the value of the stake which would prevent a man from attempting to ruin his country. No appreciable sign of national downfall being at hand to encourage opposition to the proposal to give the rural householder a vote, the anti-reformers now demanded a redistribution of seats as the price of their acquiescence. The long-drawn battle must be omitted. Finally both bills became law, and settled the basis which remains unaltered to-day.

The Reform Act of 1885.

The existing franchise laws.

A man may only have one vote in one constituency, but he may have votes in many separate constituencies. The right to a vote depends on the voter's name being on the register of voters. He can get it there (1) in counties if he is the holder of land; (*a*) a freehold of forty shillings clear annual value if in occupation, if not, of £5; (*b*) a copyhold of £5; (*c*) a leasehold of £5 if originally created for not less than 60 years, or £50 if not less than 20 years. (2) In towns and counties by being the inhabitant occupier of a dwelling house; or (3) in towns and counties by being a lodger paying an annual rent of not less than £10. The original Act of 1429 holds good to-day, and can give a man a vote in a constituency he never visits except to record it. No better illustration could be given of the excellent English plan of building new wings to our old political structures rather than razing the whole to build on a new plan.

Before 1832, the Counties of England and Wales returned 94 members and the boroughs 415; under the Act of 1832, the members were 159 and 336; under the Act of 1867, 186 and 302; under the Act of 1885, 253 and 237. This does not,

of course, mean that the country has gained at the expense of the towns, but that scores of small boroughs have become absorbed for electoral purposes in county divisions, which therefore require a larger number of representatives.

The system is not perfect now, and is not likely ever to be so. It frequently happens that a Government has a majority in the House of Commons altogether disproportionate to its majority in the country, but generally this has the effect of making it very cautious in its legislation, and so is an imperfection which may easily be over-rated. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a mere handful of people elected more than half the House of Commons. In the general election of 1906, nearly six million votes were cast in a population of about forty-three and a-quarter millions. In Great Britain, where there are nearly seven and a-half million private dwelling houses, nearly five and a-half million votes were cast.

A political restoration.

The old unity of the State has thus been restored. Edward I. expressed his ideal of Parliament in a fine maxim of the Roman Law: "That which concerns all should be considered by all." That maxim was literally carried out, for the "full county court," which elected the knights of the shire, contained, or was supposed to contain, the "reeve and four best men" of every township, and thus brought even the villeins into the system (p. 33). These classes were all connected with the land; but gradually the possession of land conferring political rights was restricted to a comparatively few and usually rich landowners, by whom England was ruled from 1660 to 1832; and Parliament no longer represented a unity of classes. The process of political emancipation gradually reintroduced into the parliamentary system the elements which had been extruded. The King no longer rules "two nations," "the included and the excluded," as Bright called them, "the rich and the poor" as Disraeli called them. A general election is now a solemn appeal to a responsible people.

Results.

The will of the majority of the electors is the driving force in English politics. Unless this were so, the extension of the franchise would have been meaningless. Much facile ridicule has been poured on this method of government by counting heads, but two things are clear concerning it. (1) It has driven out of our minds the notion of appealing to physical force on any political question, while in earlier periods this

appeal was readily made, and even during the nineteenth century was entertained on the one side by the unbending Tories, and on the other side by the "physical-force" Chartists; (2) democracy has not so much abolished monarchy and aristocracy as assimilated whatever elements of permanent value they contained. An Englishman of consummate ability wields a political influence of which any despot would be glad; the best men, acting singly or in groups which they themselves have formed, have all the powers of an aristocracy in its original and highest sense. That all this power is unknown to the constitution does not make it any the less real, but it does make it more valuable because its basis has to be reason and consent rather than privilege and compulsion.

One other remark may be made: the appeal to the electorate comes at the end of a long and richly educational debate, and is organised by political parties each of which has its traditions and its ideals. Politics in the party sense is warfare, and success in war demands capable leadership, and capable leaders can only be had on one condition—that they are allowed to lead. These men are essential to the working of the political machinery, and their trained capacity, matured by the responsibilities of leadership, steadies and rationalises our politics.

The "will of the people."

The extension of the franchise was opposed on the ground that it would lead to "the arbitrary rule of the poor and uneducated masses," an "ochlocracy," as Polybius calls it, and that such rule would be fatal to national stability. "The people who live in small houses" now have the vote in far larger numbers than Lowe feared or Bright contemplated. They are moulded by all sorts of influences, the noble and permanent of which have just been indicated. Hence they are not arbitrary. Neither do they rule. The will of the majority of the electors is the driving force in English politics, but the constitution does not recognise it, and indeed knows nothing of it. A customs officer might be well aware that every elector in the country had voted for a given import duty on corn, but he would not therefore demand it from the captain of the next corn ship which arrived from the Argentine. A policeman would neither arrest a man because everybody thought him guilty, nor release him because everybody was convinced he was innocent. Before it can have any effect upon action, the will of the people has to be the will of the Central Government.

CHAPTER XII.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

The Political Sovereign.

The will of the majority of the electors has been described as the driving force in English politics, because, sooner or later, it must find expression in legislation or administration. This is shortly expressed by saying that the majority of the electors is the Political Sovereign of the United Kingdom. The word "sovereign," familiar as it is to everybody, requires, on this very ground, to be carefully examined.

In every fully-developed State there must be a definite person or group of persons whose commands are habitually obeyed by all the other members of the community. The work of governing a modern State employs a vast number of persons, from admirals and generals down to policemen and postmen, and there must be a known authority to whose commands all these functionaries render unquestioned obedience. Then there are commands which are not issued only to servants of the State, but are intended to be obeyed at all times and in all places by all the inhabitants of the State, and these general commands are known as laws. The commanding person or group of persons is the "Sovereign"; the other members of the community are "Subjects." Unless this distinction is as clear cut in practice as it has been made in theory, order and progress are at an end. If two different groups of subjects within the same state recognise two different sovereigns, there is no other way out of the difficulty than Civil War.

The Legal Sovereign.

But the political sovereign of the United Kingdom has none of these marks of sovereignty. Its will can only be inferred in a vague and general way, and even if it could be ascertained with minute exactitude, the majority has no means, short of physical force, of compelling anyone to heed it. Foreigners, observing

the unerring certainty with which the political sovereign does obtain the carrying out of its will, are sometimes tempted to think that "the sovereign people" of revolutionary ideals is here realised. Even the profound English thinker, John Austin, who discussed the idea of sovereignty with wonderful acumen, attributed a share of it in this country to the electorate, and that, too, long before the Reform Act of 1867. He was attempting to talk law and politics at the same time, and that cannot be done. But we want to use the word "sovereign," both in law and in politics, and the best way is to use an adjective along with it. The political sovereign we already know. The legal sovereign we have yet to ascertain. Then, most interesting of all, we have to see how the will of the latter is made to coincide with the will of the former. The group of authorities and institutions through which the legal sovereign acts may be referred to, in more familiar terms, as the Central Government.

The Central Government.

It is a definite group of known persons; its commands are law; if disobeyed by any subject it has at its back a definite and powerful machinery for coercing and punishing him. There is no limit to its power, except the limits set by nature itself. It can do anything, according to an old epigram on the subject, except make a woman a man or a man a woman. Powerful as it is, it would break to pieces immediately if it did not act according to rules and methods which its subjects could understand and so make stable arrangements for their future conduct. No government is free from this necessity, and in this sense Russia and the United Kingdom both have constitutions. It is quite a common thing, however, for a constitution to be placed beyond the control of the Central Government. This means that the political sovereign has definitely appointed means of making its will known for the higher purposes of government. In the United Kingdom no such means are adopted, and no such gradation of powers is laid down. The same routine is followed in authorising a tramway in Oxford and in revolutionising the agrarian system of Ireland. When a command or an act of the Central Government is criticised as unconstitutional, it only means, and can only mean, that the critic does not approve of it. When brought before him in a Court of law, a judge may say of it, with the approval of everybody, that it is monstrous, and then punish the subject for disobeying it.

Administration and Legislation.

The Central Government has the obvious task of administering the existing body of laws and thus preserving the State from internal disruption; akin to this is the task of defending the State from external foes. In performing these tasks it has to do things, and is from this point of view called the administration or executive. But no existing body of laws is exactly adapted to satisfy existing needs, and even if it were so at any given time, the progress of society would soon disturb the equilibrium. New needs have to be provided for, and new ideals striven after, and this is done by making new laws, from which point of view the Central Government is spoken of as the legislature.

Unity of Government.

The unity and supremacy of the Central Government have been strongly insisted upon for two reasons. First, because it is the legal theory and corresponds to an obvious political necessity. It used to be taught that the English Government was a nicely poised system of independent parts constructed to secure the liberty of the subject and the contents of his pocket, and this erroneous view prevailed at a time when both were singularly insecure. It is a view suggested, indeed, by the surface facts, but ignorant of the underlying unity. The second reason for insisting on the unity of the Central Government is that, in practice and not merely in theory, it is becoming truer every day that in this country administration and legislation are the work of a known and definite group of persons. Still, for convenience, we may, with Blackstone, consider the executive and the legislature as "two branches" of the "supreme power." The Executive is "the Crown in Council"; the legislature is "the Crown in Parliament." The Crown is the formal, and the Cabinet the real, link between the two.

The Monarchy.

To any one but a lawyer the term "sovereignty" necessarily implies a personal, sole sovereign—a monarch. The high attributes which, from the point of view of political theory, have been here attached to sovereignty, are more than matched by the high prerogatives which, in legal theory, are attributed to the wearer of the English crown. Every Act of Parliament is an expression of his will assented to by both Houses; every single act of administration, from the arrest of a suspected criminal to the declaration of a war, is in express terms his act. The formula is carried out logically and minutely; his image and

superscription appear on every coin, his monogram on every mailcart. Even where the ordinary citizen does not see the dignified symbol of national unity, the law sees it. "Houses of Parliament" is merely the popular name for "His Majesty's Palace at Westminster." The newspapers tell us that there has been a "Cabinet Council," a common phrase for "a meeting of His Majesty's Servants." But all this is as nothing to other attributes of the wearer of the Crown. The King never dies; the King can do no wrong. Even freedom from the common lot of man is not enough to make him capable of all the duties of his high office, so he is also omnipresent throughout the British Empire, and is every day plaintiff in a thousand suits and president of a hundred courts. The English are eminently a practical race, and all these prerogatives and attributes serve a distinctly practical end, namely to realise that ideal sovereignty which, as we have seen, is an essential condition of order and progress.

Its History.

These prerogatives and attributes have a long and deeply interesting history. They are the product of (1) the feeling of our forefathers, beautifully expressed in *Beowulf*, the first great poem of the Saxon tongue, that their Kings were divine by descent and sacred by virtue of their office; (2) the powers actually exercised by later kings who were born rulers and strenuous asserters of their rights at a time when other parts of our constitutional machinery were non-existent or inefficient; (3) the theories of the great lawyers, from the time of Henry II. onwards, whose practical aim was to make the King superior to the feudal baronage.

Along with the struggle to create these prerogatives there has gone on the struggle to take the exercise of them out of the hands of the actual wearer of the Crown to whom they are attributed. They cannot now be exercised by the Crown in person or on its own initiative. The Crown can only act by a written document countersigned by a minister who is responsible for its contents. It can only legislate by assenting to a document, known as a "Bill," drawn up by Parliament.

The Privy Council.

What is the "Council?" The only Council whose meetings are officially recorded is the Privy Council, of which three things are to be noted: (1) the King himself is present; (2) hardly anyone else is present; and (3) its acts are always quite formal and in all important cases, *e.g.*, the dissolution of a parliament, always

concern acts known to have been decided upon somewhere else. We hear of an eminent scientist, or writer, or artist having been made a Privy Councillor, but he is never asked for advice and never offers it. Yet this practice illustrates more clearly than anything else the unbroken chain of development which links us to the earliest traditions and habits of our race. We cannot go back to a time when the King was without a body of wise and eminent men (*sapientes et optimates*, or in one Anglo-Saxon word, the Witenagemot) to give him advice; further, we have only to go back a few years, less than a century, to come to a time when the King could and did please himself as to whether he adopted it.

Its Development.

This Council in its fullest form has always been a large body whose members were scattered over the whole land. Such a Council would be useless in an emergency, or where unanimity and secrecy were essential, as they very frequently are in the work of governing. A smaller working Council, easy to get together, was necessary; and its composition was obvious. No king is able, and few kings have desired, to do the whole work of governing. He must parcel it out, and entrust chosen servants (*ministri*, ministers) to do all the detail work, only referring to him for decision on important points. Now these responsible ministers, each master of a department of governmental work, will make an excellent Council. This then is what happened. A small Council (the *Concilium secretum*) is the efficient body; the wise and good men (the *Magnum Concilium*) only meet on rarer and greater occasions; and the members of the smaller Council are always members of the larger one.

At first all that can be said is that the larger body is called together for more important purposes than the smaller, and there is no rigid distinction between the kinds of work they do. For example, under Edward I. the smaller body framed a law —a legislative act, and the larger body decided the terms of a letter to the Pope—an executive act. But finally the division of duties became clear. The Great Council, reinforced as will be seen (p. 173), by the addition of representatives of shires and boroughs, became the Houses of Parliament and obtained control of legislation. The Secret or Privy Council was restricted to administration. During the Tudor period the Council, busy and efficient as it was, was merely the instrument of the royal will, and was entirely independent of Parliament. This dual

relation, dependence on the Crown and independence of Parliament, continued until after the Restoration, but when Charles I. in 1641 offered the Chancellorship of the Exchequer to Pym, the leader of the majority in the House of Commons, he marked out, without meaning it, the line of future political development. At this point, then, it will be convenient to turn to the Crown in Parliament.

Parliament.

The open, conscious, and direct alteration of the law of the land, either by abrogation, modification, or addition can only be effected by an Act of Parliament, which always begins by reciting the purpose of the act, and then continues: "Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons—and by authority of the same, as follows." There are, then, three parties to the passing of an Act of Parliament, the Crown, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons.

The share of the Crown is now limited to expressing assent to a "Bill" as it comes before it from the two Houses, and so turning it into an "Act." From the Revolution of 1688 to 1707, the Crown exercised its prerogative of vetoing a Bill, that is of refusing its assent, but since Queen Anne, in 1707, vetoed the Scotch Militia Bill, the royal veto has never been exercised. Before 1688, and as far back as the beginning of our Parliamentary system, the Crown not only assented or dissented but determined to some extent also the character of the legislation to which it did assent, and this command of the Crown over legislation goes further back still to the times before Parliament when the will of the King, duly announced and attested, was law, that is, was acted upon by the law-courts. From the nature of the case, little is known during the discussion of any proposed piece of legislation as to what effect the wishes of the Crown may have had upon its details as they come before Parliament. After the two Houses have done with it, it has only one course—assent.

Its Origin.

The parliamentary system had its origin in, and has throughout been moulded by, the financial necessities of the Crown. If the Crown could have carried on the work of governing from resources entirely at its own disposal, it might have gone on nearly to our own day, as some European monarchs did, with only a small body of ministers who were entirely creatures of its own will or whim. "War," it is said, speaking of the

infancy of political societies, "begat the King." As these societies matured, war also begat the Parliament.

The Houses of Parliament have, like the Cabinet, gradually emerged out of the Great Council of the early Kings. These Kings had one great incentive to calling a Great Council. When their ordinary sources of revenue were insufficient, when they could not "live of their own," as the phrase then ran, they summoned their tenants-in-chief together to grant them an "aid," a tax that is of a given amount on every unit of land they held of the King. By the end of the twelfth century, the private resources of the King, together with these feudal aids, again proved insufficient, and other forms of property, collectively called moveables or personal property, or rather the owners of such property, had to be called upon to contribute to the royal needs. Fortunately, the theory that assent was necessary was carried over from the taxation of the baron's land to that of the merchant's goods and the townsman's furniture. At first, it took the form of assenting to the valuation of his property made by local representatives of the royal authority. The great step was taken, after certain preliminary advances, in 1295, when Edward I., instead of sending his officials into the localities, gathered representatives of the localities into one central taxing assembly at Westminster (*see also* pp. 32-3). The chief local areas were then, as now, the shire and the borough, each of which, looked upon as a whole, was a *communitas*. The representatives of the "communities," originally added on to the Great Council as a reinforcement to make taxation easier and more productive, at last split off into a separate assembly, the House of Commons, the original element of the Great Council continuing its existence as the House of Lords.

The House of Commons.

As the result of a long struggle, only concluded within the memory of men still living, the House of Commons acquired the right of determining the kind and amount of all taxation and of the ways in which it shall be spent. In 1407, it was decided that the Lords could not originate a grant for acceptance by the Commons; in 1625, the Commons asserted that a grant of two "subsidies" was *theirs;* in 1678, they successfully claimed that grants "ought not to be changed or altered by the House of Lords"; in 1861, the right of rejecting a financial proposal, asserted by the Lords in 1860, was effectively denied to them by the simple

device of including all the grants for the financial year in one bill.

The House of Lords.

In regard to all other bills, the House of Lords has and exercises rights equal to those of the House of Commons. It can amend or reject them at its pleasure. It contains three groups: (1) English peers; (2) most of the English bishops of the Anglican Church; (3) sixteen representatives of Scotch peers elected for each parliament and twenty-eight representatives of Irish peers elected for life. The bishops and the representative peers together form only a small fraction of the whole. The way in which the English peerage developed is very interesting, and in order to trace it we have, as always in English constitutional history, to go back to the Great Council of the twelfth century.

Its History.

That Council consisted of tenants-in-chief of the Crown. If all of them had come, the meeting would have been enormous, and on the only known occasion on which all were summoned, the Great Council met on Salisbury Plain. Moreover, when their aids became fixed in amount and occasion there was no need to summon them all, even if it had been practicable. When, therefore, the King wanted advice and not money, he could summon whom he wished, and naturally summoned only the more important. Hence there was marked off a class of "greater barons," each of whom was summoned, more or less often, entirely at the King's discretion, to the Great Council. Within these, too, there was marked off a small number who, having been "girt with the sword of a county," became "Earls," merely a title of dignity, for "baron" was long not a title of honour but a description of a particular kind of tenant. In 1321, nine earls and ninety barons were summoned; in 1325, four earls and forty barons. But the titles and privileges connected with the holding of great estates as tenants-in-chief of the King tended to become hereditary, just as the estates themselves had done—so that by the time of Edward III. during the period when the Great Council definitely became a Parliament divided into two Houses, the discretion of the King came to an end; the peers of Parliament became a distinct class, all other tenants-in-chief sank into the class of Commoners, and the right to attend parliament passed by descent along with the lands and the title. Charles I. attempted to withhold the right

of attending parliament from the Earl of Bristol, but was defeated. In 1856 an attempt to create a peer for life, a peer, that is, whose title and right to a seat in the House of Lords should die with him, was also defeated. The nucleus of the House of Lords was then a knot of great landholders, and this origin is kept in memory to-day by the selection of new titles of nobility from some estate or locality. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the Kings began to create barons by letters patent, that is by conferring on favoured commoners a title of nobility which, whether they were landholders or not, gave them, as it does now, a seat in the House of Lords. Earl Roberts of Kandahar and Viscount Kitchener of Khartoum do not sit in the House of Lords as owners of land in those far-off cities, but as persons on whom the rank of noblemen has been fitly bestowed. But so late as 1669 it was claimed that the owner of a particular estate, simply because it was one of the old baronies, had therefore a right to a peerage and a seat in the Lords; and one or two people still call themselves barons on that ground. The claim was refused, not because it was absurd, but because the practice had been "discontinued for many ages and so not fit to be revived."

Supremacy of Parliament.

The old framework of the constitution was restored in 1660, but within a generation it had been proved that in all other respects the Restoration was really a very complete change. The House of Commons never lost the strength and influence which the quarrel with Charles I. had given it. It began to control the way in which its grants should be spent, and it passed bills in direct opposition to the King's wishes. The royal power over it was thus reduced to the right of dissolving it, and dispensing with its assistance as long as the royal purse could be filled from other sources. The appearance of permanent party divisions is a still clearer proof of the change, for these would have been meaningless under the old conditions.

The supremacy of Parliament and the division into parties had very important results on the Privy Council, which had, of course, been restored in 1660. Charles II. deliberately made it a numerous body, not that it might form powerful committees, each superintending a department of administration, but that he might use its bulk as an excuse for concentrating all real power in the hands of a few trusty personal adherents. This group came to be called the "Cabinet Council."

The Cabinet. The necessity of obtaining the support of Parliament made it essential that the members of the Cabinet should also be members of either House, and this, in turn, could only be effective if, being members of the party in the majority in the Commons, they could command its support. Mixed Cabinets of Tories and Whigs proved a failure under William III.; under Anne the Cabinet became clearly what it is to-day, a group of members of the same political party. But it was still really the working section of the Privy Council, for the Sovereign presided over its meetings, and members of the Privy Council, who belonged to the opposite party, and did not hold any office, could, and on a famous occasion at the end of Anne's reign did, claim the right to be present.

The Prime Minister. George I. ceased to take part in Cabinet Councils because he could not understand English, and his English-speaking successors never went back to the old practice, and this finally severed the Cabinet from the Privy Council. Until the younger Pitt's accession to office, the Cabinet was not a unit, but a group of ministers individually responsible to the King, accepting orders from him, and not responsible to Parliament in our sense. Walpole had been Prime Minister in fact, partly perhaps because he would tolerate only subordinates, but also because he anticipated the truth expressed by the younger Pitt in 1803, that the office of Prime Minister was "an absolute necessity in the conduct of the affairs of this country."

Power of the Cabinet. The struggle for the Reform Act of 1832 settled the relations between the various parts of the constitution. The will of the Cabinet must prevail if two conditions are clearly satisfied beyond dispute: (1) the Cabinet is supported by a majority in the House of Commons, and (2) this majority corresponds to a majority of the electorate; though the will of the Cabinet may prevail without this second support, provided that the will of the Cabinet coincides with the will of the House of Lords. When the Cabinet, the Commons and the electors were agreed we saw the Crown prepared for a wholesale creation of peers (*see* p. 157), and the House of Lords passing a bill thoroughly obnoxious to a majority of its members. The Crown after 1832 still had the right of dismissing ministers even though they had the support of a majority in the House of Commons, but the futility of doing this was so obviously

established after Melbourne's dismissal by William IV. in 1834 that the right was never again exercised.

The Party System.

Every extension of the franchise has been followed by a closer organisation of the party system. Lowe's sarcastic advice after 1867 was "Let us educate our masters," meaning the electors. That is now being done on a scale not contemplated, perhaps, by Lowe. But the electors have not only been educated, they have been organised. This has meant, first, that the electors have to be informed in broad outlines of the proposals of the leading statesmen, and secondly, that the wishes of the electors, which are constantly brought to the notice of these leaders in familiar and unmistakable ways, play a great part in determining what these proposals shall be. No more exact statement can be made of the way in which it comes about that a given change is suggested, planned, discussed and finally passed. It satisfies a demand supposed to be made by a majority of the electors, and it does so in a way determined by a body of statesmen who have obtained high rank by being thought to have deserved it.

The Electorate.

It was the natural result of the great measure of 1832, that the leading statesmen of both parties were led to appeal to the enlarged electorate. This appeal took the form of promised legislation. It was assumed, rightly enough, that improved laws would be a factor in leading to improved conditions. Sir Robert Peel's "Tamworth manifesto" of 1834, very plainly marks the change of spirit. In form merely a letter addressed to his constituents, it was in fact the appeal of a great party leader for the support of the electorate on the ground that he would remedy abuses and introduce reforms. If he had been speaking for himself alone, the "Tamworth manifesto" would have been of no particular value. But it was rightly taken to mean that, as leader of his party, it embodied the policy which would be pursued by that party if it obtained a majority in the House of Commons. In 1846 things had come so near to existing conditions that Peel carried with him the majority of his supporters in the House of Commons in a complete change of attitude towards the Corn Laws. Repeatedly throughout the century we find illustrations of both the processes which combine to make the English system. Powerful leaders change their views, and carry with them great sections of their supporters: a small section advocates some desirable change and

gradually grows into a large mass of educated public opinion powerful enough to compel the leaders to accept the policy as part of their programme. A very incomplete idea of the system is obtained if, on the one hand, the authority and capacity of the political leaders are underestimated, or if, on the other hand, the agencies by which public opinion reacts on the views and conduct of the leaders are regarded as lying outside any explanation of the working constitution of to-day.

Its Influence on the Cabinet.

The will of the majority of the electorate, as ascertained by a general election, is thus made to coincide with the will of the Cabinet, and this solution of the world-old problem of democracy has, at any rate, the merit of being successful. Because it is so constituted, the Cabinet has come to be the Central Government. Its unity is represented by its chief member, now officially as well as popularly known as the Prime Minister. The relations between the Prime Minister and his colleagues differ probably from Cabinet to Cabinet, but there is clearly traceable throughout the period since 1832 a growth of the Cabinet into unity not only because it represents a single political party with a known and traditional policy, but also because of the growing importance of the Prime Minister. Gladstone said to Sir Robert Peel, after the latter's defeat in 1846, "Your government has not been carried on by a Cabinet, but by the heads of departments each in communication with you." The Melbourne government, on the contrary, had been "a mere government of departments without a centre of unity." George III. had been the centre of a similar system, and it had failed to secure either efficient administration or wise legislation. A large electorate, educated by a host of active leaders and able writers into a sense of its powers and its needs, demanded a better system, and has obtained it.

The Cabinet is obviously supreme over administration, for its decisions are immediately and of course clothed with the legal forms necessary to give them effect.

The Cabinet and Legislation.

With regard to legislation the case is different. Here the decision of the Cabinet can only become law with the consent of both Houses of Parliament. The difference however constantly tends to diminish. The majority in the House of Commons is, like the Cabinet, a reflection of the majority of the electors. It may disapprove of some executive action already done by the Cabinet or of some detail in a law which it proposes to carry.

But in disagreeing, it is faced with a great difficulty; a defeated Cabinet must resign. In countries where party divisions are more numerous and less rigid, this does not matter very much, for a new combination of ministers can usually be found, and, indeed, has to be found because the Representative Chamber is elected for a fixed period. In England, however, it is impossible to replace a defeated Cabinet from the ranks of the same party in the Commons. A fresh Cabinet must come from the opposite party, and this leads at once to a general election.

From this there follows the feature of our parliamentary system which is becoming more and more marked—the supremacy of the Cabinet in the House of Commons. Its proposals may be modified as the result of pressure from its own side of the House, but it has to consent to each alteration, and the fact remains that if the Cabinet decides to stand or fall by any clause, it nearly always stands. The last time a Cabinet fell by the defection of its own supporters was in 1886. The principle of the defeated bill—Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill—had, however, not been placed before the country as a definite part of the legislative programme of the Liberal Party. This fact justified the defection and the country ratified it. Even so it is clear that the ultimate result has been to enforce the paramount necessity of avoiding such defections in the future. This can only be done in one way, happily a good one. The electorate must be taken into the confidence of the leaders at an earlier stage, and this implies a training of the people in the formation of political opinions which in the end must prove invaluable.

The Cabinet and the House of Lords.

The position of the Cabinet with regard to the House of Lords undoubtedly varies with the political character of the Cabinet. That this is mischievous is now very generally conceded, and the late Prime Minister announced a definite scheme for remedying it. While acknowledging that it is their duty to accept legislative proposals which have the support of the majority of the electorate, the Lords naturally claim to be the judges as to whether this support is given. It is not the English plan to have a general election to decide the details of one given measure. As we have seen, this is the work of the Cabinet, and the proposal to modify the equal voice of the Lords is a simpler plan than any of the proposed modifications of the way in which the House of Lords is composed. Sir Henry

Campbell-Bannerman proposed that after a given series of joint Committees of both Houses had been held at given intervals, the will of the House of Commons should prevail in the absence of a settlement through this plan. If his proposal were accepted, the Cabinet, whichever party were in power, would be the legal sovereign because it would be the undisputed interpreter of the will of the political sovereign, that is, of the majority of the electorate; at present this condition is only fulfilled when a Conservative Government is in office.

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

By the judicial system of a country is meant its series of courts and judges and its modes of conducting trials. The efficiency of the system is tested by the ease, cheapness, accuracy and impartiality with which it deals with the cases that come before it. In all these respects the English system has won the admiration of the world. In its existing forms, and still more in its formulas, it bears evident traces of its growth out of very ancient ideas and customs. The nineteenth century, which reorganised so much of our constitutional machinery, also produced considerable changes in the judicial system, but here, as elsewhere the study of the past is the only sure clue to the present.

The Crown as the Fountain of Justice.

Every case that comes before a court of law involves some real or alleged breach of contract, the non-fulfilment of a duty imposed by law upon the accused party whereby the accusing party is injured. If the duty is one which is imposed upon each subject with regard to all other subjects, so that when anyone breaks it, society, as a whole, is injured, the breach of duty is a crime. So when A deliberately sets fire to B's hayrick, A is not permitted to escape by paying B the value of the hay, nor B to condone the matter by accepting it. Society, as we know it, could not exist if such occurences were, as was once the case, so lightly settled; and the matter comes into court as Rex *v.* A, where the King acts as the representative of society. But if A has purchased the hay and declines to pay for it, then the duty which A has broken is one which refers only to B, and the case comes into court as a civil action, B *v.* A, and here B can forgive the debt, or A pay it, without consulting the court. The point of contact between the two cases is that in each of them the judge acts as the deputy of

the Crown and does work which in theory can only be done by the Crown.

We can go back to a time when the King did the work, or rather some of it, himself. James I., who had very exalted notions of his prerogative, desired to do some of it, but was plainly told that he could not, and wisely refrained from pursuing his attempt. The theory that the King was the fountain of justice was one that cut clean across old notions and powerful claims, but the Kings and their lawyers gradually made it prevail: the Kings, because, as Henry II. frankly said, justice was a great source of revenue; the lawyers, because a sound legal system could only be built on the basis that some known and recognisable individual should have the ultimate voice in the settlement of all cases.

The Law Courts.

Here, however, as in legislation and administration, we cannot go back to a time when the King was not assisted by a body of counsellors. At first the same council served for all functions, but judicial duties require special knowledge and trained judgment, and what eventually happened was that certain sections of the Great Council split off into law courts, which became fixed in the metropolis. These courts were (1) the Exchequer Court which dealt with revenue cases, (2) the King's Bench which dealt with "pleas of the Crown," cases, that is, in which the King prosecuted as the representative of society, or, in one word, crimes, and (3) the Court of Common Pleas which tried disputes between subjects. These Courts were all in existence by the end of the thirteenth century, and the first and second soon began in very clever ways to steal business from the third, so that in the end any court could try any civil action.

Chancery.

The way to the complete acceptance of the theory was originally blocked by the existence of numerous local courts, some popular and others feudal in origin. They were brought into it by a simple plan. In both cases the theory was that the law was the will of the King, and there was, therefore, no reason why the law should only spring from one of these two sources. Consequently, the Lord Chancellor, as the Keeper of the King's conscience, gradually came to hold another Court, the Court of Chancery, which was intended to do right when the Common Law (for Statutes at this time were not yet a regular source of new and improved laws) was harsh or incompetent. And though there was no law administered in the Court of Chancery

but only equity, this Court, too, in time came to judge by a rather hard and fast set of rules. There were, moreover, many other courts and judges at different times, some of which, as the famous Star Chamber, were abolished; others, as the old County Courts, gradually fell into disuse. The system was clearly ready for the reform effected by a series of Acts in the nineteenth century, chiefly the Judicature Act of 1873.

The Existing System.

The new system is, in outline, as follows:—

I.—*Local Courts with Local Judges*:

(1) For criminal cases there are the Justices of the Peace, sitting weekly in Petty Sessions or four times a year in Quarter Sessions; or, in large towns, paid magistrates, called Stipendaries or Recorders, who take the place of the unpaid Justices of the Peace. Since 1907 there has also been a Court of Criminal Appeal.

(2) For civil cases, there are the new County Courts, established in 1846, for the speedier settlement of claims for small debts.

II.—*The Central Courts in London.*

The Act of 1873 blended all the old Central Courts into one "Supreme Court of Judicature," and then cut this into two parts: (1) the High Court of Justice, itself divided into divisions bearing the names of the old Central Courts, and (2) the Court of Appeal. It was at first intended to abolish the legal functions of the House of Lords, but this part of the scheme was not carried out, and the House of Lords remains the final Court of Appeal. As a matter of fact, when the House of Lords meets to act as a Court, only the Lord Chancellor and certain "law-lords" attend, and the other members stay away. When once appointed, the Judges of the Supreme Court are almost entirely independent of the King, the Cabinet, Parliament and the people. They can only be removed by the King on an address from both Houses of Parliament.

Independence of Judges.

(3) At stated times in each year the judges of the High Court go "on circuit" round the Counties, but except that they sit outside London, and hear local causes, their position and honours are the same as when they are sitting in London.

Trial by Jury.

The people have their share, and that an important one, in the working of the judicial system. Whenever a person accused of a crime denies the charge, the evidence for and against him is examined under the direction of the judge by opposing lawyers, and the question of his guilt is decided by a criminal jury of twelve

responsible male citizens, unless the offence is not of a serious nature and the accused elects to have it decided by the magistrates. So in most civil cases the facts of the case and the amount of damages are determined by a civil jury. The jury has an interesting but rather obscure history, into which we cannot go further than to say that this work of the English citizen in the administration of the law is linked step by step with the most ancient customs of our race. Before law was the King's will, before justice was his prerogative, there was a time when law was the custom of the people, and justice the expression of their opinion on the case before them. The jury has done important service in maintaining the liberties of the English people, though at times it has acted unjustly and tyrannically. There is no need now for the jury as a bulwark of our liberties, and its abolition is sometimes urged on the ground that it is clumsy and antiquated. It serves however a very useful purpose, not directly contemplated by the law, which ought to ensure its continuance. It brings thousands of responsible citizens into contact with the failures of society, and so is nourishing that feeling of corporate responsibility for their existence which is a growing and useful force.

THE CHURCH.

We have, finally, to consider the Crown in another aspect. The King is the "Supreme Governor of the Church of England." Nowhere in the Dominions beyond the seas does the same rule hold. In Ireland, the similar tie between the Crown and the Church was broken in 1869. In Scotland, where some relations between Church and State still exist, the power of the Crown is much smaller and the Church itself quite different in doctrine and discipline. In Wales, the Church is in a small minority, and is regarded as an alien institution. Even in England, large bodies of Christians are organised in Churches which are outside "the Church," and have no special connection with the State. Relations with the State they must have for, as corporations or legal persons, they stand in some respects in the same position as individuals. The Church of England has relations with the State peculiar to itself; it is the National Church, "and as such is built into the fabric of the State."

Religious Liberty.

At the present time each individual Englishman is given full liberty to form and almost complete liberty to expound his opinions on that most vital of all matters—his religion. If, however, he

does not expressly claim to be excluded from the National Church, the law regards him as a member of it. This liberty to remain outside it, and to persuade others to do the same, has been fully granted only within times still recent, and it was only, as it were, the other day when this liberty ceased to carry with it disabilities that were often very onerous. This serves to remind us that at one period in our history it was a matter of accepted belief and practice that the State had the right, and was indeed bound by the duty, of determining what religious opinions should be held by its subjects.

The Established Church.

The Church of England is called the "Established Church," because of the following points :—

(1) Its doctrines and ritual, or at any rate, the form of words in which they are expressed, have been settled and can only be altered by Act of Parliament. The Book of Common Prayer, which contains the religious doctrines of most Englishmen in words which all of them cherish for their singular fitness and beauty, is itself the schedule of an Act of Parliament.

(2) Its chief dignitaries, the archbishops, bishops and deans, are appointed by the Crown on the advice of the Prime Minister. The areas of their spiritual jurisdiction are settled and changed only by Acts of Parliament. Their relations to each other depend, too, on the sanction of the State.

(3) Its assemblies, the two Convocations of Canterbury and York, are summoned by the Crown, and their decisions are only valid after receiving its consent.

(4) That part of the income of the Church which accrues from tithes is collected under obligations imposed by law on the tithe-payers. Originally tithes were the free gifts of the faithful, and when the faithful came to include everybody, there was much reason in the intervention of the State to make them obligatory and certain, thereby giving to the Church an income which enabled it to fulfil its historical mission to spread civilisation and culture as well as beliefs. They are not paid now exclusively to the Church, but are often the property of laymen. In all cases they are a rent-charge on income derived from land, and as by this time they have been allowed for in the price paid for land when it has changed hands, they cannot be said to press on those landowners who are not churchmen. To abolish them would be to make landowners a handsome present. The proposal to divert them, as was done in Ireland, to secular purposes has no serious support.

CHAPTER XIII.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Bureaucracy and Local Self-Government.

The Central Government of a State might undertake to perform all the work of governing its subjects, and if the State is a very small one it may succeed well enough in the task. If, however, the area to be controlled is extensive and the population numerous, the Central Government, even if it controls everything, must delegate a great deal of the work to local agents, responsible to it alone, and obedient to its orders. This form of government, a bureaucracy as it is called, has its advantages so long as the officials which control it are keen to do the work well, and the subjects, seeing it done well, are indifferent to their exclusion from the management of the smallest affairs of their common life. In fact, however, no Central Government finds it necessary to attempt to do all the work of governing. Even a centralised despotism, whose only object is to maintain its own position intact, finds that there is much that it can hand over to its subjects without prejudice to its own interests. Moreover, in every Western country the actual mode of carrying on the government is the result of a long history, in the earlier stages of which it is clear that local life was strong, vigorous and autonomous. The Central Government has been superimposed on this local government, and notwithstanding that the former has become the more important because its powers and its tasks are greater, the latter has everywhere survived and in the leading countries has been organised so as to satisfy modern requirements.

Advantages of Local Self-Government.

In a country like England, where the ultimate central authority is the electorate, Local Government serves a still more important purpose. It trains the political intelligence of the electors by giving them an interest in the management of affairs which touch them closely and which are readily

intelligible to them. The thousands of men and women who serve on local governing bodies acquire a knowledge of the problems and difficulties of government, which they could get in no other way. Responsibility is added to enthusiasm, and our political life is steadied by the existence of this large class of local representatives.

Effects of the Industrial Revolution.

Before turning to the system of local government, it will be useful to indicate its connection with the great economic and political changes previously described. The connection is plain at a glance. The Industrial Revolution increased the need for a sound system of local government by intensifying the evils which were caused by its absence, and by providing it with plenty of fresh work to do. The political revolution determined the important fact that the system of local government should be parallel to the system of central government, that is, that it should be based on a series of elective authorities.

Growth of Population.

The Industrial Revolution caused a remarkable increase in the population of this country. The population nearly doubled itself during the reign of George III., being about 6·7 millions in 1760, and twelve millions in 1821, and it more than doubled in the next sixty years. Still more important, from the present point of view, was the way in which this rapidly growing population grouped itself under the stress of the new economic forces. England and Wales may be divided into four districts: (1) London; (2) Large towns with a population of 20,000 and upwards; (3) Small towns, 2,000 to 20,000; (4) Rural districts, including towns of less than 2,000.

The population of England and Wales was thus distributed amongst the groups:—

	1801.	1871.
(1)	958,863	3,251,913
(2)	1,445,290	6,546,627
(3)	1,211,092	2,775,739
(4)	5,277,291	10,137,987
	8,892,536	22,712,266

Soon after the census of 1871 the system of local government was improved, or at any rate increased, by the institution of Sanitary Districts. The name of the new bodies indicates the importance of the work they had to do. The figures illustrate its extent, for the problems of local government increase in importance and difficulty as population crowds into small

areas. Insanitary conditions which may be little more than a nuisance in a village, become a danger when the village grows into a town, and things which the villagers can obtain for themselves, as water, or can do without, as pavements and street lamps, must be provided for the townsfolk. As the century wore on, the effect of the economic changes on the rural districts became more and more obvious. In 1801, 59·3 per cent. of the population lived in the rural districts, in 1871 only 44·6 per cent. This "Rural Exodus" is not peculiar to this country, for it is just as marked a feature in Germany and the United States. Here, however, we have only to observe its influence on the system of local government. It was thought and hoped that the "flight from the land," as the Germans have more tersely called it, might be checked somewhat if the people in the rural districts had a more direct voice in their own common local life. This was the idea behind the "Parish Councils Act" of 1894, so that both by its constructive and its destructive results the Industrial Revolution has shaped our system of local government, by providing manifold problems clearly within its recognised sphere.

The Rural Exodus.

It is not merely a coincidence that the great extensions of the parliamentary franchise were in each case followed by great reforms of local government. In 1835 the government of the municipalities, in 1872 the administration of sanitary laws, in 1888 the government of the counties, were improved by laws which were only further applications of the discovered truth that democracy was a practicable, as well as an inevitable, form of government for all purposes in this country. The Industrial Revolution raised problems which society will be long in solving, but it has already given rise to forms of government which will be capable of testing any suggested solution without looking to any other compulsion, to use Oliver Cromwell's great phrase, "than that of light and reason."

Results of Political Emancipation.

A clear outline of the problems involved can be obtained by supposing that a system of local government is to be established in a country which has hitherto not possessed one. The following points would have to be settled:—(1) The areas most suitable as spheres of local government would have to be chosen, and it is not easy "to cut and carve kingdoms

Local Government Areas.

like Dutch cheeses," as a statesman said in the eighteenth century, when the task was often attempted. The areas to be chosen may be already there as the result of history, *e.g.*, the English shire and the French province, or they may be made for the occasion, *e.g.*, the English "Union," and the French department. But, as we have already seen, economic forces move the population to be governed into groups which cut across the boundaries given by history, as London has spread itself into four counties, and these new groups are of primary importance in modern life. Moreover, the line between town and country became hard to draw when it was no longer necessary to live behind the shelter of the town walls, and it has become harder still since the railway and the electric tramcar have enabled people to live far out of the towns in which they work. It is impossible, therefore, to find a unit of local government which shall be as uniform as the yard or the gallon. But, supposing this unit of area to have been selected the next problem is (2) to determine whether these units shall be separately governed for all local purposes, or whether they shall be grouped into larger areas for more important purposes, and, if so, what shall be the relation between the authorities of the units and the authority of the larger group. This relation may be one of independence or subordination for some or all purposes. (3) The areas having been fixed, and grouped and graded if so determined, the next point to settle is how the local authorities are to be appointed. The alternatives are selection by the central authority and election by the inhabitants of the locality. Both methods commonly exist side by side on the Continent, and the former has only recently been entirely replaced in England by the latter. The advantage of appointment from the centre is that the authorities will be salaried experts under strict supervision, but in practice this is apt to result in a dull and irresponsible bureaucracy—a form of government particularly detested at any rate in England. If the authorities are elected, the qualifications of members and voters have to be fixed, and the constitution of the governing body to be determined.

Units and Groups.

Appointment and Election.

None of these are easy tasks, but they are light compared with others that immediately follow, for (4) the whole work of governing has to be divided between the central and the local authorities.

Division of Functions.

This division differs widely from time to time within the same country, and from country to country at the same time. The carrying of letters in London was at one period of the seventeenth century undertaken by the City authorities; it is now jealously restricted to the Central Government. The relief of the poor is supervised to-day in Western Australia by the State Government, in England it is purely a local matter. The actual division, then, is never made on theoretical grounds; it is partly dictated by convenience or necessity, and is partly the result of history. Even with the ground clear for the establishment of the best system, mere theory would prove a very inefficient guide. All that it could say would be that if a matter exclusively affects the inhabitants of a given area it should be left to the local authority of that area. Hence there is an obvious need for the establishment of different areas for different purposes. Yet it is obvious too, that, in a country with a crowded and migratory population, it will not be easy to find matters which exclusively affect the inhabitants of any given area. The paving, cleansing and lighting of the streets of a town are perhaps exclusively the concern of its inhabitants, since visitors who disapprove of them have an easy remedy; they may then be left to the unfettered decision of the town authorities, but in most matters, and particularly in sanitary work, it is obvious that a minimum of requirements must be fixed by a higher authority which is empowered to see that it is observed. (5) This involves the settlement of the relations between the central government and the elected local authorities. Apart from the coercive power which it necessarily possesses, the central government, through the traditions, experience and equipment of its various departments, is naturally better qualified to judge of the larger aims to be pursued, and the best means of attaining them. "Power," said J. S. Mill, "may be localised, but knowledge to be most useful must be centralised." Under modern conditions it is impossible to allow local governing bodies to be absolutely independent, but the degree of dependence and the modes of maintaining it are capable of indefinite variations. (6) Lastly, it need hardly be said that the carrying on of local government is expensive, and the ways in which local governments shall raise the necessary funds, and the financial relations between the localities and the centre have to be determined.

Relations with the Central Government.

Haphazard Growth.

It is obvious that local government bristles with difficulties even when the ground is clear for the establishment of a system based on the experience of other countries. Until recently local government in England was a chaos that baffled long study, much more succint description. It had grown up without any attempt to see that it grew towards a rational, convenient and well-connected system. Since 1888 great changes have been made in this direction.

We have, then, to indicate the way in which the existing English system solves the problems of Local Government.

Historical Areas.

(1) The areas within which local authorities are entrusted with the administration of local affairs are of two kinds, which may be conveniently distinguished as (*a*) historical or natural, and (*b*) modern or artificial, though any attempt to make the distinction rigid would be absurd. The historical group is enumerated in the opening words of the most famous biography in the English language: "Samuel Johnson was born at Lichfield in Staffordshire. . . . His baptism is recorded in the register of St. Mary's Church in that city." The shire or county, the city or borough, and the parish, are areas which go back to the earliest ages of our history, and as far back as we can trace them we find them to be not only centres of local life, but areas of local government; to-day their work as such is greater than ever, and far better organised.

Counties.

The English counties are familiar to all, because they are important enough to claim, and large enough to get, a distinct place on the map. Some of them, *e.g.*, Norfolk, Middlesex, and Wiltshire, have names which would indicate the fact, even if it were not known from other sources, that they were once the territories of peoples who were politically independent, however closely akin by blood and language. Those counties, again, which have taken their name from a town, *e.g.*, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, seem from their names to have had an artificial origin, and were probably carved out for administrative and military purposes by the conquering kings of Wessex. In any case, they existed long before the Norman Conquest, and each of them had in its "shire moot" its own organ of local government, and its own connecting link with the central government. The need for local government was not then keenly felt over such a large area as a county, for local interests

were much more circumscribed. Moreover, what England needed was a strong central government, and as the influence of the central government made itself more and more felt, what happened to the county as an organ of local government was simply that the local authorities within it became merely the local agents of the central government. Still the English spirit of independence also found expression even here, and the final result was that these local agents of the central government, the Justices of the Peace, governed the counties in practical independence of the central authorities. This peculiarly English system lasted right down to our own day. Until 1888, bodies of gentlemen who, after appointment by the Crown became independent of its authority, ruled and taxed the inhabitants of the counties, and did it, on the whole, well and economically. The reason was that their work as local administrators was gradually tacked on to their original work as magistrates, and as the administration of justice was always under the control of persons appointed by the central government, they kept both kinds of work. Even in 1888, the Justices were not entirely disconnected from functions involving the levying of a rate. It remains to be noted that the 52 "geography-book counties" are increased to 62 "administrative counties" for purposes of local government. Some famous old sub-divisions of counties, the three "parts" of Lincoln, the three "ridings" of Yorkshire, the soke of Peterborough, and the Isle of Ely are administrative counties. Suffolk and Sussex are split into two, and London and the Isle of Wight are distinct counties—making the 62.

Justices of the Peace.

The aggregation of people in an area enormously increases the work of local government. Hence there are 76 large towns which are called "county boroughs" because, for purposes of local government they are almost independent of the counties in which they are geographically situated, and have all the local powers of a county. This indeed illustrates how the boroughs originated in local aggregations of people, who gradually became "free of the shire," that is, got out of the control of the shire official, the sheriff, and were connected directly with the central government. They did this in each case by means of a bargain with the King, who sold them a charter and with it powers of self-government. The "freemen" of the borough elected the corporation which governed it, and as a

County Boroughs and other Boroughs.

rule no man could be a freeman unless he was a member of one of the guilds which regulated the trades carried on in the borough. Corrupt for parliamentary purposes, we have already seen them to have been, and for purposes of local government they were equally corrupt and inefficient. Plymouth with a population of 75,000 was ruled by 437 freemen; Portsmouth with a population of 45,000 by 102 freemen. Moreover, towns however large, which had no charter, had to be content with a parish organisation. The Reform Act which abolished the political corruption of the boroughs was followed by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, which reformed the municipal government by sweeping away most existing anomalies and giving to each borough a proper constitution. The work was well but incompletely done, and was finished by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1883. A borough is now any place subject to the provisions of that Act; any place can petition for a charter placing it in the list of boroughs, and if it has a population of over 50,000 it can, on petition, become a county borough. Nineteen of the most ancient of them are either "Counties of Cities" or "Counties of Towns" (though not necessarily also County Boroughs), and these are quite independent of the County in which they are situated.

The Parish.

The Parish is the smallest area of local government. It corresponds to, and is generally the successor of, the "township," the smallest administrative area of the Anglo-Saxon system, which, on the introduction of an organisation to provide for the spiritual needs of the newly converted Anglo-Saxons, was naturally selected as the ecclesiastical unit. The Parish then was the township in its ecclesiastical aspect. We see that "parish" and "town" (a shortened form of "township") are the same in Chaucer, for his "poore persoun of a toune" is a parish priest, or vicar as we should say. After the Norman Conquest the township became the manor of a feudal superior, but gradually the local autonomy which it had lost as township it regained, under the leadership of the priest, as a parish. At first the assembly of the parishioners in the "vestry," presided over by the priest, was for ecclesiastical purposes only, but these were wider then than now. Relief of the poor was a spiritual duty enforced in the parishes by a rather feeble ecclesiastical machinery, and when under Elizabeth it became a civil duty enforced by officials and supported by a rate, the parish was made the unit for poor law

purposes, and started on a new career as an area of local government.

Poor-law Unions.

The second group of areas was formed in the nineteenth century. The parish had failed as a poor-law area, and when the poor law was reformed in 1834, parishes were grouped into "Unions" for poor-law purposes. Then, when the administration of a code of sanitary laws was enforced, the work was added to that of rural Unions, and in towns to the municipal authorities if they existed, or to specially elected authorities if they did not. These Unions and Sanitary Districts cut across county boundaries, and so were artificial areas. The practice of creating a new sort of "district" for any new purpose of local government was followed in the "school districts" which administered the Education Acts. Recent legislation has aimed at simplification of areas and unity of administration. The boroughs have their own organisation. The county has its own; so has the rural parish.

Urban and Rural Districts.

Between the County and the Parish there has been established the "County District," which is either an "Urban District" or a "Rural District." The Urban District, as its name indicates, is more closely populated than a Rural District. It may be *e.g.*, some small country town with a long history behind it, or a village which is growing into a large town, because some mines or mills have been opened in its neighbourhood. The effect of density of population on forms of local government is clearly seen. An Urban District has many of the powers of a borough, and many have all by delegation, and a borough is always an Urban District even if it is also a County Borough. On the other hand, the Rural District is always a Poor Law Union and the same authority acts in both capacities, whereas in an Urban District there is always a separate authority for Poor Law purposes. They are the successors of the Unions and Sanitary Districts, but by rearrangement of boundaries each District is now in one administrative County, so that the old "hundred" of our Saxon ancestors has been re-introduced at the end of the nineteenth century. Shire, Hundred, and Township, each with its moot, are parallel to County, District, and Parish, each with its Council. To complete the parallel, there is now, as then, the borough, breaking off from the organisation suitable to a scattered, agricultural population to live its own

life under its own authorities; and finally, London, which in the time of our Saxon forefathers was already large enough to be treated as a hundred is now large enough to be a County in itself, sub-divided into twenty-nine "Metropolitan Boroughs."

Supervision of the Areas.

(2) The County has not only work of its own to do, but it has disciplinary and supervisory powers over the District and the Parish. "In fact it is made the duty of the County Council to see that the new system of local government works properly all over the Country." A County Borough has, of course, no sub-divisions to control, the urban parish having no powers of local government unless, as in a few cases, it is large enough to be a poor law union by itself.

Popular Election.

(3) In all local government areas the governing authority is now an elected council, except in parishes with a population of less than 300, when it may, instead, be a legally summoned meeting of the whole body of ratepayers. The franchise includes all ratepayers, the qualification for membership is an easy one to get, and women are now eligible (1908). County Councils have one-third as many co-opted aldermen as they have councillors. In boroughs the aldermen are chosen from the elected councillors, and others are then elected to the vacant seats. No member of a local governing body has any executive power as such; the work is divided amongst committees, but no committee can act by itself. The Council is the responsible authority; it is a body corporate or legal person, capable of owning property and of suing and being sued in a court of law. In practice, an able and devoted chairman either of a Committee or a Council, has a great deal of very real power and influence, but the executive work of local administration is carried on by paid officials.

Functions of Local Authorities.

(4) The chief matters which are administered in England by local authorities are (*a*) Education, (*b*) Public Health, (*c*) Roads and Streets, and (*d*) Poor Relief. As a rough statement it may be said that Education is controlled by the County Councils, though many boroughs and urban districts have control of elementary education; the administration of the Public Health and Building Laws by the District Councils; main roads by County Councils, by-roads and streets by District Councils; and the Poor Laws by the Unions—remembering, of course, that many Boroughs are Counties, all are

Urban Districts, and that all Rural Districts are also Unions. Anything like a detailed account would be impossible here, even if each of the local areas we have described did uniformly the same work. In fact they do not. No detailed account of the work of any given local body would serve as a standard for any other of its own class. There are two reasons for this. The first is that the Central Government has wide powers of delegating certain kinds of work to the County Councils, the County Councils to the District Councils, and the District Councils to the Parish Councils, and this power of delegation is not uniformly exercised.

The second, and far more important, reason is that there is a clearly marked distinction between two kinds of work done in England by local authorities. Each of them has (1) *duties* which it must perform, and (2) *powers* which it may exercise. Centuries ago the Londoners declared they would have "no King but the Mayor"; a few years ago an English statesman declared "We are all Socialists now." The old spirit which stood sturdily for local independence, and the modern spirit which stands for organised control of the conditions of life, are enabled to work together for the common good by this distinction between the duties and the powers of our local authorities.

Fresh additions to Local functions.

When the State takes over a new function or enlarges the operation of an old one, the actual administration is often handed over to a local governing body. In the nature of things, the work has to be done on the spot; knowledge of local needs and conditions is necessary, and is already possessed by local residents who are able and willing to carry out the new work. Recently, in England, the State has tentatively undertaken to find work for the unemployed. The task, though implied in a very old law, is a new one in fact, and has been added to the sphere of local government. Very frequently, too, Parliament simply empowers such local authorities to do certain things if they choose to do them, *e.g.*, to establish a public bath, or if they are asked to do them by their constituents, *e.g.*, to form a public library. Around the circle of things which they must do there are numerous concentric circles of things which they may do.

Permissive Legislation.

In this way there is obtained a series of administrative experiments whereby local bodies learn from each other the best method of doing their work. This permissive legislation allows

localities to practise their own views as to the rate at which they will encroach on the sphere of private enterprise, which is so serious a matter that it ought not to be unduly hurried. Experience will gradually determine what things a local governing body can do to the satisfaction of all concerned, and the circle of compulsory duties will therefore probably grow larger as time goes on. There are some things which must be done if our common life is to be merely tolerable. The causes of disease can best be eliminated by the expert administration of a code of sanitary laws; ignorance and its inevitably evil consequences can best be overcome by a system of public education. In this class of things the law must prescribe and enforce the necessary minimum, and it is by far the easier and more effective method to do the thing by public authority than to punish the citizen for not doing it himself. William Shakespeare's father, if he lived to-day, would not be given the opportunity of incurring the two fines which are recorded against him, nor would Dr. Johnson, on arriving in a town when it was dark, be afforded the facilities for discovering that it was Edinburgh which were open to him in 1773, when the anxious Boswell wished that his famous guest could have been "without one of his five senses upon this occasion." An Englishman is not compelled to use water, but he is compelled to have a sufficient quantity of it available in or near his house, though whether the supply shall be owned as well as enforced by a local governing body is a matter of local arrangement. He is compelled to learn to read, but whether he shall be supplied with books and papers from a public library is again left to the locality in which he lives.

Municipalisation.

The State, acting through local authorities is here seen to be making life tolerable, according to our modern views of what is necessary to make it so. We are slowly but surely coming to the conclusion that this is too low a limit of State activity. The idea which is altering our whole outlook on politics, is nowhere better expressed than in a sentence translated by a great Englishman from the greatest Greek: "The State is created for the maintenance of life, but when once established has a higher aim." This higher aim, in English local government, is taking the form of transferring to public ownership and control the supply of indispensable commodities and services which must in any case be monopolies,

and which, in private hands, may have opportunities of exacting an unfair toll. This "municipal socialism" is vigorously attacked, but the attack is directed not so much against the theoretical advantages of public ownership, as against the inefficiency and wastefulness of the public bodies in whom the ownership is vested. The remedies are to revert to private ownership, or to insist upon efficient and economical public control; but the commercial criteria which apply to private ownership do not apply without qualification to public ownership, while it is confusing to call funds raised by a company "capital" and funds raised for the same purpose by a public body "debt."

Connection between Central and Local Authorities.

(5) The connection between the Central and the Local Authorities in England is formed by two links. Every local governing body, from the primary assembly of half-a-dozen parish ratepayers to the London County Council representing as many millions, does the work entrusted to it by Parliament. It may do it ill or well, but it can never do more. Any act, however trifling, which goes beyond its sphere is illegal and punishable; as on the other hand is the refusal to do any act specifically appointed to be done by Act of Parliament. Of legislation by local bodies there is no trace. They may make bye-laws, but only for clearly defined purposes, and when made they have to receive the sanction of Parliament; but they have no more power to change the law than a private individual, and are under the same obligation to obey it as he is. This is the first of the two links. The second is the relation of every local authority to one or more departments of the Central Government, the chief of which is the Local Government Board. Exactly the same rule, however, holds good here. The authority of these central departments is strictly legal; it is granted, defined and limited by Act of Parliament. The Local Government Board was established in 1871, on the urgent recommendation of a Royal Sanitary Commission, "to constitute and give adequate strength to one central authority," above the then existing chaos of local authorities. The Board, on the usual English plan, is not a Board but an individual, its President, who is always a Cabinet Minister. Its authority is ample. Acts of Parliament frequently empower it to make regulations for particular purposes which have the effect of a statute unless a Court of Law

The Local Government Board.

determines that they are *ultra vires*, which of course it could not do with a statute. It gives advice to local authorities. It brings pressure to bear on authorities whose administration is lax and inefficient. Its consent is necessary before they can raise loans, and its ratification is required for many of their decisions. It audits their accounts. It reports each year on the whole sphere of local government, and, finally, the Cabinet rank of the President enables him to secure fresh legislation when it is needed.

The Boards of Education, Trade and Agriculture.

The Board of Education controls the educational system of the country, and the County Councils and other educational authorities are subordinate to it. Moreover they must obey it, for they draw a large part of their income as education authorities from its grants, the conditions of which it can determine. Its President, who is again the Board, is a Cabinet Minister. The Board of Agriculture, the Board of Trade, and the Treasury have smaller but similar powers in relation to local authorities.

Local Finance.

(6) The work of local government entails a very heavy expenditure. In the year ending March 31, 1904, the aggregate income of the local authorities of England and Wales was £133,657,825. The national revenue for the same year was £151,339,277, and if the share of England and Wales is assumed to be four-fifths, it is seen that the local income is considerably larger than the national revenue. In 1868 the national revenue was £69·6 million, four-fifths of which is £55·7 million, and in that year the income of the local authorities of England and Wales was only £30·1 million. There are four main sources of local revenue, and their yield in 1903-4 was:—

	£
(1) Public Rates	52,941,665
(2) Local Taxation Duties and Government Grants	15,613,892
(3) Revenues from Undertakings	24,284,200
(4) Loans	31,279,470

In 1868 rates yielded £16·2 million, and loans 5·5 millions; the second item hardly existed, yielding only £1·2 million, and there is no separate item in the accounts for "revenues from undertakings." In 1903-4, the local authorities spent over £21·5 millions in repayment of loans, and raised £31·3 millions of new loans, their total outstanding loans amounted to £394 millions, of which £187 millions had been spent on remunerative undertakings.

Rates.

Local authorities levy their direct contributions by means of rates. A rate is a sum of money demanded by a local authority from the occupier of a separate piece of "real" property, *i.e.*, land and buildings. It is always so much in the £ multiplied by the number of £ at which the property is rated, which always bears a known relation to its annual rent. When a local authority needs a larger income it can do either or both of two things: (1) raise the rateable value of properties wherever possible; (2) raise the rate in the £. But the former has a definite limit—the rent, and when it fails or is not enough, the second course has to be adopted, and a proof of the recourse that has been had to it lies in the fact that in the thirty years ending 1903-4, the rateable value of property increased only 68.4 per cent, while the rates increased 175·8 per cent. Hence local burdens are increasing much faster than local resources, and the problem of readjusting the burdens and increasing the resources is becoming very urgent.

Remunerative Expenditure.

Before referring briefly to suggested remedies, one obvious remark must be made. So far as a man when he pays a rate purchases a commodity (*e.g.* a supply of water), or remunerates a service (*e.g.* the removal of refuse), or repays capital which he has invested, along with his fellow-ratepayers, in a capitalistic enterprise (*e.g.* municipal trams) which is yielding him a profit, he cannot be regarded as paying a tax. If the rates of each ratepayer are in proportion to his share of the benefits conferred, and if efficient administration makes the latter worth the former, there is no ground of complaint. But when the burdens are without equivalent benefits (*e.g.*, the poor rate), or the benefits though real are equally diffused (*e.g.*, the reduction of the death and disease rate through increased expenditure on sanitation), it is clear that they should be distributed according to ability to bear them.

Incidence of Rates.

Rates are paid by the occupiers of real property. The owners of real property (except when they also occupy it) do not contribute directly to local taxation. Personal property is not taken into account in fixing rates. Proposals for the reform of local taxation aim at (1) rating the owners of real property, (2) levying a contribution from personal property. Inasmuch as both sources are freely tapped for national purposes, the end is often sought by the simpler process of turning local into

national burdens. The expenditure on education, and the relief of the poor, are suggested as ready for transference.

Taxation of Ground Values.

It is frequently urged, as against the proposal to rate the owners of real property, that the owner of a farm or of the site of a house pays all the rates, because the total amount which the tenant is prepared to pay in order to have land to cultivate or a roof over his head, is always rent *plus* rates, and that, therefore, any addition to the rates must decrease the rent as every diminution of rates must increase the rent. This might be true if there were no such things as leases, and if tenants always had an alternative farm or house to go to. These conditions are rarely fulfilled, but even if they were, and it was quite certain that the owner of the site of a house in a growing town always paid all existing rates, that would not alter the fact that the rates he pays are always far less than the increased rent which the mere growth of population enables him to obtain without exertion or sacrifice on his part. And as it is certain that he does not pay all the rates, the proposal to levy a special rate on him is founded on the equities of the case. The difficulty is that in many instances he would have no difficulty in adding the new rate to the old rent.

A Rate on Personal Property.

The proposal to rate personal property arises out of the fact that the occupation of houses of the same annual value by A and B in the town X is at best only a rough test of their ability to contribute to the local revenue. A may be a struggling chemist in the High-street, and B a prosperous doctor in the suburbs, yet they may pay exactly the same rates. To the national revenue each contributes in proportion to his real ability as measured by his net income during life, and the net value of his property, real and personal, after death. It was not intended that local rates should be levied only on real property; but personal property, or moveable property as it is often called, easily evades taxation by local authorities. If it is to be made contributory to local needs it can only be done through the agency of the central government. Various methods of doing this have been adopted. The English method is for

Grants in Aid of Local Rates.

the officials of the Inland Revenue to collect certain taxes which are additional to those of the same kind collected for national purposes. Certain licences and additional duties on beer and spirits are thus collected and handed over to the Councils of

the counties in which they are collected. Certain "death duties" on personal property are also earmarked for local purposes, but the basis of distribution is different. In the year ending March 31, 1907, the total amount thus distributed amongst the local authorities was £8,639,130.

The Broad Issue.

Underlying these questions of rates and municipalisation is the broad issue which comprehends in one form or another nearly all the problems of domestic politics, national as well as local. It is difficult to justify the municipalisation of tramways on principles distinct from those on which is advocated the nationalisation of railways; and the taxation of ground values is equally a national and a local question. Central government and local government are two functions of the State; and our attitude towards both is determined more or less by our conception of its social duties which now remain to be discussed

CHAPTER XIV.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

How will Democracy use its Power?

Central and local government are the two great functions of the State, and the chief domestic issue of the nineteenth century was whether they should be controlled by a privileged class or by the popular will. The question still admits of academic discussion; but for all practical purposes it has been decided by the political emancipation described in a previous chapter; and to it has succeeded the distinct but no less important question as to what use should be made by the people of the power they have secured. This problem has infinite aspects; but most of its domestic ramifications can be traced back to the roots of Industrial Revolution and Commercial Expansion which have produced similar problems in Canada (pp. 301-2), in Australia (pp. 389-90), and in New Zealand (pp. 462-8), as well as in the British Isles. The amount of wealth created, the material basis of our civilisation, has greatly increased. According to the best authorities, the accumulated stock of wealth in the United Kingdom at the beginning of the nineteenth century was worth £2,000 million; at the beginning of the twentieth it was worth £15,000 million.

National Wealth.

No arithmetic, it is true, can compute the advantages which have been derived from the extension of political power to nearly all adult male citizens, and the free recognition of each individual's right to act for himself within definite limits prescribed to all for the good of all. But, notwithstanding this wonderful material and moral advance, it is admitted on all hands that large sections of the population have derived little or no advantage from it. "The submerged tenth" are

The Social Problem.

very insufficiently provided with the necessaries of physical existence; above them is a still larger class who do obtain food, clothing and shelter in sufficient quantities to keep them efficient, but obtain them at a cost in effort which leaves them limp and stagnant in the sordid environment to which they are accustomed. The study of these obvious defects in our social organisation constitutes what is called the "Social Problem." Now the recognition of a problem involves the conception of a solution. There was a time when no problem was recognised, and no solution hoped for. The defects were then regarded as the unavoidable result of the life of man in society, and both man and society as the result of forces entirely beyond human control. That frame of mind has happily vanished. It is recognised that there is no need for such vast defects, though there are profound divergencies of opinion as to the way to remove them. One preliminary remark is necessary to those who enter upon the study of these opposing principles. The practical student has no use whatever for either vilifications or glorifications of existing institutions. The two contrasted theories which we are to discuss are often championed by men whose complacency or intemperance puts them out of court; the scientific student can only regard these views as suggested solutions of a problem and not as weapons of warfare.

Individualists and Socialists.

These theories differ with regard to their reliance upon State action as a mode of removing the evils which both recognise. Those who believe that State action should be reduced to a minimum are Individualists; those who believe that it should be increased to a maximum are Socialists. The latter term includes—or, rather, has included at different periods—various schools of thought which differed considerably both in their proposals and in their principles. So far as purely economic matters are concerned, the modern Socialist of any school or any country is a Collectivist. The means of producing wealth are as essential to human existence as air, and, like it, should be at the disposal of all, and this, they say, can only be the case when they are the property of all.

Common inspiration of both.

There is one curious, and, at first sight, inconsistent, feature about these doctrines. Far apart as they seem, each draws its inspiration from the same sources. Each of them claims to be, as it were, the heir of the nineteenth century. In politics, democracy; in science, evolution—such was the result of that

wonderful epoch, so far as single phrases can express it. Both schools are based on democracy in politics, and both claim to indicate the right line of social evolution. Both agree that there are many things to be remedied and that remedies are available, and ought to be sought for and applied. Both agree, further, that the goal at which they aim is far distant, and can only be reached by the gradual modification of existing institutions and conditions. The fact that they have so much in common may be taken as affording some reason to suspect that the antagonism between them can be merged in a doctrine which includes them both.

Collectivism on the Continent.

We begin with Collectivism, the economic side of the Socialism which has had its armies of adherents on the Continent. In Germany, France, Italy, Belgium and Austria the Socialists are organised into political parties which carry on an active propaganda and are influencing more and more the Governments and Legislatures of their countries. In France, hitherto the classic land of individualism, the Cabinet of M. Clémenceau formed in the autumn of 1906, contains three Socialists. One of them, M. Millerand, as Minister of Commerce and Industry in the Cabinet of M. Waldeck-Rousseau, formed in June, 1899, introduced a series of laws in the interests of labour which marked a new era in French legislation. In Germany the Socialists have an enormous influence in the country, and would have in the Legislature if it were of the kind to which we are accustomed. In every country the Socialist party has a minimum programme of legislation which it would carry into effect at once if it obtained power. These minima vary from country to country, for Socialism takes the existing results of civilization as its basis. It is political and human as well as economic, and claims to fuse the most sublime ideals. Hence it has to start from different levels in different countries. It has to accustom the Englishman to an amount and kind of official intervention which a German even now takes for granted; it has to introduce the latter to a practical responsibility for his political opinions to which the former has long been used.

Its Ideals.

The maximum programme is, on the other hand, the same everywhere, and is formulated in words which translate each other. Historically the demand and the words go back to the Manifesto, issued by Marx and Engels towards the end of 1847

to guide the unenfranchised working-classes in the revolt which was preparing.

Karl Marx.

"The proletariate will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, *i.e.*, of the proletariate organised as the ruling class." The programme of the English Social Democratic Federation affirms "That the emancipation of the working-class can only be achieved through the socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and their subsequent control by the organised community in the interests of the whole people." The French Socialist Party, whose leader, till the unification of all the groups in 1905, was the brilliant orator and writer, M. Jaurès, declared at Tours in 1902: "Just as all the citizens have and handle in common, democratically, political power, so they must have and handle in common economic power, the means of production. They must themselves appoint the heads of work in the workshops, as they appoint the heads of government in the city, and reserve for those who work, for the community, the whole product of work. . . . There is only one way of assuring the continued order and progress of production, the freedom of every individual, and the growing well-being of the workers; it is to transfer to the collectivity, to the social community, the ownership of the capitalistic means of production."

Jaurès.

Political Freedom and Economic Slavery.

The Industrial Revolution entirely changed the outward aspect of the mechanism by which wealth is produced, leaving its motive power—the desire for personally appropriated wealth—unchanged. The revolution contemplated by Collectivism will demand an entire change in the motive power, without necessarily involving any modification of the machinery. The fairly equal diffusion of wealth throughout society might have been effected in time, just as the fairly equal diffusion of political power has been effected, if industry on a grand scale had never been evolved, but the Industrial Revolution, by making Capitalism possible, has made Collectivism inevitable. This will be seen (the argument runs) by considering a concrete case. Politically, Frenchmen are absolutely free and equal. Side by side with this political freedom there exists an economic slavery which is as real

as slavery ever was. Sugar, to the modern Frenchman, is a necessity, yet the whole of the vast apparatus requisite for the production of sugar is absolutely owned and disposed of by a small group of individuals. When it comes to voting, the Frenchman is as free as the swallow; when it comes to making and eating sugar he is a slave. Hence at Saint Mandé in 1896, the French Socialists decreed the nationalisation of the sugar industry. M. Millerand said that it was "incontestably ripe for social appropriation because, monopolised in a few hands, yielding its managers vast profits, characterised at once by the perfecting of its machinery and the immense concentration of its capital, it is thoroughly fitted to supply a fertile and easy subject for social management."

The Collectivist Argument.

Facts such as these supply the Collectivists with the basis of their argument that Collectivism is the end towards which the natural processes of economic evolution are conducting society. Suppose such an industry as sugar-making to become the absolute property of one man who dies intestate and without heirs (and the supposition is sufficiently real to be instructive), so that the whole industry escheats to the State. What would be altered? The industry would go on, under its new master and manager, the State, and the profits would be disposed of for the benefit of the community. What the State would have to do, under our supposition, it will be compelled to do by forces too strong to be resisted. *L'avenir c'est à nous*—the future is ours—said the great Socialist Saint-Simon on his deathbed.

This line of argument apparently leads to the conclusion that, as Collectivism is inevitable, Collectivists are useless. We might as well form a party to advocate the imperative necessity for breathing air. In fact, however, the conception of Collectivism as the inevitable outgrowth of existing conditions is entirely baseless. Collectivism is merely one possible alternative to the existing system, as individualism is another. Its strength rests on the justness of its criticisms of the existing system, and on the adequacy of its own proposals as a remedy for admitted defects. Collectivism is seen at its best in its effective criticisms of the capitalistic organisation of industry, but its effectiveness as a criticism does not establish its claim to be a substitute.

The first charge brought against the existing system is that it is inequitable. Until recently this charge was made so em-

phatically as to amount to accusing society of the deliberate and necessary immolation of the working classes—the "proletariate"—by their employers—the "bourgeoisie." In Marx's Manifesto the condition of the former is unfavourably contrasted with that of slaves and serfs. It has been impossible to maintain these earlier crudities, which credit the whole existing system with conditions only realised in the very worst forms of "sweating"; and though it is even now held that "the capitalist mode of production, when left to itself, has for its result an increase of physical misery," the remedial effects of Trade Unions and legislation are admitted, and the charge reduced to inequity. Whatever the wages of a worker may be, they are always less than the value of the product he creates by his labour. This difference (mehrwerth, "surplus value") goes to the capitalist. The labourer is at a great disadvantage, since, in attempting to claim a share of this surplus value which he has created, he runs the risk of losing even the wages he is allowed to take, and this leaves him helpless as against his employer. Equity demands that the labourer shall enjoy the whole produce of his labour, and under Collectivism he will do so. The effect of capital in increasing the output of the labourer for a given effort is, of course, admitted, but the mass of concrete goods (tools, machines, buildings, &c.) which constitute capital all go back through various forms till they are seen to be nothing but the results of ordinary labour applied to the free gifts of nature. Hence there is no ethical foundation for the claim of the capitalist to a share in the produce. The labourer cannot do without capital; he can and will do without the capitalist. The work of organising the agents of production so as to make the product as great as possible will have to be done under Collectivism, and will have to be adequately remunerated, but the acquisition of an income merely as owner of them, independent of personal service, will cease.

Charges against the existing system: (1) Its Inequity.

The second charge is that the present system is wasteful. Production is carried on for an unknown market of indefinite extent by capitalists competing blindly for the largest possible share of a trade which they can neither estimate nor control. The cutting of prices which ensues, necessitates a continual extension of the scale of industry; profits per cent. growing smaller, the capital involved must become larger, and the

(2) Its Wastefulness and Inefficiency.

capitalistic system is continually outgrowing the organising capacity of the capitalists. Hitherto the results have been "crises," which reduce the present system to an absurdity, since widespread misery results from an overproduction of goods. In many countries to-day there is a marked tendency of capitalists to combine rather than compete. This, if done intelligently, will prevent crises, but only by enslaving the consumer as well as the labourer. Even in the absence of crises, the charge of wastefulness would not lose its force. At present there comes between the producer of an article and its consumer a series of middlemen, who add nothing to its utility as a commodity, and live merely by enhancing its price as it passes through their hands. Further, the maintenance of the system of private property in the agents of production entails an enormous wasteful expenditure in maintaining a legal and punitive system to enforce it. Economic effort is everywhere wasted or misdirected.

(3) Its Immoral Effects.

The third charge against the existing system is that it lowers the level of civilization by devoting the great majority of the citizens to a precarious struggle for the means of existence which blunts their higher faculties. The man who succeeds in the struggle, "the self-made man," is often, if not inevitably, a hard man; in any case, he succeeds at the expense of others, since he can only succeed by paying them less than they have earned. Hence capitalism degrades the capitalists, for it turns the essentially peaceful work of producing commodities to satisfy the needs of man into a brutal struggle for the acquisition of wealth to satiate his greed. It degrades the labourer by making him the serf of a machine, by confining him to a soul-destroying routine, by robbing him of any interest in his work except that of doing just enough not to lose his place. It degrades society as a whole by allowing the existence of two extreme classes each of which is a drag on its forward movement, at one end of the scale the hopeless poor, at the other the shameless rich.

The Remedy Proposed.

The ultimate remedy proposed is, as we have seen, the collective ownership of the means of producing wealth, the collective organisation of industry for the good of all, and the distribution of the product, which only becomes private property after distribution, according to a scale to be collectively determined. Let us try to realise this by going back to

M. Millerand's sugar industry which is ripe for the change. The few capitalists who now own and control the industry are expropriated. Every machine and building, every ounce of raw material and finished product, becomes State property; every official, high and low, becomes a State official; the amount of sugar to be produced is determined by a State department. But what has been profit disappears as such, and reappears as cheaper sugar for the consumers, higher wages and better conditions for the producers, and lower taxes for everybody. The private good of a few is superseded by the common good of the many, and after the expropriated few had died off, it would appear incredible to a generation accustomed to the new plan that the system they had discarded had ever been allowed to exist.

A Possible Example.

Let us suppose, further, that this isolated act of socialisation gives no shock to other industries, that the national credit is unimpaired, that the change takes place, therefore, without friction. What will be the test of success? Simply this, that along with the socialisation of the inanimate agents of production—the capital, there has proceeded the socialisation of the animate agents of production, the labourers. Collectivism, as we have said, demands no change in industrial forms. Even to-day, a cursory inspection of a dockyard or a tramway system does not indicate unmistakably whether it is a public or a private concern. What demands close attention is that, in a socialised industry, the motive that now necessitates efficiency is absent, and has got to be replaced by one equally powerful or society will lose, not gain, by the change. The existing system imposes on most of us the necessity of working, and to a necessity there is no alternative. Collectivism preaches the duty of work, and will exact from every able-bodied adult, says Bebel, a certain amount of work "in agriculture, handicraft, or manufacture"—a division of occupations which may or may not include the all-important services of wives and mothers. It contemplates, therefore, a quasi-military organisation of industrial enterprise with a strict enforcement of discipline. Thus a bill lately introduced in the House of Commons by an English Socialist to provide work for the unemployed imposed a new penalty on those whose lack of employment is clearly their own fault.

The Test of Success.

Now discipline depends in the long run on the power of enforcing it being placed in the hands of those whose interest it

is to see that it is enforced. In a military organisation it becomes increasingly harder, as we climb higher in the scale of ranks, to determine breaches of duty and apply the adequate punishment therefor, and this difficulty is increased by the fact that the highest officials do not willingly punish their immediate inferiors whose social position is hardly distinguishable from their own. In the lower ranks of the new industrial order, the new motive, fear of punishment, may be as effective as the old one, prospect of starvation. In the higher ranks, the probability is less, and in the highest of all there will be no one to inflict it except the people acting through their representatives, and in any case it will only be inflicted after the mischief has been done. As a deterrent against inefficiency the new system would be in no better position than those portions of the existing system which are similarly organised. Industrial efficiency, let alone progress, depends on the "captains of industry." The highest official in every industry will have to determine its output for a given period. Just as now the Secretary for War, has, ultimately, to say how many cartridges, or the Postmaster-General how many stamps, shall be produced in a year, so under Collectivism some individual must say how many shoes shall be produced. Unless the whole system is to come to grief this equalisation of supply and demand must, on an average, be done as well as it is done now. It is done now with the certain knowledge that personal well-being depends upon it being done accurately. It will be done then with the certain knowledge that social well-being alone is at stake.

The Question of Discipline.

The question is whether such guarantees as now exist for the care of public interests in departments like the War and Post Offices can be made adequate or applicable to the whole realm of production and distribution. Many officials, it is true, are keen in the pursuit of the public good, but this keenness bears a certain though indefinite relation to their own advancement and emoluments and has not prevented the recurrence of gross abuses. The point which demands emphasis is now, it is hoped, quite clearly defined. The new system, in demanding the socialisation of labour, demands a new psychology widely different from that which sees nothing immoral in defrauding the State of its income-tax or seeking sinecures. In time it may come, and no valid argument against the final triumph of

The Guarantee of Efficiency.

A New Psychology.

Collectivism can be drawn from its absence to-day. On the other hand, the long lapse of time which the change apparently demands, relegates the new Eden to ages somewhat distant.

Individualism.

If every individual was perfect the State would disappear, for there would be no reason for its existence. This is the basis of many celebrated theories as to the origin of the State. Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau all look on the State as the necessary corrective of the imperfections of the individual. The modern individualist is pledged to no particular theory as to the origin of the State, but he has very clear views as to its destination. The name of his faith suggests the first article of his creed. Society is only an aggregate of individuals, and no individual is or can be removed, by the simple fact of living in society, from the operation of those general laws which determine the lot, not only of individuals, but of societies considered as units. Now science has demonstrated that the race is improved by the inability of weak individuals to stand the strain of fighting their environment. Nature never intervenes between them and it to modify the issues of the strife, and her impartiality is not cruelty but perfect wisdom. For conduct and its consequences are never divorced; the reward for right conduct and the punishment for wrong conduct are both inevitable, and both necessary, in the best interests of the race, since they produce good results not otherwise obtainable. Everything which limits the free play of individuality is a mistaken policy. Trade-unionism, especially of the "new" variety, is as injurious as State interference, from which it is only nominally distinguishable. It is objected that the good results of trade-unionism and State-interference are unmistakable. Since a line of action that achieved no good results whatever would not be persisted in by anyone, the individualist admits the results, and even the goodness of them, but adds that better results would have been achieved by individual action, which could have had no accompanying evil results, whereas the evil results of interference are just as unmistakable, and nothing but cowardice in the face of a democratic franchise prevents us from admitting this to be the case.

Its Value.

Individualism is consistent with a strong sense of existing evil. Herbert Spencer says: "Unquestionably the existing type of social organisation is one which none who care for their kind can contemplate with satisfaction; and unquestionably men's activities accompanying this type are far from being

admirable." It is consistent too, as we see in another able individualist, Mr. Wordsworth Donisthorpe, with a belief that there is a future before society in which even the labourer will have competence and comfort, and share in knowledge, refinement and the higher civilization. Still it dwells strongly and rightly on two facts: (1) the existing organisation yields, on the whole, results which are none the less marvellous because they are too obvious to be marvelled at, and (2) the improvement in the condition of the working-classes, which even the Socialists admit, has been subsequent in time to the removal of restrictions on their freedom of action and their former disabilities compared with the wealth-owning classes. It is also doing good service in two ways: (1) by criticising the results achieved by existing modes of governmental action, it prevents a too ready acquiescence in further extensions of it; (2) by laying stress on personality as the source and sign of improvement it directs attention to the real test of progress. A sure instinct leads us to value "the still, strong man," and he has observed to little advantage who has not found him in every walk of life.

A mistaken Antithesis.

The antithesis between collectivism and individualism is a mistaken one as soon as it is used to imply that the well-being of society depends on a choice being made between them. The phrase, "The Man *versus* the State," the title of Herbert Spencer's trenchant and able attack on State interference, really involves a conception which, inevitable as it must seem to the biologist, is bound to appear futile to the historian. To him the State is not something objective and external to man, with divergent interests and coercive power, for the State consists of men and includes women. He does, indeed, trace in each country the history of a great antagonism—"the Subject *versus* the Sovereign," and the great result of history in our own country has been to develop a form of government which makes this very antagonism a means of progress. The Conservative attacks a Liberal Government in order to defend the British State. Between these surface antagonisms, which do not disturb the fundamental harmony, is the Man *in* the State.

Conclusion.

For the present we have to accept as fundamental the fact that the ownership of capital gives a claim, enforceable at law and backed by an overwhelming public opinion, to a share of the produce. Assuming perfect competition, it can be shown that

each agent of production obtains its own contribution to the product. Hence a society based on private property and actuated by enlightened self-interest, would be not only efficient but just. The statement that the capitalistic form of industry leads inevitably to the degradation of the labourer is unsupported by theory and inconsistent with fact.

Limits of Competition.

On the other hand, there are at present many people who cannot fulfil the first condition of individualism. They have no power to compete, and it is absurd to say that this lack of power is their own fault and is receiving its due punishment. They are even too weak to form voluntary combinations to advance their own interests. The competition of capitalists is another condition of individualistic theory which is growing more and more at variance with facts. Capital is becoming impersonal, and capitalists are showing an increasing disposition to combine. At one end there is no power, and at the other no wish, to compete.

The Object of the State is to Develop the Individual.

We have then, when confronted by these obvious facts of the modern world, to fall back on ancient conceptions, or to look for guidance to experiments in politics elsewhere (*see* pp. 423-4). There is no antagonism between the individual and the State, because the function of the State is to make individualism possible. The factory "hand" of to-day is in a far better position than his predecessor of a century ago. He can develop his individuality to an extent then impossible. This opportunity to develop is a product of many factors, but it is not possible to deny that amongst them are the combinations which he has formed to help himself, and the rules which the State has enacted with regard to the conditions under which he shall work. It is mere bondage to words which looks upon deliberately chosen limitations of individual action as "slavery"; for on the one hand that term is closely associated with some aspects of purely individualistic organisation, and on the other, economic Socialism can be advocated on the ground that it is necessary in the best interests of moral and intellectual individualism. But it is worse still to regard limitations of individual action as ends in themselves, the more or less of which is to be decided by the competition of politicians. Their only sanction is that limitation in some directions gives power to expand in other and more fruitful ways, and this sanction should be rigidly enforced by a public opinion indifferent to the claims of rival dogmas.

CHAPTER XV.

PROBLEMS OF FOREIGN POLICY.

The Basis of the Empire's Foreign Policy.

We have discussed the social problem which lies at the root of our domestic politics, and we now turn from the relations of the State to individuals to the relations of States to one another. There are two branches of this subject: the relations of Great Britain with foreign powers and her relations with her self-governing colonies (Chap. XVI.). The foreign policy of the Empire is still conditioned mainly by the affairs of Europe. There are several reasons for this. First, and above all, the welfare of Great Britain is intimately bound up with the maintenance of European peace; the bulk of her commerce is still conducted with European countries, which are her best customers and her keenest rivals in trade. A war in Europe, involving Great Britain, would profoundly affect the whole Empire, because Great Britain supports almost unaided the whole burden of Imperial defence, except in India. Secondly, the great problems of Asia and Africa with which British statesmen are largely concerned, cannot be solved without reference to Europe; the peaceful development of Africa in modern times has been effected entirely by means of European agreements, and similar diplomatic methods are of necessity being applied to the more difficult questions arising in Asia. British activity in both continents would be much impeded were not Great Britain on good terms with the European Powers that are also interested in these parts of the earth—notably France, Germany and Russia. Thirdly, the greater colonies, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, are to a large extent relieved by their geographical positions from the ordinary complications of foreign policy. Canada has only one neighbour, the United States. Australia and New Zealand merely touch the fringe of European politics,

through occasional negotiations as to outlying French and German colonies in the Pacific. South Africa has little to do with German South-West Africa, cut off as it is by the Kalahari desert from the settled districts under British rule; its relations with Portugal, though more intimate, are economic rather than political, and affect only the Transvaal and Rhodesia, much of whose commerce passes through the Portuguese ports of Delagoa Bay and Beira, and many of whose native labourers are recruited in the Portuguese province of Mozambique. For all these reasons, Imperial foreign policy is still centred in Europe and has to do mainly with European problems as they affect Great Britain.

Peace.

The chief preoccupation of British ministers is to keep the peace, and peace, as many successive Foreign Secretaries have seen, is best maintained by preserving the existing system. Great Britain is in principle opposed to any alteration of the map of Europe, having no motive for aggressive action on her own part and discountenancing it on the part of others. Since 1871, when Alsace and Lorraine were forcibly taken from France and added to Germany, this principle of the *status quo* has been generally observed in Europe, largely through the influence of this country. The one serious attempt at a drastic change, made by Russia in Turkey after the successful campaign of 1877, was thwarted by Great Britain, at whose instance the Sultan retained Macedonia instead of having to cede the larger part of it to Bulgaria. British foreign policy in this connection has a twofold aspect. First, it is directed towards the formation of good understandings between the Great Powers. It has achieved in recent years a new and cordial relationship with France, reflected in a settlement of many outstanding differences as to colonial questions—boundaries in West Africa (pp. 711-13), the Newfoundland fisheries (p. 324), the administration of the New Hebrides (p. 402)—and as to the grave problems of Egypt (p. 734) and Morocco. It has developed within the last year (1907-8) the basis of an agreement with Russia, the old ally of France, and this again has taken definite shape in a delimitation of the shares which the two Powers will take in the development of Persia, Afghanistan and other semi-civilised countries on the frontiers of India (p. 595). With Austria and with Italy, Great Britain has long been on good terms, and the

Relations with France.

With Russia.

immediate problem before the Foreign Office is to form closer relations with the third member of the Triple Alliance, Germany, the strongest military power of Europe and the most active commercial rival of this country. With all these five Powers Great Britain has long co-operated more or less actively in the Concert of Europe, which has attempted from time to time to deal with the Eastern Question, and with the subsidiary problems of Morocco and Egypt.

Germany.

Meanwhile, Great Britain has been careful to preserve intimate relations, through diplomacy or through royal marriages, with the smaller European States. The Scandinavian monarchs are all allied to the British Royal Family, and the peaceful character of the separation of Norway from Sweden was in no small degree attributable to the efforts of Great Britain, and to the choice by Norway of a Danish prince, married to a British princess, as its new king. Great Britain has a traditional interest in the independence of Holland; it is bound by treaty to uphold the neutrality of Belgium, as constituted by the Revolution of 1830. A connection of many centuries ensures British interest in the independence of Portugal and her African possessions, and the old alliance between this country and Spain has been much strengthened by King Alfonso's marriage with a British princess. Switzerland has the moral support of Great Britain, as well as that of other Powers. Greece enjoys a similar international guarantee, but Great Britain has been foremost in protecting her interests and occasionally extending her boundaries. The careful maintenance of good relations with these smaller States assists Great Britain in her task of preserving the balance of power, and at the same time often proves of value in larger questions, such as those of the Baltic and the Mediterranean. The goodwill of Portugal, it may be noted, was helpful to the British in the Boer War, facilitating the passage of troops through Beira and limiting the use made by the Boers of Delagoa Bay. Similarly, it is important to Great Britain, as a Mediterranean Power, holding Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus and Egypt, to be on good terms with Spain and Greece. In the Baltic, again, our friendship with the Scandinavian States enables us to uphold the right of ships of all nations freely to use this land-locked sea.

Scandinavia.

Holland and Belgium.

Portugal and Spain.

The Eastern Question.

The one question of some urgency in Europe is that of Turkey and the Balkans. Great Britain, though for generations an ally of the Porte, had in recent years, through Gladstone's example and influence, adopted a critical attitude towards the Sultan on account of his chronic maladministration and the massacres of Christians by Mohammedans which he had permitted from time to time. Nevertheless, the traditional British policy of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was unchanged. Turkey under weak Ottoman rule did not menace the security of the Eastern Mediterranean, and remains a free and profitable field for British commerce. Besides, it was generally feared that the Powers could not agree on a peaceful division of the Turkish dominions if it were resolved to bring the rule of the Turk to an end. Hence Great Britain had steadfastly supported the international supervision of Turkish affairs exercised more or less mildly by the Powers in concert since 1878. The situation had, however, been gradually changed for the worse by the ambition of small neighbouring States, Greece to the south, and Bulgaria and Servia to the north; their influence had fostered revolutionary movements in Macedonia to a degree never before known, and the unrest in this province has weakened the Empire. Diplomacy had been incessantly occupied for years with this Macedonian problem, but had attained no result. The Concert had not indeed been entirely unanimous in its many protests addressed to the Sultan. Germany consistently followed the policy of supporting the Sultan's authority, and endeavouring to modernise his Empire; German officers reorganised the Turkish army; German engineers and contractors built a railway from the Sea of Marmora, opposite Constantinople, across Anatolia to the foot of the Cilician Gates, and intend to carry it on to Mesopotamia.

Macedonia.

The effect of German action was to neutralise or at least to weaken the control of Europe, and led the Powers to try milder methods of abating the unrest and dissatisfaction in Turkey, in co-operation with the Sultan. It was generally agreed among European statesmen that the Greek and Bulgarian bands infesting Macedonia must be checked, and Great Britain until lately took the lead in advocating firm measures against them, even though the Sultan's power were thereby strengthened. The gradual consolidation of the Turkish military

The Consolidation of Turkey.

forces by means of the new Anatolian railway and the Hedjaz railway from Damascus towards Mecca is becoming obvious, and as the Power chiefly interested in Egypt on the one hand and the Persian Gulf on the other, Great Britain is necessarily concerned as to the future of Arabia and Mesopotamia under Turkish rule.

The Turkish Revolution.

The whole situation in Turkey has, however, been transformed by the recent revolution of the "Young Turks," supported by the army against the despotic and corrupt rule of the Sultan and his favourites. The Sultan has been forced to grant a constitution under which all Turkish subjects, irrespective of race or religion, are to enjoy equal rights, and to be represented in a Parliament. The revolution has brought a sudden truce to the racial conflict in Macedonia, and restored peace and order, for the time at least, in that much troubled province. European diplomacy thus seems to be unexpectedly relieved of its irksome task. It is too soon yet to say whether the revolution is likely to effect a permanent reorganisation of the Turkish Empire on a modern basis in which the Christians of various races would co-operate with the Mohammedans who have long treated them as inferiors. Were Turkey rightly governed, it might play a very considerable part in the Near East, and might endeavour to reassert its claims in Bosnia, Crete, Cyprus and Egypt, among its other lost provinces; fearing this possibility, Austria in the autumn of 1908 annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Bulgaria declared its independence, and Crete its union with Greece. These changes await the sanction usually accorded by the Concert to the *fait accompli*.

Morocco.

A similar problem, of equal difficulty but of less importance, is presented nearer home by Morocco. Here, again, Great Britain, in concert with the other Powers, endeavours to maintain the integrity of a decrepit and anarchical Mohammedan State. The issue is complicated by the special claims to an influence in Morocco which are put forward by France—claims which Great Britain has recognised by treaty in return for the French recognition of our special claims in Egypt. The British Foreign Office had a delicate task in supporting France without appearing to withstand the legitimate pretensions of other Powers, and especially Germany, to retain their full commercial privileges—commonly called the right of the "open

door"—in Morocco. France, as the mandatary of Europe, has conducted a campaign in Western Morocco for the purpose of restoring order round the treaty port of Casablanca and preparing the way for the establishment of a native police under French and Spanish officers in that and other treaty ports. The civil war between partisans of rival sultans, Mulai Abd-el-Aziz and Mulai Hafid, in which at the time of writing Mulai Hafid seems to have won, and a rebellion in the north-east combine to make the future of Morocco very uncertain. The general object of Great Britain is to prevent any European Power from becoming involved in Moorish internal politics, and to preserve the independence of Morocco while encouraging administrative reforms. It is difficult, however, to carry out such a policy while Morocco is a prey to anarchy, and the Moorish problem thus forms a continual menace to the peace of Europe.

In the rest of Africa British diplomacy has few troubles. A series of international agreements concluded within the past twenty years has determined the general policy of Europe towards the African natives and divided the continent between the European Powers. The special protectorate of Great Britain over Egypt is described elsewhere (*see* pp. 714-35). The North African province of Tripoli is still held by the Sultan of Turkey, but is coveted by Italy, while its southern portions are claimed by France under an agreement with Great Britain. The future of Tripoli, though not in itself a rich or promising country, may occasion international difficulties, so that Great Britain steadfastly opposes all attempts to change its ownership.

Tripoli.

The Congo Free State, created by the Berlin Conference of 1885, and placed under the personal rule of King Leopold II., of Belgium, has involved itself in controversy with Great Britain, because it is alleged to have violated its charter by misgovernment of the natives and by undue restriction of the rights of foreign traders Belgium has now resolved to take over the Congo Free State from King Leopold, but the humanitarian and commercial grievances of which Great Britain complains may not be lessened by the change.

The Congo Free State.

If Africa has now receded into the background of diplomacy, Asia is attracting more and more attention. In Western Asia the task of British statesmen is to keep the approaches to India

Western Asia.

clear of foreign rivals. In Eastern Asia, their task is to preserve the "open door" to the illimitable markets of China.

The Persian Gulf.

The western problem centres in the Persian Gulf. For generations past the commerce of the Gulf has been monopolised by British and Indian merchants; to protect that commerce British warships have regularly patrolled the Gulf, suppressing piracy and now and then intervening on behalf of some native ruler friendly to Great Britain, like the Sultan of Muscat, or the Sultan of Koweit. In return for these services to peace and order, Great Britain asserts the claim that the political situation in the Gulf shall never be altered without her consent. Bygone Russian efforts to form a semi-commercial, semi-political connection, by means of a railway, with the Gulf ports of Persia, and present German schemes for extending the projected Mesopotamian railway to the Gulf shore through the little independent state of Koweit, have been viewed with equal disfavour by the British Government. The recent Russo-British agreement has removed the first danger, since Russia has recognised the prior claim of Great Britain to a dominant position in Southern Persia. But the German project, which had the Sultan's support because he was anxious to regain control of Koweit, was only postponed, and might be revived when the railway reaches Bagdad. Meanwhile the British flag has no rival in Gulf waters. No trouble is likely to arise from Arabia, the south-eastern coast of which, from Aden to Bahrein, is under British protection—Muscat being subject to a joint Franco-British control. South-Eastern Persia, the trade of which is almost entirely with Great Britain and India, is closely watched by British consuls. Baluchistan, again, is under a British protectorate. Afghanistan is virtually neutralised by the Russo-British agreement. Thus the western neighbourhood of India, for the moment, offers no prospect of a political disturbance. The vast and little known desert regions of Turkestan, separated from Northern India by the huge rampart of the Himalayas, seem unlikely to play any part in history, while Tibet, further south, has been neutralised like Afghanistan, by arrangement between Great Britain and Russia. The foreign relations of India, which have so long given cause for anxiety, have rarely been so apparently peaceful (*see* pp. 595-6).

In further India, again, our friendly understanding with France about Siam has reacted favourably on the whole region under British rule. The Eastern provinces of Siam have been

peacefully incorporated with French Indo-China, while three of the northern Malay States, which are either neutral, like Tringganu, or dependent on Siam, like Kedah, seem likely soon to be brought under British control, like the Federated Malay States to the south of them (*see* pp.648-50). Virtually the whole of the narrow Malay Peninsula from Burmah to Singapore will thus be placed under British administration. The shores of the Indian Ocean from Zanzibar round to Singapore are dominated by Great Britain, save for the Dutch island of Sumatra, with its half-subdued native state, Achin.

Siam.

In the Far East, Great Britain has to face larger issues and many keen and powerful rivals. Her policy towards China has always been based on trade. To secure fair treatment for her traders and her other subjects, whether consuls or missionaries, has been the sole purpose of Great Britain. Within recent years the aggressive action of other Powers, which have determined for themselves spheres of influence in China, and have occupied portions of the Chinese coast, has temporarily diverted Great Britain from her old course. Territory has been leased at Weihaiwei at the southern corner of the Yellow Sea, and at Kowloon, opposite Hong Kong (pp.658-9). But the course of events, and especially the Russo-Japanese War, has deterred Europe generally from extending these occupations. The European Powers, with America and Japan, are now inclined to content themselves with maintaining the commercial privileges promised to them by China in successive treaties, the last and most comprehensive of which followed the European expedition to Pekin in consequence of the Boxer movement against foreigners (1900). Europe, too, is watching with some concern the new commercial activity displayed by Japan in China. Great Britain, through her alliance with Japan, is deeply interested in this question. It seems unlikely that Great Britain will be called upon to defend Japan against attack from the West, or that Japan will ever be asked to support the British power in India. But Japanese relations with China, especially in regard to Southern Manchuria, where Japan exercises a kind of military protectorate, may create diplomatic difficulties for Europe, and therefore for Great Britain.

The Far East.

Hitherto the survey of Great Britain's complex foreign policy has revealed no question affecting the larger self-governing colonies. But with China and Japan they are

directly concerned. The emigration of Chinese and Japanese labourers to British Columbia and to Australia is bitterly resented by the peoples of those colonies, inasmuch as yellow labour competes on unequal terms with white and cannot be absorbed into the body politic (*see* pp. 394-5). On the other hand, China and Japan, as independent States, might regard it as an unfriendly act if their subjects were excluded simply on the ground of race. It is therefore of profound importance to the colonies in the Pacific that Great Britain should be on such good terms with China and Japan as to be able to induce them to restrict emigration. The "yellow peril" may or may not have been exaggerated, but it seems a real danger to Australians and Canadians, who have tried to avert it by imposing a heavy poll tax and an educational test on Asiatic immigrants (pp. 290, 397). In the case of Japan, the British alliance has led to a friendly compromise, by which the Japanese Government agrees to discourage Japanese from immigrating in large numbers to British Columbia, despite the treaty of 1905 giving Japanese the same rights in British dominions as British subjects enjoy in Japan. China has not yet agreed to any such restriction, though the Chinese immigrants in British colonies are far more numerous and perhaps keener economic rivals of the British workman than are the Japanese. The colour question has been complicated still further by the emigration of British Indians to South Africa, as well as to Canada (p. 632). They excite as vigorous an opposition from colonial labour as other Asiatics, though they are subjects of the British Crown.

The "Yellow Peril."

European interests in the Pacific (*see also* pp. 758-64) seem unlikely to conflict seriously with those of Great Britain. The islands and archipelagos are widely scattered, and their ownership has been finally determined. America in the Philippines and Hawaii, America and Germany in Samoa, Germany in the Marshall group, France at Tahiti, are far removed from one another and from British islands. The partition of New Guinea with Germany and Holland excited some anxiety at the time, but the British section of the island, now known as the territory of Papua, and administered by the Australian Government, will take many years to develop, and its rulers are on good terms with their German neighbours since there is plenty of work for both. The troublesome question of the New Hebrides, where British and French

The Pacific.

settlers under no definite form of government were striving each to oust the other, has been solved by the establishment of a joint Franco-British control. The Commonwealth has long objected to the French penal settlement in New Caledonia, because escaping convicts have from time to time made their way to Australia and given trouble to the police authorities. But the nuisance is slight and has been abated in recent years (*see* pp. 381, 402).

North America.

In North America, British diplomacy is solely concerned to maintain good relations between Canada and Newfoundland and the United States. For generations the French claims to fishing privileges in the south-west of Newfoundland were a standing difficulty, which retarded the development of the colony and caused much ill-feeling. These, however, have at last been amicably settled, like so many other questions, by the new and friendly understanding between Great Britain and France (*see* pp. 324-5). No other European Power has any territorial claims in North America; the Dominion tariff may occasion disputes with Europe, but these Canada will probably arrange for herself. The United States and Canada, again, have no outstanding territorial differences. The settlement by arbitration of the Alaska boundary removed the last of them. The Atlantic coast fisheries, however, still afford matter for dispute, involved with the tariff question, and the American claim to a share in the Newfoundland fisheries under a treaty of 1818 still causes some friction with that colony, which may be ended by arbitration before the Hague Tribunal. The British West Indies have not afforded any work for diplomacy in recent times, though the completion of the Panama Canal may increase their importance.

South America.

South America, too, has ceased to occasion anxiety to Great Britain. The boundaries of our only colony, British Guiana, have at last been fixed by arbitration with Venezuela and Brazil. The development of the South American Republics into powerful and prosperous communities has caused the abandonment of any aggressive designs against their independence that may have been formed by European Powers. Great Britain has from Canning's time cordially supported the Monroe doctrine that the United States should prevent further European aggression on the American continent. But there is no reason to suppose that the Monroe doctrine will ever

again be challenged, as it was by Napoleon III. in his Mexican expedition.

The Navy of the Empire.

From this sketch of the various questions at issue in various parts of the world it will be seen that the peace of the Empire mainly depends upon the ability of Great Britain to keep the peace of Europe. So long as Great Britain is in friendly relations with the other European Powers, she can readily adjust any differences that may arise between them and the Colonies or India. Her alliance with Japan preserves peace in the Far East; her good understanding with the United States prevents disputes from becoming serious in the Western hemisphere. The longer peace lasts, the less likely it is to be interrupted. But it would be affectation to deny that Great Britain, like the other European Powers, finds her ultimate claim to respect in her overwhelming navy, which is maintained at a strength slightly in excess of that of any other two Powers combined, and is supported by considerable land forces and many fortified harbours and coaling stations throughout the Empire (*see* pp. 736-64). It has long been felt by statesmen in Great Britain that the defensive forces of the Empire, which assure the security of all its parts, should be supported by the Empire, and that the burden should not be almost entirely borne by Great Britain. India has always had to bear the cost of her own army and navy and other public services (pp. 606-11). In the Colonies, however, the matter has not always been viewed in the same light.

How it is supported.

The nature and distribution of this Imperial burden were well shown in the statement, for 1905-6, laid before the Colonial Conference of 1907. For the Imperial Navy, Great Britain was taxed at the rate of 15s 5½d. a head; the seven chief self-governing colonies were taxed at the average rate of 6d. a head—Australia giving 1s. 3¼d., New Zealand 10½d. (increased in 1908 to nearly 2s. 3d.), Natal 7½d., the Cape 5d., Newfoundland 3¼d., and the Transvaal and Canada nothing. In other words, the United Kingdom contributed £33,389,500, while the seven Colonies, with nearly a third of its population, gave £384,243. The cost of the land forces of the Empire was distributed somewhat less unevenly. Great Britain was taxed at the rate of 13s. 9½d. a head, while the Colonies were taxed at 3s. 11¾d. a head. Newfoundland alone gave nothing; the Cape gave 4s. 7¼d., Canada 4s. 6½d., New Zealand 4s. 3¾d., Australia

3s. 9½d., Natal 2s 4d., and the Transvaal 2s. 0½d. a head. Many authorities contend, however, that the Colonies have far greater need of naval than of military defences, since all the communications between the scattered Colonies are by sea and all of them depend largely on their maritime trade, though to a less extent than usual in the case of Canada. If the cost of the British Navy is regarded as an insurance premium on the commerce of the Empire, its present distribution shows that, among the preferences which the mother country at present accords to her colonies over foreign countries, not the least is the payment of ninety-nine hundredths of the price for the security of their external trade; and in addition the mother country bears the whole burden of the interest on the debt incurred in wars which made possible the existence and development of the colonies. The question whether the colonies can co-operate further with Great Britain in supporting the Imperial Navy is thus likely to come to the front in future discussions on Colonial preference. An invincible navy is admitted by men of all parties to be the indispensable basis of British foreign policy, and the chief guarantee of the peace of the Empire.

The Awakening of the East.

One general word of warning with regard to foreign policy is suggested by recent events. The amazing progress of Japan, rumours of reform in China, the constitutional movement in Persia and the revolution in Turkey have naturally appealed to the sympathies of the liberty-loving people of the British Empire. But it must not be supposed that these manifestations are without their serious import for the future. Similar movements, not unconnected with the triumph of the Asiatic over the European in the Russo-Japanese War, are not viewed with the same unmixed satisfaction when they occur in British India; and the enthusiasm with which the United States fleet has recently been welcomed in New Zealand and Australia had its root in grave apprehensions of a common danger to the Anglo-Saxon race. The slumbering East has woke again, the passive Oriental has begun to act, and the tide which has flowed from West to East for nearly four centuries seems to slacken. The triumph of Japan in 1904—perhaps the most significant event of this generation—killed at one blow the grandiose schemes for the partition of China into European spheres of influence about which every publicist was writing some ten years ago; and revivals in the Nearer East may do

the same for the projected exploitation of Asia Minor. The cult of Japanese forms of art and physical exercise, the despatch of Mussulman missionaries to Great Britain and the building of mosques on English soil are doubtless slight and ridiculous straws. But they are signs of a breeze from the East, and it is idle to imagine that the reviving energies of the Oriental will always be limited to constitutional movements against his own governments and to hostilities against the enemies of the British Empire. It would be one of the ironies, of which history is full, if Europe, having determined to settle its own disputes by peaceful arbitration, found itself face to face with an East in arms, borrowed and bought from the West and used to impress upon Europe the maxims which Europe impressed on the rest of the world.

CHAPTER XVI.

DOWNING STREET AND THE COLONIES.

(1)—*Conditions of Colonial Expansion.*

In a short street leading from Whitehall to St. James's Park, is a small house almost inevitably overlooked by strangers who come to search for it. It is known to the postman simply as "10, Downing Street"; it is sought out by visitors as the official residence of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the centre from which power has gone forth to the ends of the earth. It is not, however, with the Prime Minister or with "10, Downing Street" that we are now immediately concerned, but with his subordinate, the Colonial Secretary, whose office is close by. The Prime Minister represents the unity of the Empire and is now the President of the Imperial Conference (*see* p. 776); but the every-day representative of the Colonies is the Colonial Secretary, and it is through him that "Downing Street" has come to be the not over-affectionate synonym for such control as the Central Government exerts in Colonial affairs.

Downing Street.

The Colonial Secretary.

From 1801 to 1854 the Secretary of State for War, who must not be confounded with the Secretary at War, though nobody quite knew the difference, was also Secretary of State for the Colonies. During the Crimean War he absorbed the Secretary at War and ceased to have anything to do with the Colonies, which henceforth were a separate department of the administration under a Secretary of State for the Colonies. He is always a member of the Cabinet, and an Under-Secretary represents the department in the chamber in which the Secretary does not sit. On his advice the Crown can disallow

any Colonial law even if it has passed the Colonial legislature in due form. He is thus the embodiment of the connection between the United Kingdom and her Colonies.

Annihilation of Space.

Attention has already been drawn to the economic effects of the revolution in the means of transportation (*see* pp. 149-51). For business purposes, the most remote centres are practically next door to each other. The political effects of this revolution have been just as striking. The South African War illustrated one side of this change. The seat of war was ten thousand miles from the seat of government, but this vast distance added nothing to the real difficulties of the contest. It was far easier to send an army to the Cape at the end of the 19th century than to the Low Countries at its beginning. Difficulties may come still, but they do not come now from geography. The last of this kind of hindrance to effective government has vanished since by wireless telegraphy a commander can receive general instructions from his government and direct the movements of troops on the other side of the earth as he sits in his cabin in the middle of the Atlantic. So long as one essential condition is satisfied, Australia is no more debarred from active co-operation in the British Empire than if it were a continuation of Cornwall. This essential condition is that the Empire should continue to retain command of the ocean routes which connect its constituent parts, or along which its oversea trade is carried. As the "dominions beyond the seas" have developed until they have rightly taken their place in the style and title of the Crown, this condition has assumed its existing form and urgency, and presents important points which have received and will require further notice (*see* pp. 224-5, 736-9). Here we stand at the centre of the Empire and look at the circumference of its ever-widening circle; we have to consider, not the problems of the near future, but the historical growth of which the facts of the present time are the outcome and expression.

Command of the Sea.

The Example of England.

At home England has set the greatest example of ordered progress the world has ever seen. She has ever been at work marking out the path of the future by a careful use of the material with which the past has endowed the present. Hence there has only been one revolution in her history, and the experiment of 1649 failed because it entirely discarded the

past. It is this assured basis at home which has enabled England to girdle the globe with her over-sea domains. It is a sure instinct, and not a fanciful analogy, which speaks of the "motherland" and her "daughter-states," for motherhood implies strength and capacity, pride and affection, and no nation can become the source of successful colonies unless she has these attributes. "Plantations" (*i.e.*, Colonies), said Bacon, at the time when Colonial enterprise was first becoming the dominant note of English policy, "are amongst Ancient, Primitive and Heroicall Workes." It may take, and has taken in our case, many years for the exercise of these attributes to become conscious and constant, but through all our national blundering towards a true conception of the potency of our Colonies and Domains, they may be seen at work; on rare occasions the whole nation has felt their influence; at all times there have been clear-sighted statesmen who were moved by them.

Her Colonial Opportunities.

England, however, has been fortunate in her opportunities as well as in her powers. The first great movement from Europe towards the newly-discovered lands, or towards old lands by newly-discovered routes, was followed by the epoch of the great European wars which had their origin in the territorial ambitions of the rulers of the Continent. England did her share of the land fighting, but found her true sphere on the sea. Mistress of this, she became mistress of any of the over-sea territories of the European nations which she cared to attack, and made the position of her own absolutely secure. Napoleon boasted that he would recapture Pondicherry on the banks of the Vistula. As a matter of fact he lost France in the attempt, but a score of Jénas would not have disturbed the slumbers of a single English colonist. When Europe had settled down after 1872 to a political system which promised to be stable and peaceful and has, so far, kept the promise, England had occupied all the most suitable sites, except those which were secured from European attack by the "Monroe doctrine" announced by the new giant of the West. Most of Africa remained, and a hurried scramble for it ensued. But to assume political control of vast tracts of territory is not to found colonies, and the partitioning of Africa has only added to the pre-eminence of England as the great coloniser. Germans and Italians leave their homes by thousands, but only to seek shores where the Anglo-Saxon race can welcome them to a political

freedom and an economic opportunity which they could not enjoy at home.

Conditions of successful Colonisation.

The history of colonisation shows that to be successful a colony must answer some economic end. It has got to pay a man, in the long run, to become a colonist or he stays at home. Other motives may prompt the earlier colonists; love of adventure, desire for religious freedom, national ambition, have all been operative as motives to found colonies, but the only force which can ensure their permanence is their capacity to afford to the colonists the material requisites of an ordered social life. If they do this on the whole better than the motherland, they continue to draw an increasing stream of emigrants from its shores, and may then become colonies in the highest sense. This depends, however, on many other conditions, chief among which is the position of the colonists with regard to the native races of the colony. A settlement of ten thousand white men occupying an area sparsely peopled by coloured inhabitants occupies a far different position from the same number surrounded by hordes of natives. This is true whether the natives are peaceful or warlike, industrious or indolent, apt at assimilating such Western ideas as are suitable to them or stubbornly conservative of their own. The Motherland remains responsible both in international law and to her own public opinion for the conduct of those of her citizens who have gone to territories over which she claims to be suzerain. And if she still keeps her political authority over her colonists, she is equally bound to fulfil towards them the obligations which it confers. Hence the character and the numbers of the native population (or of an inferior race introduced for economic purposes) have much influence upon the character of the colony.

(2)—*Outlines of Colonial Development.*

The End of the First Colonial Period.

England's first colonising period had ended, as it seemed, disastrously for herself and, as it proved, beneficially for the world (*see* pp. 77-9). England's loss was Europe's gain, for it opened up a vast continent to the peaceful exploitation of a new people with English blood in their veins and English in energy and outlook; and it enabled this process, so fraught with good for the world's future, to go on far removed from the dangerous

complexity of European politics. The result has been that the Anglo-Saxon race now bestrides the Atlantic and the Pacific and thrusts two powerful limbs down into the only other ocean highway that is of any importance. So far as human eyes can see the future will lie in the hands of this great race; a healthy rivalry in the arts of peace and a solid union against the horrors of war will make it lord of the ages.

For a long time after 1815 colonial expansion was either distasteful or indifferent to most Englishmen. This may be accounted for in many ways, and there is neither need nor cause for blame. For one thing geographical distance was an obstacle which was only swept away by the development of communications described in a previous chapter (*see* pp. 149-151). The physical difficulties which were insuperable in the period of Colonial neglect, and therefore mainly caused it, do not exist for us.

The Period of Colonial Neglect.

It is easy now to blame the men of the early Victorian age for neglecting the Colonies. They must, however, have felt much as Charles Lamb felt when, in 1822, he wrote his delightful letter "to B. F., Esq., at Sydney, New South Wales." He has "compunctious visitings" at his long silence, but writing is no easy task. "The weary world of waters between us oppresses the imagination. It is difficult to conceive how a scrawl of mine should ever stretch across it. It is a sort of presumption to expect that one's thoughts should live so far. It is like writing for posterity. Cowley's Post-Angel is no more than would be expedient in such an intercourse." We have our "Cowley's Post-Angel," and it tells Australian Rhodes Scholars in Oxford the result of a cricket match in Sydney before their friends have all cleared off the field.

Belief in Separation.

There were other reasons for this indifference to the Colonies. Just before the revolt of the American Colonies, a great French statesman, Turgot, had compared colonies to fruits which drop from the parent tree when they are ripe. The issue of that conflict had seemed to set the seal of experience on this celebrated maxim, and it appeared to be the height of unwisdom to make the establishment of colonies a part of English policy. It would simply be to sow that others might reap.

Again, the main reason for the earlier colonial policy had been frankly utilitarian and commercial. The American Colonies down to 1776, and such Colonies as had remained

to us since, were strictly fettered in their trade and industry in the supposed interests of the Mother Country. Nothing dealt a severer blow to the old commercial and protective system than the discovery that the loss of our American Colonies was followed by a great expansion of our trade with them. It was, said Arthur Young to a notable Frenchman on whom he called during his celebrated Tour, "one of the most remarkable and singular experiments in the science of politics that the world has ever seen; for a people to lose an empire—thirteen provinces—and to GAIN by that *loss* an increase of wealth, felicity and power." The loss, of course, only led to the gain by making a huge breach in a vicious system; it was also due in great measure to the enormous increase in England's wealth-producing capacity brought about by the Industrial Revolution. The United States could not sell us the vast supplies of cotton and other raw materials which we needed without becoming an extensive purchaser of our own products.

Commercial Reasons.

Still, the fact that the former colonies remained commercially still a part of England, as Cobbett put it, was, as it then seemed, a striking testimony to the needlessness of further colonial expansion. If the trade came, what did it matter whether or not the English flag flew over the territorial areas which fed it? So Cobden, who took this view, could write of the Colonies and the army as vicious things which must be discarded. Both were costly and robbed industry of the one thing needful—capital, and the colonies that remained were a chief bulwark of the commercial system he spent his life in destroying. The text-book of the new ideas was the *Wealth of Nations*, which was growing under Adam Smith's hand in a quiet Scotch fishing town, while Colonists and Englishmen, with anger in their hearts, were quarrelling their way into civil war. And the last lines of that masterly exposition, destined to be more influential over English policy and English thought than any other single work ever published, were: "If any of the provinces of the British Empire cannot be made to contribute towards the support of the whole Empire, it is surely time that Great Britain should free herself from the expense of defending those provinces in time of war, and of supporting any part of their civil or military establishments in time of peace, and endeavour to accommodate her future views and designs to the real mediocrity of her circumstances."

Views of Cobden and Adam Smith.

England immersed in Domestic Politics.

The problems which faced English statesmen for half a century after Waterloo were such as effectually turned their eyes away from colonial enterprise. Domestic questions supplied them with abundant material for disputation and effort. One great problem, the extension of the franchise, has been dealt with (pp. 152-166), and the mere recollection of the fact that it was only one among many branches of domestic policy goes far towards explaining why it was that the attention of Englishmen was only slowly drawn to the Colonies. It is no coincidence, but a natural consequence, that after the reforming energy of Gladstone had settled the main questions which the century had brought into the forefront of political controversy, the colonist problem should appear above the horizon.

The Modern Colonial Period.

But when this took place it was seen that the conditions of that problem had been directly determined by the course of that very domestic policy which had hitherto concealed it from view. The political emancipation of the British people at home led naturally to the political emancipation of the British Colonies. Under the old colonial system, as Adam Smith points out, "in everything except their foreign trade, the liberty of the English Colonists to manage their own affairs was complete." After the loss of the American Colonies the English government entered upon a policy which was intended to prevent a recurrence of the mishap. Instead of taxing the Canadian Colonies by measures passed at home, part of their revenue was provided from the home exchequer; so that the demand for self-government, to which William IV. refers in language that would have sounded somewhat strained in the mouth of Louis XIV., could be refused with some plausibility. The difficulties in Canada at the opening of Queen Victoria's reign led to the mission of Lord Durham, whose famous Report —"the Magna Carta of the Colonies"—recommended the grant of self-government; and the Canadian Union Act of 1840 gave the United Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada an executive responsible to an elected legislature (*see* pp. 270-3).

Economic Reasons for the change.

The change to a régime of self-government in such colonies as were suited for it was intimately connected with the change to a free trade policy in the Mother Country. One of Huskisson's reasons for his reforms was that to remove the restrictions on Colonial trade would enable Canada to compete success-

fully with the United States. It was, on the other hand, the fears of Canada that she could not successfully compete with the United States after the introduction of free trade in England, which led to the extension of the rights of self-government to cover, with some not very important reservations, the regulation by a self-governing Colony of its own custom duties. Responsible government was fully recognised in Canada in 1847, in Newfoundland and in Australia (except Western Australia) in 1855, in New Zealand soon afterwards, in Cape Colony in 1872, in Western Australia in 1890, and in Natal in 1893, and in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony in 1906-7. In 1852, just after the first grant of full self-government to a Colony, Disraeli wrote to Lord Malmesbury: "These wretched colonies will all be independent too in a few years, and are a millstone round our necks." The Tory protectionist was as pessimistic in 1852 as the Radical free-trader, Cobden, had been in 1836. The near future was to show, both in the motherland and in her daughter-states now wedded to a noble destiny, that to make a people responsible for its own future is the surest way to establish an abiding polity.

(3) *The Existing Colonial System.*

The Economic and Political points of view.

For our purposes, the Colonies may be most profitably examined from two points of view: (A) the *economic*, when we consider the ends they are intended to serve, and the motives which drew settlers to them; (B) the *political*, when we consider the way in which the work of governing them is divided between the Colonists and the Mother Country. The groups into which they fall from these points of view agree with one another in such a way as to render it certain that the coincidence is not accidental. It is due to the fact that over-sea possessions serve two very different purposes. They may be areas in which the homeland reproduces itself in all its essential features, so that a new colonist finds himself at home immediately. Similarity of climate and productions and the complete or almost complete absence of a native population can alone provide this opportunity. Dissimilarity of climate and productions and the presence of a numerous native population lead to a completely different type of Colony. Here the white race simply takes the lead by virtue of its superior intelligence and efficiency. If, on the one hand,

the colonists exploit the natural resources of the country for their own benefit, they render, or should render, the not inadequate return of raising the country to a higher grade of civilisation. It is obvious that colonies thus distinct economically must be distinct politically; the former can work the political institutions to which the colonists have been accustomed at home; the latter cannot be left to the control of the exploitive colonists, but the civilising side of the work must be enforced and controlled from home.

Development and Expansion.

It must be remembered that any classification of the Colonies is made merely to guide the student to a clearer appreciation of the problems of colonial government. There has been a continuous development as well as a continuous expansion of the British Empire, and the latter is not so noble a cause for national pride as the former. To annex a continent is a great thing; to make an Australian Commonwealth out of it is a greater; the one has been done many times by many people; the other, only one among several similar achievements, is the crowning glory of our own race. This development cuts across any attempt at classification, and in thus dividing the Empire for purposes of study we are only examining types and not tabulating results.

A.

From the economic point of view, our Colonies fall into four classes:—

Factories.

(1) Factories or Trading Centres, which facilitate the collection of goods for shipment to the Mother Country and the distribution of the goods imported thence in exchange. Our Indian Empire began with the establishment of such a factory at Surat in 1613. Madras was founded in 1639, Bombay acquired in 1661 and Calcutta in 1690 (*see* p. 573). Our earliest rivals as colonising powers never got beyond this conception of a colony until it was too late to reverse the decline to which it led. To the Dutch the colony "was primarily a trading station. A State might grow up as best it could under the shadow of the factory." The importance of such commercial centres is as great now as it was at the beginning of commercial expansion, as is shown by Hong-Kong and Singapore (*see* pp. 645, 658). The type remains and contributes its share to our imperial position, but is dwarfed because of its political insignificance.

Protectorates and Spheres of Influence.

(2) In modern times it is impossible to be content with factories. Trade is conducted on an immensely greater scale, and the Mother Country needs huge supplies of raw materials for her manufactures and of food for her people. This means that trading centres would be an inadequate provision for the future; the whole area which feeds them and is fed by them must be controlled. We cannot wait for time and opportunity to expand a factory into a colony. Trade can now only develop when modern means of transportation are at its command, and no railway would ever be built in an area of which the political control was disputed. Hence the numerous British "Protectorates" and "Spheres of Influence," particularly in Africa, which are obviously destined to ripen into important sources of the primary necessities of our national well-being (see pp. 690-712).

Exploitation Colonies.

(3) Of greater importance, at any rate for the present, are the Colonies of the West Indian type, "Exploitation Colonies" as they are often called. Here the number of English inhabitants is far greater than in Protectorates or spheres of influence, and to them the colony is a true home. Their object, however, is to make the greatest possible use of the native or other coloured inhabitants in working up the native products. The English inhabitants are the captains and corporals of industry; the natives are the privates. History shows that there are many difficulties in dealing with Colonies of this type. At one time the negroes of the West Indies were the slaves of the planters. When William Pitt introduced the Income Tax into our fixed system in 1798 he estimated that four million pounds out of a total national income of about one hundred millions was drawn from the West Indies. Slavery was abolished in 1833, and though the planters received twenty million pounds as compensation, the subsequent history of the Colonies has not been wholly happy, especially since the introduction of free trade in England.

Settlement Colonies.

(4) Economically the highest type of colony is the "Settlement Colony," one, that is, in which the homeland is reproduced by settlements of Colonists who seek to establish permanent homes. England has had the rare good fortune to obtain practically the whole of the available area best suited to serve this purpose. Two conditions are necessary: the native

problem must be absent or of very manageable proportions, and the climate and productions must be such as the Colonists are accustomed to. In the great Dominions of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand these conditions are exactly fulfilled, and there is no need to wonder that their people desire to develop economically on lines quite parallel to those of the Mother Country. In South Africa, the conditions are not so completely fulfilled, and economic considerations complicate political difficulties already very great.

B.

Political Classification of Colonies.

From the political point of view a Colony is defined as "any part of His Majesty's dominions, exclusive of the British Islands and of British India." If a group of contiguous Colonies formerly independent of each other (as those in North America previous to 1867 and in Australia previous to 1900) has united under a Central Authority (as the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia) it counts henceforth as a single Colony. There are fifty-five separate Colonies according to this definition, and they are divided into (1) a small group of *Self-Governing Colonies*, and (2) a much larger group of *Crown Colonies*.

(1) The *Self-Governing Colonies* are :—

The Dominion of Canada.
Newfoundland.
The Commonwealth of Australia.
The Dominion of New Zealand.
Cape Colony.
Natal.
The Transvaal.
The Orange River Colony.

The Self-Governing Colony.

Each of these has a system of domestic government exactly parallel to that of the British Islands. The Crown is represented by a Governor or Governor-General, the House of Lords by a Senate or Legislative Council, the House of Commons by a Legislative Assembly. In each of them there is a Cabinet, consisting as in England, of a Prime Minister appointed by the Governor, who is at the same time the leader of that political party which has a majority in the Lower House, and of other ministers, each at the head of a department, selected

by the Prime Minister from leading men of his own party. As in England, the Lower House is solely responsible for financial measures, and the Ministry resigns when it is defeated there.

The Self-Governing Colonies thus have most of the attributes of modern independent States. Of recent years this has become still more true. They can enter into certain special treaty relations not only with each other but also with foreign States. It has even been proposed that Canada should have a separate representative at Washington, at any rate for these purposes, and there seems no valid reason against it; for if a Canadian representative would obtain better results for Canada by virtue of closer acquaintance with Canada's needs and problems, no one would raise the merely technical objection that only an independent State can have an independent embassy at a foreign Court. These Colonies started with a great advantage; their past is our past, and equally with ourselves they were entitled, and were permitted, to utilise all the economic and political lessons which that past has taught us.

Crown Colonies.

(2) The *Crown Colonies* belong in almost every case to one of the three lower economic types. Exceptions, as Gibraltar, are due generally to the fact that the Colony is of a special non-economic type (Gibraltar being a military and naval post). In the Crown Colonies, the control of the home government over Colonial affairs is close and direct, and is exercised by the Governor who is appointed by and is responsible only to the Crown. They fall into three groups, marked by an ascending participation of the Colonists in the government of the Colony, but never reaching the stage of government by ministers responsible to the people.

1. In a few Colonies, as Gibraltar, the Governor exercises all authority both legislative and executive; so far as the Colonists are concerned he is a constitutional monarch; on the other hand he is the salaried servant of the Crown, receiving instructions from a Cabinet Minister responsible to the House of Commons.

2. In seventeen Colonies, the Governor is aided in the administration by an Executive Council, and by a Legislative Council in the making of laws, but both Councils are nominated by the Crown.

3. In the remaining Crown Colonies, the Executive Council is nominated by the Crown, but the Legislative Council is wholly or partially elected by the Colonists.

There is thus no hard and fast rule for determining the constitution of a British Colony. Our colonial development has been the work of the men who have been sent out to administer the Colonies. Our Colonial system, such as it is, has been hammered out on the anvil of experience not evolved from first principles assumed to lie at the basis of successful colonisation.

The Authority of the Crown and the Imperial Parliament.

No British Colony, whether it be a Continent or only a few acres of fortified rock, is an independent State. Over all of them the authority of the Crown stretches as surely as it does over Cornwall or Staffordshire. The British Empire is sometimes said to be a very loosely constructed mechanism of government. The very reverse is true. There is never any doubt about its working. In all Colonies, just as in England, every act of legislation and administration is in express terms the work of the Crown. To begin with, the British Parliament can and does pass legislation which binds the law courts even of the Self-Governing Colonies. It was an act of the British Legislature which, in 1900, concluded the great work of the unifying the Australian Colonies into the Commonwealth of Australia. Further the Act of a Colonial Legislature requires the consent of the governor as representing the Crown. Acting under the orders of the Crown, he may withhold his assent, but even if he gives it, the Crown may go behind his assent and disallow the Act. Every Colonial Governor is appointed by the Crown, and no colony has any power of dismissing him or even of controlling his actions.

It is obvious that such a system requires statesmen to work it, for everything depends on the skill and insight of those who are responsible. Foreigners see our Self-Governing Colonies passing laws which put heavy import duties on British goods, and laws which prevent coloured British subjects, and even Englishmen themselves in some special cases, from landing in a British Colony (*see* p. 397). They are surprised, for it seems to negative the very idea of a colony. It means, however, that the gift of self-government is not a timid concession hedged about with all sorts of limitations, but an integral part of a healthy system, the detailed working of which may produce anomalies and surprises, but the large result of which is seen in the splendid patriotism of the Empire.

Nevertheless the anomalies are inherent in the system. They arise for the most part from the logical antithesis between

the national ambitions of the great self-governing Colonies and the determination to maintain the unity of the Empire.

Nationalism in the Empire.

Throughout its component parts differences of physical, economic and sometimes racial conditions set up a general tendency towards political differentiation; and we have seen those tendencies result in the separation of the American Colonies from the Mother Country. They are not so strong elsewhere; but even in Canada, in spite of its loyalist history and present attachment to the imperial connection, there are Americanising forces (*see* p. 297); and in South Africa the children of English emigrants become Afrikander rather than English. That Canada is a nation is the constant boast of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and Mr. Deakin was recently reported to have said that Australia could not ultimately be content to accept defence at any other hands than her own. Conscious of their capacity to manage their own affairs, these great self-governing Colonies will be content with little short of the rank of national and almost independent States.

But side by side with this development there has always been a harmonising and assimilating force; and Scotland is its best example. The marvellous progress of communications have brought the most distant Colonies into ever closer touch with one another and Great Britain; the traditions of the Empire and the protection its naval strength affords are not advantages which any Colony will lightly cast away, and there are many ways in which the Colonies can utilise the experience and resources of the Mother Country. Canada and more recently (October 1908) the Transvaal have referred differences between their Upper and Lower Houses to the law officers of the Crown in England; and it would be in keeping with the history of the British Constitution if in unsuspected ways like this there grew the silent fabric of the organisation of the Empire. For, while the bonds of authority have been relaxed the tie of sentiment has grown stronger; and recent events have shown that danger not merely to the Mother Country but to any part of her Dominions will evoke enthusiastic sympathy and support throughout the Empire. Whatever may be the fate of the various proposals for its organisation on a federal basis, confidence in that imperial sympathy and support will be an incalculable and an abiding source of strength.

Imperialism.

Whether it can be materialised into constitutional arrangements for the everyday administration of the Empire in times of peace is another question. It is clear enough that self-governing States will not tolerate the intervention of Downing Street in their domestic, and perhaps less and less in their external, affairs; for the Colonial Secretary is not responsible to them, and over him they have no constitutional control. Before any scheme of federation could be formulated it would be necessary to ascertain: (1) whether under any circumstances or at any price the Colonies would relinquish any part of their autonomy; (2) how much representation and influence in Downing Street the Colonies would require to induce them to submit to its decisions; (3) how much unity of control could thereby be established; (4) whether such representation and influence could be made compatible with Great Britain's control over its own responsible ministers and over the taxes which it pays. From control by this centralised authority there would naturally be excluded most of the rights of self-government which have already been conceded to the Colonies. But the Mother Country has still much to share and give away; the Central Government still directs the diplomacy of the Empire, decides all questions of war and peace, and determines the size and operations of the Navy. The meagreness of the Colonial contributions to the Imperial Navy (*see* pp. 224-5), in fact, results, partly at any rate, from the imperfect control which Colonial Governments exercise over the expenditure of such contributions as they make; and the argument runs in a vicious circle For Great Britain retains control, partly because unity of direction is essential in war as well as in diplomacy, partly because it pays the piper and can therefore call the tune. The creation of separate naval forces limited to local defence—an Australian squadron anchored off Australian coasts, a South African flotilla tied to Table Bay, and a Canadian fleet to Halifax or Esquimalt—offers no solution of the problem; for a slightly superior enemy could make a tour of the Empire and defeat them in detail.

Relations between Downing Street and the Colonies.

Central *versus* Colonial Control.

On the other hand, an Imperial Navy can only be maintained by Imperial taxation levied at the discretion of an Imperial Government; and America was lost because the Imperial Government sought to impose taxes for Imperial purposes. Would any Colony consent to be taxed for any

purpose by anyone except itself? Yet if Great Britain delegated to an Imperial Council, in which the Colonies were adequately represented, a share in the control of Imperial diplomacy and of questions of war and peace, the Colonies would have to concede to the same body some voice in their taxation, or at least to provide for Imperial purposes taxes, the amount of which would not be under their control; and it is an axiom that the strength of any federation depends upon the willingness of the federating States to surrender powers to the Federal authority. Such steps as seem practicable amid these difficulties are discussed in the concluding chapter of this book. Definite proposals by responsible statesmen must await the ripening of public opinion at home and in the Colonies; in the latter it is more likely to ripen in the direction of something like a league or permanent alliance for specific purposes than of a further centralisation of powers in the hands of Downing Street. But the future organisation of the Empire can best be considered after we have dealt with the history of its various States and Colonies.

Imperial Taxation.

Future Possibilities.

BOOK II.

THE SELF-GOVERNING STATES.

I.—CANADA AND NEWFOUNDLAND.

II.—THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

III.—THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND.

IV.—THE SOUTH AFRICAN COLONIES.

I.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA
and NEWFOUNDLAND.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL CONDITIONS.

Extent.

The self-governing colony of Newfoundland and the Dominion of Canada occupy the northern part of North America, outside the United States Territory of Alaska and the Danish possession of Greenland. This vast section of the Empire stretches for over 3,000 miles from west to east, and for over 2,000 miles from north to south. The southern boundary is 49°N. in the west and centre (latitude of Paris), but in the east it extends as far south as 42°N. in the Lake Peninsula (latitude of Rome). Including the uninhabited Arctic islands the total area is three and three-quarter million square miles. This is very nearly the area of Europe, and more than thirty times that of the British Isles. The general configuration is characteristic of North America as a whole. Belts of higher land border both the west and east coasts—the Western Cordillera and the Eastern Highlands—and a vast lowland stretches between them.

The Eastern Highlands.

The Eastern Highlands are not so lofty or continuous as the Western Mountains, nor even as the Eastern Highlands of the United States, of which they are a continuation. They are broken by the St. Lawrence Gulf, leading to the estuary and river of that name. This is reached by the Cabot strait to the south, or Belle Isle strait to the north, of Newfoundland, which they sever from the mainland. The Gaspé and Nova Scotia peninsulas, Cape Breton Island, the Bay of Chaleurs and the Bay of Fundy, as well as the peninsulas and bays of Newfoundland, exhibit the prevailing south-west to north-east direction which characterises the feature lines of this highland.

The Great Lowlands of Canada.

The Great Lowlands of Canada is broken by the waters of Hudson Bay, which penetrate southwards far into the interior. The feature and structure lines run roughly parallel to its shores. There is a gentle slope, varying from 200 to 400 miles in breadth, from the coast to the "Height of Land," *i.e.*, the rather indefinite dividing line between the streams which flow to Hudson Bay and those which flow to the ocean.

The whole of Eastern Canada and most of Central Canada was once covered by a great ice sheet. Through glacial erosion little soil has been left on the old crystalline rocks round Hudson Bay, and the morainic debris has been heaped up in great rings of heights beyond, arranged in rough concentric lines. Between these heights and along the junction of the old sedimentary rocks with the still more ancient crystalline ones, is the chain of vast lakes connected with the Mackenzie, Nelson, and St. Lawrence systems.

Lakes and Rivers.

The Saskatchewan-Nelson system flows from the Rocky Mountains, at first as the North and South Saskatchewan, right across the western plains through Lake Winnipeg; from Lake Winnipeg to Hudson Bay the river is called the Nelson. This lake also receives the Red River, which flows northwards across the dry bed of a former glacial lake, now filled with alluvial matter whose fertility has been one of the great assets of the province of Manitoba.

The Peace-Mackenzie river flows from the Rocky Mountains northwards, receiving tributaries from the Rockies and draining the Athabasca, Great Slave, and Great Bear Lakes. It enters the frozen Arctic Ocean, and is of little value as a waterway except for a few months in summer.

The St. Lawrence system.

South of the Height of Land, and between it and the Eastern Highlands, is the St. Lawrence system. Though navigation is interrupted by ice for about five months of the year, this is one of the most important water routes of the world. The five Great Lakes, of which Superior, Huron, Erie, and Ontario are partly in Canada, have an area of nearly 100,000 square miles. The rapids of St. Mary, between Lakes Superior and Huron, are avoided by the Sault Sainte Marie or Soo Canal; and the great waterfall of Niagara, between Lakes Erie and Ontario, by the Welland Canal. After leaving Lake Ontario, the St. Lawrence passes through the picturesque and wooded

Thousand Islands, becomes narrower, and falls occasionally over rapids beside which canals have been constructed. Below the Lachine Rapids, the lowest, the island of Mount Royal is formed where the Ottawa river enters the St. Lawrence, over 1,400 miles from the head of Lake Superior. Here is built Montreal, the largest city of Canada, and a port of first-class rank. The Ottawa leads by its tributary the Rideau and canals to Lake Ontario (*see* p. 317); and it is also proposed to cut a canal capable of floating ocean-going steamers between the main stream and Lake Huron. The St. Lawrence and the Ottawa are thus the chief natural routes to the far west. After leaving Montreal the St. Lawrence widens to the shallow Lake St. Peter, which has been dredged to keep pace with the increasing draught of ocean liners and allow them to reach Montreal. South of Montreal is a natural furrow which contains Lakes George and Champlain, and is drained by the Richelieu into the St. Lawrence. Through the southern part of this furrow the Hudson flows to the Atlantic, thus providing convenient access to Lakes Ontario and Erie by the Mohawk valley. This forms a fourth natural route of primary importance converging on Montreal, and its unrivalled command of these great routes helps to explain the prosperity of the city.

The Western Mountain Area.

The Western Mountain or Cordilleran area consists of a series of chains of ridges and valleys running from north to south. The easternmost chain, which rises steeply above the plains, is known as the Rocky Mountains throughout its entire length, but the other members of the system have a great variety of names. This mountain barrier is very difficult to cross from east to west, and long prevented overland expansion to the Pacific. The Columbia, Fraser, Stikeen, and Skeena rivers, flowing to the Pacific, all rise in the eastern part of the system, not far from streams flowing to the Mackenzie and Nelson; while routes of greater or less difficulty cross the passes between these systems and zigzag down steep-sided narrow valleys, or canyons. In the north the headwaters of the Yukon lead to the Behring Sea. The western valleys of the Cordilleran area open to the Pacific. Many were covered by the sea where the ice which once filled them melted, and form fiords resembling those of Norway, Scotland (*see* p. 14), and New Zealand (*see* p. 427). Seawards, Vancouver and the Queen Charlotte Islands are the exposed peaks of a coastal chain which has mostly been submerged.

Climate. These western mountains form a climatic barrier. To the east the fairly uniform height makes for fairly uniform conditions at a given time. The absence of east-west barriers permits the passage of cold winds from the north and warm winds from the south, causing great and rapid changes of temperature. The vast mass of land produces an extreme climate, relatively cold in winter and hot in summer; but its severity is modified by sea influences in the east, and to some extent by the Great Lakes and Hudson Bay in the interior. Thus, while in latitude 50°N. the period with a mean temperature below freezing point is not much over two months in the east, and on the Pacific coast is only a few days, it is nearly four months round Winnipeg. On the other hand, while few parts of the east have over two months in summer with a mean temperature of 70°F., and the Pacific coast has about one, round Winnipeg there are over three months. The Pacific has, therefore, an equable climate quite different from the extremes of the centre and the east.

Wind and Rain. These conditions of temperature determine the distribution of atmospheric pressure and the direction of the wind. In winter over the cold interior lies a high pressure system, with winds blowing outwards, the area of highest pressure extending from Lake Winnipeg along the Great Lakes and the Mackenzie basin. This shifts towards the ocean in spring, when low pressure conditions prevail round the base of the Rockies. This draws chinook winds over the mountains and also relatively moist air from the east, producing the opportune rainfall of late spring and early summer. In late summer and autumn the low pressure passes east-north-east over Hudson Bay, and the north of the Atlantic.

Except in the far north Canada lies in the region of the westerly storm winds. The main tracks of barometric minima pass over it near its southern boundary, especially along the St. Lawrence basin. With the exception of the south of British Columbia, the Lake Peninsula, and the Atlantic Provinces, Canada lies normally on the northern side of the passing storm centre. The result is that northerly winds prevail over most of the Dominion. As they are blowing from cooler to warmer regions, they are dry except in the extreme east where they come oversea; and the rainfall map shows that the heaviest rainfall occurs near the coasts and diminishes towards the interior. Only a small part of the south of the

eastern region has a rainfall of over 40 inches. The heaviest precipitation in Canada is found on the western slopes of the western mountains, where the south-west winds are drawn far to the north as in Europe. In the interior the mountain area is very dry, but considerable rain and snow fall on the higher parts of the Rockies.

A word must be said of the warm dry chinook winds which blow in the plains east of the Rockies. The air is drawn over the mountains, losing its moisture as it ascends, and heated by compression as it descends. These warm dry winds cause snow to disappear with great rapidity. Within the range of their action, that is for about two hundred miles east from the base of the Rockies, fodder can be obtained nearly all the year round. The importance of this both for stock and agriculture is obvious.

The south-west winds of the west coast cause a westerly drift of warmer surface water, and this keeps the western ports of Canada ice-free. On the east coast the winds generally blow parallel to the Labrador coast, driving cold surface water as well as cold air southwards. The eastern ports, with the exception of St. John in New Brunswick, and Halifax in Nova Scotia, and others on the Atlantic sea-board and on the Bay of Fundy, are icebound in winter; so that the St. Lawrence as well as the rivers of the plains in higher latitudes are inaccessible from the sea for several months.

In Central and Eastern Canada the winters are too severe for the sowing of winter wheat, and in the forest zone winter is the lumbering season. The logs are hauled over the frozen ground to the banks of the rivers and lakes, to be carried down by the spring floods when the ice melts.

Climatic and Economic Regions.

The vast area of British North America may be divided as follows: (1) the cold arctic and sub-arctic region of tundra, where the mean monthly temperature is never over 50°; (2) the cool temperate belt with very cold winters and warm summers, covered with dwarf and open woods; (3) the warm temperate belt with very cold winters and hot summers, covered with dense forests. All these have a low summer rainfall, and comparatively little snow in winter (under 5 or 6 ft.)—a total precipitation of 10-25 inches. In the east region (2) gradually passes into (4) the regions of South Labrador and Quebec with less extreme winter and summer temperatures, with a heavier rainfall (25-35 inches) and over

7 ft. of snow; here and there the forest is denser than in (2). (5) The Maritime or Atlantic Provinces have still less extreme temperatures, and a snowfall of less than 7 ft., but a heavier rainfall (over 35 inches) with a more northern type of forest, now partly cleared. (6) The Lake Peninsula, the most southern part of Canada, is differentiated from (3) by its heavier rainfall (25-40 inches), but its southern forest is being cleared. (7) The extreme south-western grassy plains are distinguished from (3) by their very low rainfall, which prevents the growth of forests. (8) The Mountain Area with its great varieties of climate, dry valleys and wet exposed mountain slopes, can be subdivided into many climatic districts, but broadly we may distinguish between a northern area with northern forests, and a southern with a cordilleran forest. The conditions generally speaking become milder and more moist from east to west.

Eastern Canada.

If we approach Canada from the Atlantic by Belle Isle Strait and the St. Lawrence estuary, we have different physical regions to right and left. On the north the land rises steeply from the coast to the undulating highlands of the Labrador peninsula, which is composed of old rocks, thinly covered with soil, and supporting a forest of some density in the south. The east coast of Labrador is fiorded, and its many fishing stations are very busy in summer. The coast belongs to Newfoundland, the hinterland to Canada. On our left, to the south, the country has a well-marked ridge and valley structure, which can be traced in the chief peninsulas and bays. With them should be compared the peninsulas in the west and east of Newfoundland; the Bay of Fundy, which almost cuts off Nova Scotia from the mainland; the Bay of Chaleurs and the Gaspé peninsula.

Newfoundland.

The same south-west to north-east direction of gulf and peninsula is found in the mountain ranges, valleys and long lakes of Newfoundland. This island is difficult to cross from south-east to north-west, except where rivers have cut their way across the ranges. All the routes have been determined by these features. The surface of the island is covered with forest, which adds to the difficulty of communication, but yields valuable lumber. In Newfoundland the sea is hardly less valuable than the land; and up till now has been more carefully exploited. The cold Arctic currents bring minute organisms which feed inexhaustible shoals of fish

in the waters over the shallow Newfoundland Banks. Ever since their discovery these have attracted fishing fleets from all the maritime countries of Europe. More recently they have led to disputes with France and the United States (*see* pp. 324, 327).

The Atlantic Provinces.

In the Atlantic Provinces the most fertile and settled areas are round the Bay of Fundy, with rich meadows and apple orchards. The high tides of the bay carry shipping far inland, and prevent its being blocked by ice in winter. Halifax, at the centre of the Atlantic Coast of Nova Scotia, is the best natural port in America The coal mines round Sydney in Cape Breton Island are also very valuable, while the low-lying Prince Edward Island has been called "the garden of Eastern Canada."

Lower and Upper Canada.

Proceeding by the St. Lawrence we reach the rock of Quebec, the commercial importance of which may be increased by the difficulty of dredging the river above it so as to keep pace with the greater draught of ocean liners and enable them to reach Montreal (*see* p. 247).

The Lake or Niagara Peninsula, between Lakes Erie, Ontario and Huron is the most southern and the most prosperous part of Canada. The hot summers bring to perfection the grape, peach, apricot, and many other fruits. Hence the cities of Toronto and Hamilton, on Lake Ontario, and London, in the heart of the peninsula, have sprung up. Ottawa, the Dominion capital, is on the river Ottawa.

A century ago British North America consisted of four natural divisions (1) the colony of Newfoundland; (2) the three Atlantic provinces, peopled mainly along the coast; (3) Quebec or Lower Canada, peopled chiefly along the St. Lawrence; and (4) Ontario or Upper Canada, the settled Lake peninsula. Between the forests of the Atlantic Provinces and Quebec, a long journey either by sea or by land is necessary. Quebec and Ontario have now become practically continuous, but a great stretch of almost uninhabited rocky land separates them from the newer settlements of Central Canada. The discovery of valuable minerals, however, may lead to the development of population in this intermediate area.

The Central Plains.

Here the land is rapidly being broken and settled by an agricultural population along the southern margin of the forest zone and the

richer part of the grass belt, especially in the Red River valley (*see* pp. 246, 280). Cultivation rapidly spreads as railways are built across these undulating plains, and now three provinces, Manitoba (capital Winnipeg), Saskatchewan (capital Regina), and Alberta (capital Edmonton) have been organised. Population diminishes in density towards the drier areas of the south-west, where the rainfall is insufficient for crops and agricultural pursuits give place to cattle-raising occupations. The discovery of coal and other minerals near the Rockies has, however, led to the development of a new area of population between Lethbridge and Calgary in Alberta.

British Columbia.

British Columbia the western province, comprises the mountainous lands between latitude 60°N. and the frontier of the United States. It has been opened up by railways and is gradually being settled along the valleys of the Fraser and Columbia rivers and their tributaries—districts famous for their fish, fruit, and lumber. The mineral wealth—gold, silver, lead, coal—is attracting settlers to such centres as Rossland. Vancouver has grown up on Burrard's Inlet as the western terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and a port for trans-Pacific liners. The capital of the province, Victoria, at the south of Vancouver Island, is its rival, and is situated near the Nanaimo coal fields and the naval station of Esquimalt.

Yukon, the mountainous area north of 60°N., has rich gold mines round Dawson, where the Klondike river enters the Yukon. The North-west Territories, which stretch from the Mackenzie delta to Labrador, consist of tundra and open forest, and are peopled by a few Eskimos, Indians and fur traders.

CHAPTER II.

FRENCH AND BRITISH, 1534–1763

The first Settlements.

The discovery of Newfoundland (*see* p. 320) was not at once followed by further explorations in the direction of Canada, but in 1534 Jacques Cartier, of St. Malo, reached the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and in 1535 sailed up it as far as Montreal. In 1540 he established a settlement near Quebec, but this and other colonising projects formed by the Huguenots in the sixteenth century failed. In 1604, however, Pierre de Gua, Sieur de Monts, a gentleman of the household of King Henry IV. of France, founded Port Royal on Annapolis Basin. Four years later Samuel de Champlain, his lieutenant, set up the *fleur-de-lys* on the rock of Quebec, and founded what was for a century and a-half the capital of the French Empire in North America. The colony soon excited the jealousy of the English settlements to the south; in 1613 Capt. Samuel Argall of Virginia sacked Port Royal, and from that date there was rarely peace along the frontier line. In 1628 Gervase Kirke, with the help of some French Huguenots, sank the French naval force in the St. Lawrence, and in 1629, with his son, Sir David Kirke, captured Quebec. The whole of New France passed under English rule, but everything was restored by Charles I. when peace was signed, and the struggle had to be re-fought in the eighteenth century.

The St. Lawrence.

As in all young settlements, especially in a large country, the rivers were the chief roads. From Montreal to Quebec the St. Lawrence was like a street, with houses and farms on both sides. The land was granted in long strips, each with a frontage on the river, and stretching back several miles. When a farm was divided the new owner was always given

an outlook on the river, and to-day, as one sails up the St. Lawrence, one of the first things which strikes the eye is the long, ribbon-like farms, often not more than a few yards wide, which stretch back so far inland. These farms extended from a little above Montreal to about forty miles beyond the city of Quebec, and ran back some fifteen or twenty miles to the Laurentian mountains. It was then, as it is now, a pleasant land, a land of apple orchards and waving wheat and meadows of deep grass, growing narrower and narrower as the hills slope down towards the water, till at last the great bulk of Cap Tourmente shoulders itself into the river and cuts off further progress.

System of Land Tenure.

The land was settled under what is known as seigniorial tenure. In theory this was much the same as the feudal tenure under which land was held in France, but in practice the results in Canada were very different, and it is a mistake to speak of the French Canadians as groaning under the same tyranny as the peasants of old France. The French peasant was almost helpless under the sway of his feudal lord; he was *taillable et corvéable à merci*, "taxable and workable at his master's will"; the Canadian had from the first security of tenure, and prized no title so highly as that which he still retains of the *habitant*, the dweller on the soil. If he owed to his lord certain duties, they pressed on him but lightly. It is true that he was compelled to take his corn to be ground at the seignior's mill; but then this meant that the seignior was compelled to keep up a good mill, which, in a new country, was more often a burden than a privilege. Often the seignior found his honours so expensive that he was glad to sell out to one of his wealthy tenants, so that no social barriers divided the seignior and the *habitant*, and, as a rule, the kindest and tenderest feelings characterised their relations. After the British conquest, nothing frightened the Canadians so much as the thought that this system might be changed; and though in 1854 the English system of holding land in freehold was introduced into the province, many of the *habitants* still prefer to pay rent to their former seigniors.

The Influence of the Church.

The objects of the French in settling in Canada had been chiefly to convert the Indians and to trade with them in furs. The Roman Catholic Church had great influence. The settlers were carefully picked, and no heretic was allowed to enter. This greatly hindered the growth of the country, and is the chief reason why it grew so much more slowly than did the

English Colonies to the south. This great influence of the Church in Canada endures to-day; not even the doctor, or the *notaire*, or the Member of Parliament has so much influence in the Quebec village as has *Monsieur le Curé*. Probably in no other spot in the world has the Church such unquestioned power, and one result of this is seen in the moral and law-abiding nature of the *habitants*. It is true that the Church has not always helped them to get as good an education as their English fellow-citizens; but she has taught them to be good fathers and mothers, good husbands and wives, good children and kindly neighbours.

French Colonial Ambitions.

But though the French, descendants for the most part of peasants from Normandy and Picardy, were proud of their farms, there was in their blood a roving strain which sent many of the young men off to the woods to shoot and hunt. These trappers, known as *coureurs de bois*, often became as wild as the Indians themselves, married squaws, and settled down among the red men. This roving side of their life fitted in well with the plans of the French Government. Even in its decay the government of the Bourbon kings was majestic, and dreamed of nothing less than the conquest of the whole of America north of the Spanish possessions. Thus all along the River St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes forts were placed at the most important points—at Niagara, controlling the trade of the upper lakes; at Detroit, where the western Indians came with their furs; at Michillimakinac—on the straits of Makinac joining Lakes Huron and Michigan—perhaps the most important natural strategic point in North America. Further south, where the headwaters of the St. Lawrence approach those of the Mississippi, were other small forts, the most important of which, Fort Du Quesne, was on the site of the modern city of Pittsburg, in the fork of the two rivers which unite to form the Ohio. This had been built by the French in 1754, and was the key to the west, out of which some of the richest states in the American Republic have since been carved. Further down the Mississippi were other settlements, the most important of which was New Orleans, near its mouth.

The Treaty of Utrecht.

In 1713 France had ceded to Great Britain, by the Treaty of Utrecht, the great north-western district, drained by the rivers which flow into Hudson Bay, and also the province of Acadia, comprising the present Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and part of the State of Maine. But to the north the French

still held the Island of Cape Breton, on which they built the great fortress of Louisbourg; from its splendid harbour privateers sallied forth to prey on the rising commerce of New England and New York. Thus, when the Seven Years' War began, of the three great water-ways into the heart of the continent, the French held the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence; only the third and least important, the Hudson River, was in the hands of Great Britain.

The Seven Years' War.

During the early part of the war the advantage lay with the French. Though only about 65,000 in number, they were accustomed to living and fighting in the bush; above all, they were strictly obedient to the orders of their Governor and of the military commander. On the other hand, the British colonies, though their population was about twenty times as great, were divided into thirteen separate commonwealths, each to a great extent master of its own affairs, and each intensely jealous of the other. Those to the south were too far distant from the scene of war to take much part in it; the Quakers of Pennsylvania found that fighting was not only contrary to their principles but a source of great expense and annoyance; New York would not move unless New England did her duty; and New England was resolved not to let the whole burden of the war fall on her shoulders.

Yet, though the French, acting vigorously under a united authority, were everywhere successful at first, their successes were more brilliant than solid in reality. In a conflict between 65,000 and 1,250,000, the odds were obviously in favour of the big battalions. "The French," says Carlyle, "have distinct orders from court, and energetically obey the same; the English have indistinct orders from nature, and do not want energy or mind to obey these." It is probable that in the end, after many a hard blow, the English colonies would have learned the lesson of unity, and won the day. But the issue was not left to them; just at this time, while the French government was in a state of unparalleled confusion, while army and navy were administered at the bidding of a vain and foolish woman, there rose to control of the resources of England the greatest war minister she has ever had. William Pitt kissed hands as one of the two Secretaries of State on June, 29, 1757; in civil affairs everyone, from a bishop to a tide-waiter, was appointed by his colleague, the Duke of Newcastle; but the control of the forces by land and sea was in the hands of Pitt alone, and he at once organised a combined attack on the French possessions in America.

The Campaign of 1758.

In 1758 Louisbourg was taken by a fleet under Admiral Boscawen, known by his sailors as "Foul-weather Jack," and an army under Major-Gen. Jeffrey Amherst. In this expedition was noticed the new spirit which Pitt had breathed into his men. Soldiers and sailors are usually jealous of each other, but not a ripple marred the harmony of the relations between Amherst and Boscawen. On Lake Ontario, Col. Bradstreet, a brave New England veteran, captured Fort Frontenac, the French naval base, on the site of the modern Kingston, and the French fleet lying there; in it were found vast quantities of stores and provisions which had been gathered to victual the western forts during the winter, and all the presents intended for the Indians. Later in the year Gen. Forbes, advancing from Philadelphia, pushed on through the autumn rains to Fort Du Quesne. The French garrison, in want of the provisions captured at Fort Frontenac, and deserted by the Indians, abandoned their post. Thus, though the French general, Montcalm, and his second in command, De Levis beat off with heavy loss an attack made on them at Ticonderoga by a force of British regulars and colonial militia which advanced up the Hudson, the hopes of France had been shattered by the end of 1758. With one hand she had held the great West, with the other the Atlantic; in this one year both had been lopped off. It only remained for Pitt to strike at the heart.

Montcalm and Wolfe.

In 1759 a three-fold attack was planned. One army advanced against Niagara and the western country, and after a brave defence the French were forced to surrender. A second, under Gen. Amherst, moved up the Hudson and captured Ticonderoga. Meanwhile the French general, feeling that it was above all things necessary to keep a footing in the colony, concentrated his forces at Quebec. Six miles below the city the river Montmorenci falls into the St. Lawrence, plunging over a cliff 265 ft. in height. Along the six miles between the cataract and the city Montcalm drew up his men. The position was naturally strong, and he strengthened every mile of it with the most carefully-devised earthworks. Pitt had given the command of the attacking force to Major-Gen. Wolfe, a brilliant soldier only thirty-two years of age, who had been the soul of the attack on Louisbourg in the previous year. The fleet was under the command of Admiral Saunders, who cordially and effectively co-operated

with the land forces. Wolfe was strong in his absolute control of the river and the harbour of Quebec, which enabled him to divide his troops, putting some opposite the city at Point Levis, others on the Island of Orleans, and a third division beyond the Montmorenci. In reality they were not divided at all. The whole basin of the harbour and its shores formed his camp, and its various parts were connected by the river, the best of all roads. He was thus able to move his men hither and thither at their ease, seated comfortably on shipboard; he threatened to attack, now here, now there; and as often as he threatened, the soldiers of Montcalm were compelled to toil after him on land in the heat of a Canadian summer. Yet so obstinate was the defence of Montcalm and so strong was his position that Wolfe began to despair. An attack on the Montmorenci was beaten off with heavy loss, and to add to his misfortunes, the young General himself fell ill.

The Plains of Abraham.

At last, at the end of August his three brigadiers suggested an attack somewhere above the city. Wolfe agreed, chose the spot and worked out the details of a plan at once simple and ingenious. On the night of September 12 the troops, which had been quietly gathered on shipboard, were carried by the fleet some miles above the city. Here they embarked in boats and dropped down the river with the ebb tide. On their way they were hailed by a sentry, but an officer who spoke French succeeded in persuading him that they were a convoy of provision boats which the French were known to be expecting. At last they reached the chosen spot, known then as the *Anse du Foulon*, but ever since as Wolfe's Cove, a little bay running into the land, where the cliff is less steep and where a rocky path leads up to the stretch of level ground, called after an early French settler the Plains of Abraham. Up the steep cliff they climbed, never knowing whether a volley from the top or a shower of stones might not sweep them back into the river. Montcalm has been blamed for not defending the spot more strongly, but it has been proved that he had wished to send one of his bravest regiments, that of Guienne, to camp in the vicinity, but that the order had been countermanded by the Governor, an honest but weak-minded Canadian named Vaudreuil. The only guard was a small picket, led by an incompetent officer named De Vergor, who at the moment of Wolfe's attack was fast asleep. The surprise was complete. Vergor sprang out of bed and ran off in his shirt,

but was wounded in the heel and captured. By morning Wolfe had 4,829 men drawn up in battle array, of whom 3,111 were in the firing line. At the moment of the surprise, Montcalm was in his camp on the other side of the city, across the little River St. Charles. He gathered his men with all speed, and in the early morning rushed to the attack.

The French Defeat.

The numbers on each side were about equal, though the French had more in the firing line; but the British were seasoned troops, while the French were a mixture of regulars, militia and Indians. The French advanced gallantly, but in some disorder, with loud shouts, and firing as they came. The British stood firm and silent, though men fell fast, till the enemy were within forty yards. Then from that thin red line burst a volley so well delivered that it seemed like a single shot. As the smoke cleared the French could be seen lying in heaps. In vain Montcalm, conspicuous on his black charger, galloped hither and thither to restore order. Another volley completed the rout. The British advanced, at first in good order, then in a headlong rush. Drawing their broadswords, the Highlanders chased the fugitives to the edge of the city ditch. In the moment of victory Wolfe fell. One of the first shots fired had broken his wrist, but he tied his handkerchief round the wound and pressed on; another shot struck him in the side, but he was still staggering on when a third pierced his lungs, and he fell. Asked if he would have a surgeon, he refused, knowing that all was over. A moment later, the cry of triumph came from one of his officers: "They run, they run!" "Who run?" he asked faintly. "The French, Sir. Egad! they give way everywhere." "Go, one of you, to Gen. Burton," replied the dying man, "tell him to march Webb's regiment down to Charles River, to cut off their retreat from the Bridge." Then, turning on his side, like a child lying down to sleep, he murmured: "Now, God be praised, I die content." A moment later he was dead.

His brave opponent, too, had been shot through the body, but stayed himself up on his horse till within the city, assuring the women who screamed at the sight of his blood that it was nothing. On the morning of the next day he died, and was buried in the grave which a bursting British shell had dug for him in the little church of the Ursulines. In later years the chivalry of the conquerors erected on the brow of the cliff, from which he had so often watched the

ships of his rival, a monument to the two heroes which bears the inscription :—

WOLFE AND MONTCALM.

Virtus mortem communem,
Famam historia,
Momentum posteritas dedit.*

The Surrender of Quebec.

The victory by no means entailed the surrender of Quebec; but the Governor, De Ramezay, was old and timorous. Vaudreuil had lost his nerve; the brave and skilful De Levis had been sent off to Montreal to watch the approach of Amherst. On hearing of the defeat he came tearing down to the scene of action, gathering troops as he came; he met and rallied the routed army; his vanguard was within a few miles of the city when news came that De Ramezay had on the morning of the 18th surrendered the city to Brigadier-Gen. Townshend. De Levis at once retreated to Montreal, where he and Vaudreuil reorganised their forces, and in the spring, as soon as the melting snows left the roads clear, came down with 10,000 men to make a last attempt. Outside the walls of Quebec he defeated Gen. Murray, the British commander, in what is called sometimes the Battle of Ste. Foy, and sometimes the Second Battle of the Plains of Abraham. But Murray, though defeated, was in no mood to repeat the error of De Ramezay; he held fiercely at bay behind his ruined walls, and a fortnight later the arrival of a British fleet forced the French to raise the siege.

De Levis again retreated to Montreal, on which during the summer three British armies converged. One under Gen. Murray came from Quebec, one under Brigadier Haviland advanced by the line of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu, and the third under Gen. Amherst came down the St. Lawrence and ran the rapids with signal bravery and success. At Montreal on September 8, 1760, Vaudreuil and De Levis, and all that was left of their gallant little army, laid down their arms and became prisoners of war.

The Peace of Paris.

Three years later, by the Treaty of Paris, signed on February 10, 1763, the surrender was confirmed. Canada, Cape Breton, and the islands in the gulf, and all the vast territory between the Mississippi and the Atlantic, were relinquished to Britain. Of all her American empire France

* Their valour gave them a common death history a common glory; posterity a common monument.

retained only the two little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon as a shelter for the fishing fleet which the coast towns of Normandy and Brittany sent yearly to the banks of Newfoundland.

To the Canadians good terms were given. Those who desired to do so were allowed eighteen months to sell their goods and to return to France; but of this permission only a few of the upper classes availed themselves. To those who remained was granted that which they prized above all, "the liberty of the Catholic religion." Murray, who had been in command since the autumn of 1759, and whose justice and kindliness had already made him beloved by the *habitants*, was made the first governor of the new province.

CHAPTER III.

THE OLD COLONIAL SYSTEM, 1763-1837.

Canada settles down under British rule.

The war-worn Canadians settled down willingly enough under the mild rule of the conqueror. So docile and obedient were they that Governor Murray soon came to prefer them to the English and American immigrants, whom he describes as "men of mean education, either young or inexperienced, or older men who had failed elsewhere . . . the most immoral collection of men I ever knew." The efforts of the newcomers, however, soon led to a great increase in the commerce of Canada, and Murray's judgment was probably prejudiced by the soldier's contempt for the trader.

Alternative Policies.

Two lines of policy were open to the British Government. One was that which Russia has adopted toward the Poles, and which Germany is using to-day toward the French of Alsace and Lorraine. It might have endeavoured to destroy the laws and language of the Canadians and to force on them the laws and the language of Britain. After some hesitation, it preferred to leave their institutions untouched, and to trust to their gratitude and their affection to make them faithful British subjects. The result is that there is in Canada to-day a solid block of nearly two million French-speaking subjects of His Majesty, living under a code of laws largely French.

The Quebec Act.

From the first Murray treated the Canadians with kindness; and when he returned to England in 1766, his successor, Sir Guy Carleton, who like himself had fought under Wolfe, was even more generous. In 1774, with his approval, the British Parliament passed the Quebec Act, which has ever since been regarded by the French-Canadians as their Great Charter. By it they were confirmed in the right to worship according to the Roman Catholic faith, and to hold land under the seigniorial system. Indeed, while in criminal matters the more merciful law of England was introduced, the French

civil law was retained in full, and forms the basis of the present code of the province of Quebec.

The War of American Independence.

Hardly had Great Britain thus proved her generosity when the revolt of the thirteen American colonies broke out. These were very anxious for the Canadians to join them, but the *habitant* hated the *Bostonnais*, as he called them, knowing that they would, if they had the chance, make short work of his Church and of his laws. Thus, when the rebels invaded Canada, the *habitants* refused to aid them. The invaders were at first successful. They captured Montreal (November 13, 1775), and Carleton only escaped by the aid of Capt. Bouchette, a brave Canadian who paddled him down the St. Lawrence through the American sentries, using his hands as paddles to move more quietly, while Carleton lay flat in the bottom of the canoe. But, once the Governor had reached Quebec, the American success came to an end. He was a fine soldier and defended the city so vigorously that one American General, Montgomery, like Carleton himself an old soldier of Wolfe, was defeated and killed (December 31, 1775); and though the other, Benedict Arnold, showed great bravery and besieged the city all winter, he too was compelled to retreat in the spring, while in the summer of 1776 Carleton attacked him on Lake Champlain and defeated him with the loss of his whole fleet.

The United Empire Loyalists.

At the end of the war, when, with the help of France and Spain, the colonies had won their independence, those who during the fight had remained loyal to the Empire were harshly treated by the victors and many of them were forced to migrate to Canada. Here they were given lands and money by the British Government and enabled to start life anew. Many settled on the banks of the River St. John, in what is now the province of New Brunswick (*see* p. 278); others went to the fertile district between the French settlements and the American border, which has ever since been known as "The Eastern Townships." Further west, other Loyalists settled in what is now the province of Ontario—at Kingston, on the site of the old French Fort Frontenac, along the Bay of Quinte, and at York (now Toronto). The descendants of these United Empire Loyalists, as they were called, still play a prominent part in Canadian life and have done much to promote the spirit of sturdy loyalty to the British Crown for which such cities as Toronto and Kingston are conspicuous (*see also* pp. 80, 81).

The Constitutional Act of 1791.

But, though the Loyalists had fought for British connection and upheld the ideal of a united Empire, they were strong believers in the right of colonists to manage their own local affairs. They soon found fault with the personal rule of Carleton, who in 1786 had returned with the title of Lord Dorchester to the province, and asked that their representatives should share in the government of the country. As a result, in 1791 the British Government passed the Constitutional Act. By this that part of Canada now known as Ontario was made into a separate province, with the name of Upper Canada. In this British law was established. In the rest of the province, known as Lower Canada, the *habitants* were allowed to keep their cherished laws and customs. To both provinces was given a representative Assembly. The government thus consisted of a Governor appointed nominally by the King, but really by the Colonial Office, of an Upper House, known as the Legislative Council, and of the Representative Assembly. The French-Canadians at first had no desire for such an Assembly, which they called "*une machine Anglaise pour nous taxer*" (an English device to get taxes out of us); but the British Government decided that, as representation was being given to Upper Canada, the French would not be fairly treated unless they received the same.

The new constitution did not work well. The Governor, who was supposed to take the place of the King, was really responsible to the Colonial Office, and though Downing Street (*see* p. 227), as it came to be called from the situation of the office, did its best, its knowledge of Canada and of Canadian conditions was not great. The other departments were still worse, and on one occasion the Admiralty sent out, for use in a war-ship on the fresh-water Lake Ontario, a complete collection of casks and buckets for storing fresh water!

War with the United States.

But Canadian dislike of Downing Street was for a time silenced by the roar of battle. Ever since 1793 Great Britain had been at war with France, and the conflict had grown fiercer since the resources of France were controlled by the genius of Napoleon. The merchants of the United States at first made large profits by selling supplies to both combatants, but soon Napoleon began to capture all ships which traded with England, and England, in reply, seized on all ships which traded with France. The United States were thus very angry with both, and they had a further cause of quarrel with Britain

because that country insisted on searching American ships for British deserters, an operation often carried out with great harshness and even brutality. At last, in 1812, the United States declared war against Great Britain. On sea the Americans, who had some very powerful frigates, were at first victorious in a series of single-ship actions, but in June of the next year Captain Broke, of the "Shannon," turned the tables by capturing the "Chesapeake" and bringing her captive into Halifax harbour. Later on, the British Navy, which was by far the larger, swept American commerce so utterly from the seas that three thousand American merchantmen were captured and American exports were brought down from $100,000,000 to $8,000,000 (*see* p. 325).

The Attack on Canada.

The main effort of the Americans was directed against Canada. Luckily for it the chief frontier States, New York and New England were opposed to the war; but even so, the odds were strong against Canada. The story of the war is very hard to follow, for attacks were made by both sides all along the frontier from Montreal to Detroit. On July 11, 1812, the American General Hull invaded Canada from Detroit, and issued a proclamation promising "peace, liberty and security" to all who would accept American rule. Throughout the war the Americans showed a touching faith in the virtue of proclamations, and really in many cases believed that they had a mission to rescue Canada from the tyranny of Britain. Finding no support in Canada, Hull returned to Detroit. Upper Canada was at this time governed by a brave and skilful soldier, Sir Isaac Brock. With about seven hundred white troops and rather more than six hundred Indians he followed Hull and besieged Detroit. Hull had twice as many men and his cannon were heavier and more numerous; but he and his troops were in deadly terror of the Indians and on August 16 he surrendered. If Brock had been allowed to follow up his success he might have kept the enemy on the run; but he was subject to the orders of the Governor-General, Sir George Prevost, who just at this moment, in the hope of putting a stop to the war, proposed to the Americans an armistice. Prevost had made himself beloved by the French-Canadians, and in time of peace might have been a successful Governor; but all through the war he showed such a faculty for doing the wrong thing that eventually he was recalled to England to be tried for incompetence; he fell sick and died of a broken heart before the trial took place.

During the armistice the Americans brought up men and artillery. For a time they and Brock faced each other across the Niagara river, but on October 12 they forced a landing at the Canadian position of Queenston Heights. Brock was shot dead, with his last breath calling to his men to push on. The battle seemed won by the Americans, but Gen. Sheaffe came up with reinforcements and drove them down the hill into the river, where it rushes at its fiercest after its leap over the falls.

The Campaign of 1813.

In 1813 the fortunes of war varied. At the beginning of the season the Americans gained control of Lake Ontario and, sailing across it, captured York, the capital of Upper Canada (April 27). Greatly to their disgrace, they looted and burned the Parliament buildings, and destroyed much private property. Soon afterwards, they defeated the British at Fort George, on the Niagara frontier (May 27), and drove them back to Stony Creek, near the present town of Hamilton. Here the British turned to bay, and, led by Col. John Harvey, made a night attack, driving the enemy back in confusion (June 5). The next fight was at Beaver Dams, also in the Niagara district, where in a forest of beech-trees Lieut. FitzGibbon, with less than fifty men, mostly daredevil Irish, and a few Indians, ambushed and captured nearly six hundred Americans. Shortly before (May 29) Prevost in person had attacked the American naval base at Sackett's Harbour, on Lake Ontario; but, just as his troops were on the point of carrying the town, he drew them off and re-embarked. Further west, the defeat of the British fleet on Lake Erie, in a fight in which, after a desperate struggle, nine American vessels under Commodore Perry annihilated six British vessels under Capt. Barclay (September 10), compelled the British army under Col. Procter to retreat, for fear of being cut off from its base of supplies at Detroit. Through the summer Procter had been aided by the Shawnee Indians, under their chief Tecumseh, one of the noblest men whom the red race has produced. Tecumseh was in no mood to retreat, and bitterly upbraided Procter, but not even his comparison of that officer to "a fat dog with his tail between his legs" roused him to fight. The retreat was slow and disorderly, and the American general Harrison was soon at his heels, with a force chiefly composed of Kentucky rifle-men, who were well accustomed to bush-fighting with the Indians. At Moravian Town, on the Thames River, Procter was forced to turn and fight; but his men, outnumbered,

weary, and without confidence in their leader, were soon routed. Tecumseh and his Indians fought hard, and the chief died on the field (October 5).

Meantime, the Americans had sent two armies against Montreal. On October 25 one of these, while marching north from Lake Champlain, was met at the little river Chateauguay by Col. de Salaberry at the head of three hundred French-Canadian *voltigeurs*, and, though ten times as numerous, was utterly routed. On November 11, the other army, which was making its way down the St. Lawrence, was met and defeated at Chrysler's Farm, and on the next day, hearing of the British victory at Chateauguay, retired in confusion.

The End of the War.

In 1814 the hardest fighting was on the Niagara frontier. Here, on the evening of a sultry day in July, Gen. Drummond, the new British commander-in-chief, with about 1,800 men, was attacked by 4,000 Americans at Lundy's Lane. For three hours they fought, the thunder of the Falls of Niagara sounding in their ears above the roar of the artillery. The British guns were captured, but the infantry held their ground stubbornly till reinforcements came up, and the fight went on till midnight, when both sides ceased from sheer exhaustion (July 25). Next day the Americans fell back, and on the 27th re-crossed the river.

The capture of Napoleon and his exile to Elba now allowed Britain to devote her energies to the struggle in America. On August 24 a British force defeated the Americans, under the eyes of President Madison himself, at Bladensburg, on the Potomac River, and, pushing on, captured Washington and burnt its public buildings, in reprisal for the American conduct at York. In September Prevost led 11,000 of the best troops in the British Army to attack Plattsburg, but the bravery of the American garrison and the irresolution of Prevost gave the Americans a complete victory, in spite of the superior numbers and experience of the British rank and file. By this time both sides were weary of war, and on December 24, 1814, peace was signed at Ghent. By its terms each party retained what it had before the war. To Canada the war was her baptism of fire; by it she won that self-respect, those traditions of brave deeds done in defence of hearth and home, which are a nation's greatest asset.

Papineau's Rebellion.

When the war was over the Canadians again had leisure to feel discontented with the system under which they were governed. A governor sent out from England necessarily needed advice

and naturally took it from his Council. Thus the Council, consisting of a few men appointed for life and responsible only to the Crown, carried on the government of the country. In Lower Canada the question was complicated by the fact that the Council were nearly all English, the Assembly nearly all French. The English were not always tactful or conciliatory, and the airs assumed by some of them enraged the French, whose complaints found a voice in Louis Joseph Papineau, a great orator, without much strength of mind or moderation. The Assembly passed laws and the Council or the governor vetoed them. The governor and his Council suggested that money should be spent in certain ways; the Assembly refused to give a penny. At last Papineau began to talk of armed rebellion. But at that the priests, who had great influence among the *habitants*, and many of whom had previously been on his side, deserted him. The British Government had treated them with great kindness, and they were not ungrateful. The result was that of all the thousands who had cheered his wild words only four or five hundred followed Papineau into rebellion. Papineau himself hesitated at the last moment and fled to the United States, while his followers were easily defeated (1837).

The "Family Compact."

Upper Canada had seen the same growth of the power of the Council. Its chief men were descendants of the United Empire Loyalists, and were very proud of the fidelity to Britain which they had showed from 1812 to 1814. Their leaders were Dr. John Strachan, the Anglican Bishop of Toronto, a Scotchman from Aberdeen, as fearless and uncompromising as a bit of his native granite, and John Beverley Robinson, the Chief Justice, one of the noblest men whom Canada has produced; but among their supporters were many who desired power simply to get for themselves money, land and social distinction. Owing to their forming a somewhat exclusive little social set, they became known by their opponents as the "Family Compact." Those who hoped for a change were led by William Lyon Mackenzie, a hot-tempered Scot, who was never so happy as when he found a grievance. Wiser and more moderate were Robert Baldwin and M. S. Bidwell, who saw that the root of the evil lay in the possession of power by a Council which it was almost impossible to call to account. They urged that the Governor should be reduced to the nominal position of the King in England, and that he should be allowed to act only on the advice of a Council, which should be responsible to the

Assembly and should be compelled to retire if it lost the confidence of the majority of that body. These reformers were, of course, accused by the "Family Compact" of being disloyal; and, though this was untrue of Baldwin, some of his supporters were so disgusted with the irresponsible rule of the Council that they would have welcomed union with the United States.

The "Clergy Reserves."

The chief practical grievance of the reformers was the land question. By the Constitutional Act of 1791, whenever Crown lands were granted to anyone, a portion equal to one-seventh of the amount granted was to go to the support of "a Protestant clergy." At first the Church of England claimed the whole of this, but later on the Presbyterian Church of Scotland was admitted to a share. But this system worked very badly. The Church did not farm its own land. Nobody wanted to buy it, for free land could be got from the Government. So the "clergy reserves," as they were called, remained untilled and overgrown with forest, preventing the making of roads and hindering the growth of villages. Other land had been granted by the "Family Compact" to themselves and to their supporters; indeed, many of these grantees had so much that they became land-poor—*i.e.*, they had not enough money to develop it, and so the land remained uncultivated upon their hands.

Mackenzie's Rebellion.

Finally, Mackenzie, soured by defeat in an election, tried to raise a revolt. In December, 1837, he gathered several hundred men outside Toronto, and if he had marched at once on the city might have taken it. But his gathering was a mob and not an army, and he was forced to delay. Meanwhile, the militia of the province, many of whom wanted reform of some kind, but only if it could be won by peaceful means, gathered to the rescue of the city, and his mob was soon dispersed. Mackenzie fled to the United States, where he succeeded in gathering, in Buffalo and the other Lake towns, a rabble of the lowest elements of the population, who in 1838 and 1839 made attacks on the Canadian frontier. For these attacks the Government of the United States was not responsible. Those who made them were simply pirates, and some of them who were captured were justly executed.

CHAPTER IV.

UNION AND CONFEDERATION, 1837–1867.

[Discontent in Canada.

The reign of Queen Victoria thus opened in Canada with universal discontent and not a little bloodshed. Everybody who visited the country at this time was struck by its boundless resources, but still more by the bitter party hatreds of the people, their lack of enterprise and of hopefulness, and, in the country parts, by the fierce and furious drinking. Almost the only good roads in the province were in the district around the modern city of London, where the eccentric but energetic Col. Talbot, an English officer of good family, had founded a colony and ruled it with despotic sway. A journey from Niagara to Hamilton, a distance now travelled in little more than an hour, took in 1838 from ten in the morning till nearly midnight, and there was not a good inn on the road. The rebellions of Papineau and Mackenzie had at least the merit of making the British Government feel that something must be done. In May, 1838, the Earl of Durham was sent out as High Commissioner to report on the state of the Canadas, and the report which early in 1839 he presented to the British Government produced a great effect.

The Problem.

"In Lower Canada," he said, "I expected to find a contest between a Government and a people: I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single State; I found a struggle not of principles, but of races." In Upper Canada the Family Compact "by means of . . . its influence in the Executive Council . . . wielded all the powers of Government . . . Successive Governors, as they came in their turn, are said to have either submitted quietly to its influence or, after a short and unavailing struggle, to have yielded to this well-organised party the real conduct of affairs. The Bench, the magistracy, the high offices of the Episcopal Church, and a great part of

the legal profession, are filled by the adherents of this party; by grant or purchase they have acquired nearly the whole of the waste lands of the province; they are all-powerful in the chartered banks, and, till lately, shared among themselves almost exclusively all offices of trust and profit." Thus, with the rest of the population cut off from all share in government, and with the rulers showing little anxiety to help newly arrived emigrants, it was no wonder that "under such circumstances there is little stimulus to industry or enterprise, and their effect is aggravated by the striking contrast presented by such of the United States as border upon this province, and where all is activity and progress."

The Durham Report.

Durham's remedy for this state of affairs was "Responsible Government," the solution advocated by Baldwin and Bidwell. The Executive—*i.e.*, the Council of Ministers who carried out the work authorised by the Legislature—must be made responsible to it, and hold office only so long as they possessed the confidence of the majority of that body.

Though Durham admired the simple, kindly nature of the *habitants*, he also thought that "sooner or later the English race was sure to predominate even numerically in Lower Canada, as they predominate already by their superior knowledge, energy, enterprise and wealth." He hoped that the English of both provinces would unite to keep down and finally to absorb the French. "If the population of Upper Canada is rightly estimated at 400,000, the English inhabitants of Lower Canada at 150,000 and the French at 450,000, the union of the two provinces would not only give a clear English majority, but one which would be increased every year by the influence of English emigration." As a means to this absorption, he for a time favoured the federal union of British North America, but, seeing that this was impossible without better means of travel and of transport from one province to the other, he recommended as the best practicable course the legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada.

Lord Sydenham.

Before this was carried out, a new and energetic Governor, Charles Poulett Thomson, was sent out to get the Canadians to agree. Thomson, who landed in September, 1839, was a business man who had been a member of the British House of Commons and who was much better fitted to deal with the Canadians than the honest but unbusiness-like soldiers whom the Government had been in the habit of appointing. In spite of delicate health, he got through an enormous amount of

work. He persuaded both provinces to agree to the union. He introduced a system of local or municipal government which enabled the various parts of each province to look after their own local affairs, and by so doing to get a training in the methods of government. He put the granting of land on a better system, and planned important public works. He quieted the agitation about the clergy reserves. He even found time to go down to Nova Scotia, and to settle a quarrel between the Council and the Legislature. In August, 1840, in recognition of his services, he was created Lord Sydenham. But he never sat in the House of Lords, for while riding in the streets of Kingston, which he had made the capital of the united province, he was thrown from his horse, broke his leg and died of the shock on September 19, 1841.

"Responsible Government" meant that the Governor was responsible to somebody. But was it to the Colonial Office or to the Canadian Legislature? Sydenham settled this for the time by governing so tactfully and so well that both the Colonial Office and the Legislature were glad to give him a free hand. But soon after his death the question of which of the two responsibilities was the greater came to the front.

Political Parties. Contrary to Durham's expectations, the English refused to combine against the French. They were split up into several sections —the Conservatives, mainly composed of the old "Family Compact" party; a large party of moderate Liberals, led by Baldwin, who were inclined to sympathise with the French; and an extreme wing of Radicals, which, soon after the death of Sydenham, began to develop, and which about 1850 took the name of the "Clear Grits." This allowed the French minority to throw themselves on the side of whichever of the English parties would make the best bargain with them. Sir Charles Bagot, the next Governor, was forced to take some of them into his executive council; Sir Charles Metcalfe, his successor, fought hard against this, but was forced in 1845 to restore to the French the right to the use of their language in the printing of Government papers and reports. With the coming of his successor, Lord Elgin, the French won their way back to a position of equal rank and influence with the English.

Responsible Government. With this struggle was bound up the solution of the question of "Responsible Government." When Lord Elgin gave his full support to the Reform party, which included the majority of the French, he at the same time acknowledged

that in all matters which concerned Canada alone he would be responsible solely to his Canadian advisers, though he reserved for himself the right to veto or to refer to the Colonial Office any measures which he considered opposed to the interests of the Empire as a whole.

Government removed to Ottawa.

Kingston soon proved too small for a capital, and in 1844 the seat of government was changed to Montreal, the chief commercial city. In 1849 the Reformers, who were in a majority, brought in a bill for compensating those in Lower Canada who had lost property in the rebellion of 1837. There was little doubt that under its terms many rebel sympathisers, and perhaps a few rebels, would be paid for their losses. This raised a tremendous uproar among those who had given their time and their money and risked their lives to put down the rebellion. When Lord Elgin gave his assent to the bill, a mob, which included some of the chief men of the Conservative party, set fire to the Parliament buildings, and burnt them to the ground. Lord Elgin was stoned and pelted with rotten eggs as he drove through the city, and for some days the rioting continued. As a result of this disgraceful conduct and of the weakness shown by the police of Montreal, the Legislature decided to sit for alternate periods of four years at Toronto and Quebec. This proved to be so inconvenient that at last the question was referred to the Queen, who chose Ottawa, at the mouth of the Rideau River, as the permanent capital.

The Movement for Union with the United States.

But the main difficulty which Lord Elgin had to face was a movement for union with the United States which grew out of the trading conditions of the time. At first Canada had been forced by the Navigation Acts to send her chief exports to the Mother Country. In particular, all her lumber had been sent to England, where it was needed for ship-building. In return for this restriction, colonial timber, wheat, and many other articles were allowed to pay much less duty on entering Britain than was the wheat of the United States or the timber of Norway and Sweden. In other words, there was preferential trade between Britain and her colonies. As late as 1843 this preference on Canadian wheat and flour had been largely increased, with the result that much of the money of Canada had been invested in flour-mills. But in 1846 Great Britain repealed the Corn Laws and entered upon the policy of Free Trade which she has ever since maintained. This was ruin to

the colonial miller and wheat-grower, particularly as the Navigation Laws were still in force restricting his trade. Besides, these frequent changes in the English policy made the colonial hesitate to put his money into ventures liable to be ruined in a year or two by some change which might be good for England but were very bad for him. The result was that in 1849 many of the chief men of Montreal signed a manifesto urging annexation to the United States as the remedy for these evils. Lord Elgin, however, soon found a better cure. In the same year the Navigation Laws were repealed and Canada was allowed to trade with all the world. In 1854 he did still better, and succeeded in making with the United States a Reciprocity Treaty, by which the farmers, lumbermen, miners and fishermen of both nations could trade freely with each other.

Political Leaders.

About this time three remarkable men came to the front in Canadian politics. John Alexander Macdonald was a Conservative who in 1837 had shouldered his musket against the rebels. But he was wise and tolerant, and saw that Canada was made up of two races, each of which must in many things give way to the other. He had great skill in seeing when the country was really ripe for a reform and in putting that reform into popular shape. To carry out great and wise measures he did not hesitate to play upon the weaknesses of men. It was also of great help to him that he had a charming manner and never forgot a face. About the same time the leadership of the French-Canadians passed into the hands of George Etienne Cartier. He had been a rebel in 1837, but soon repented of his folly and became a loyal subject. Like Macdonald, he saw that the two races and the two religions could only live together under a policy of give and take. In 1854 these two men made an alliance, which enabled them to govern the country during the greater part of the time till the death of Cartier in 1873. Their tendency to carry on the government without making the necessary reforms was remedied by the character of their great opponent, George Brown, the leader of the Grits. He was a Scot who had come to Canada as a young man, and had founded in Toronto the *Globe* newspaper, which gradually gained great influence. He was an opponent of privileges of all kinds—social, religious or political. He saw that the Roman Church had great privileges, and he fought against them. He saw that the clergy reserves gave great privileges to the Church of England, and he fought against them.

Thus he raised the questions which Macdonald settled. The one was a great agitator, the other a great statesman. Brown was a man of violent temper, and many of the things which he said, especially against the Roman Catholic Church, were neither true nor wise; but without him Canada would still be discussing problems which have long been settled, and if the things which he said against the Roman Church were often too bitter, we must remember that at that time the leaders of that Church were often narrow and bigoted, and that in the interests of Canada their narrowness and bigotry had to be resisted.

Confiscation of the "Clergy Reserves."

By 1854 Brown had made the country feel that the question of the clergy reserves could only be settled by taking away the land from the Churches and giving it to the municipalities to use for education and charity. This was done in 1854 by Macdonald and Cartier, in spite of the protests of Dr. Strachan, who never knew when he was beaten, and it proved a splendid thing both for the country and for the Churches. The great majority of the clergy took this loss in the most Christian spirit, feeling that what was bad for the country could not be good for them.

Abolition of the Seigniorial System.

In the same year Macdonald and Cartier abolished the seigniorial system in Quebec. This system had for a long time worked well (*see* p. 254), but now that railways were being built and many of the young men were looking abroad for a living, the heavy tax which had to be paid to the seignior whenever land changed hands had become a burden, and the system was abolished. The seigniors were given compensation, and the *habitants* were encouraged to buy their land outright, but many of them still prefer to pay a *rente constituée* in the old way.

Deadlock between the Two Canadas.

But another question was coming up. In 1841 the number of members given to Upper Canada had been the same as that given to Lower Canada, in spite of the larger population of that province. But, owing to immigration, in 1852 the Upper Province had sixty thousand more inhabitants and in 1861 nearly three hundred thousand more than the Lower. To remedy this anomaly, Brown proposed that each province should be represented in accordance with its population. But the French-Canadians who had been unjustly treated at the beginning only smiled when the boot was on the other man's foot. Cartier said frankly in the

House that the excess in Upper Canada had no more right to be counted than so many cod-fish in the Bay of Gaspé. As he and Macdonald had a majority, composed of a few from Upper Canada and nearly all the representatives from Lower Canada, the Upper Province got more and more angry, but could do nothing.

The Federal Solution.

At last the majority grew so narrow that in two years, two general elections were held and three governments defeated; neither side could get support enough to carry on the government for more than a few months. Cartier, Brown and Macdonald saw that the crisis had come. They determined to unite and to seek a solution of their difficulties in a federal union of the British North American Provinces. A. T. Galt, the Finance Minister, who had long favoured such a federation, brought Brown and Cartier together, and they resolved to make the attempt. Macdonald at first hesitated, but was forced to join the movement. A conference was held at Charlottetown, between the Canadian delegates and others from the Atlantic Provinces, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, in some of which the question of confederation had already been discussed. Then they adjourned to Quebec (October 10-28, 1864) and worked out a scheme. Though Macdonald had not come into the coalition as soon as Brown or Cartier, his skill in managing men and in knowing just how far to go made him much the most valuable man at the various conferences. The delegates were assisted in every way by the British Government, and it was largely by its aid that the difficulties which arose in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were overcome. Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland dropped out, but on March 29, 1867, the British Parliament passed the British North America Act, which had been drawn up by representatives from Upper and Lower Canada, the Maritime Provinces and the Mother Country. On July 1, 1867, the Dominion of Canada came into being, and the day has ever since been kept a public holiday.

Reasons for Federation.

There were, of course, deeper reasons for federation than the deadlock between Upper and Lower Canada, Liberals and Conservatives. From 1860 to 1865 a great war was waged in the United States, and Canada was afraid that, once the war was over, the Americans would turn against her the great armies they had levied. This feeling was increased by the invasion of Canada in 1866 by a number of disbanded

American soldiers of Irish descent who had retained their ancestral hatred of Great Britain. Moreover, the Americans had decided not to continue the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, and the Canadians felt that the best way of getting a new market for their produce would be by a union with the sister provinces.

Nova Scotia.

To the new Dominion the Atlantic Provinces were a most valuable addition. Nova Scotia had belonged to Great Britain since 1713. Halifax, its capital, had been founded in 1749, a Nova Scotia Legislature had been convened there on 2nd October, 1758, and during the wars of the American Rebellion and of 1812 it had been the chief naval base in North America. For a time the main industries were fishing and lumbering, the hardships of which led to so much drinking that, according to Joseph Howe, "rum and politics" were the two curses of Nova Scotia. Farming was for a time neglected, but in 1818 the publication of a series of letters signed "Agricola," but really written by John Young (1773-1837), helped greatly to develop the agriculture of the province. Between 1800 and 1830 the province received a large accession of Highland emigrants, who have ever since been the backbone of the province and have there maintained, to a higher degree than anywhere else in Canada, the Scotch love for education. These settled largely in the county of Pictou, and in Cape Breton, which had been made a separate province in 1784, but was reunited to Nova Scotia in 1820. The system of government had been the same as in the other provinces, and nowhere else had the "Family Compact" been so strong or so able. But after a long agitation, led with eloquence and statesmanship by Joseph Howe, responsible government had been granted in 1848. Thanks to the moderation shown on both sides, this boon was won by the Atlantic Provinces without bloodshed.

Nova Scotia also took the lead in connecting the scattered North American provinces with each other and with the Mother Country. Through no fault of hers, the negotiations for an intercolonial railway binding the Atlantic Provinces in Canada fell through; but the Cunard Line of ocean steamers was a more successful project. (*See* pp. 95, 277, 318.) Howe had also taken the lead in advocating a great North American Union, but at the time of the actual negotiations he was not in Nova Scotia, and they were carried through to success by the skill and courage of his great rival, Dr. (now Sir Charles) Tupper.

New Brunswick.

New Brunswick, which had been first colonised by British settlers in 1761, was separated from Nova Scotia in 1784, after the coming of the United Empire Loyalists. Its great industry was lumbering, and it suffered terribly from forest fires. It was also much involved with the United States over the boundary between it and the State of Maine, a question which more than once brought the British and American governments to the verge of war, but was settled by the Ashburton Treaty in 1842. Responsible government was won in 1848 by the efforts of several able men, of whom the chief was Lemuel Allen Wilmot. Since 1785 the capital has been at Fredericton, at the head of navigation on the St. John River, but the chief town is St. John, at the river's mouth. The principal part in bringing the province into the Confederation was taken by Peter Mitchell and Leonard Tilley.

CHAPTER V.

THE EXPANSION OF CANADA, 1867—1907.

Sir John Alexander Macdonald.

Except perhaps in Ontario, there was at first little enthusiasm for the new union. It remained a federation on paper, regarded with distrust by various elements of the population. That fear subsided, and it is due largely to the mingled caution and daring of Sir John Macdonald that a consciousness of national unity sprang up. The chief desire of Ontario was for honest administration. Of this it was sure when, under Macdonald's influence, it had elected as Premier his namesake, John Sandfield Macdonald, the most thrifty and economical of Canadian statesmen. Quebec was fearful that the new federation might conceal an attack on its cherished rights and privileges. But once the influence of Macdonald and of Cartier had put at the head of her affairs P. J. Chauveau, the friend of Papineau, the singer of the brave deeds of 1837, the *habitant* felt that his interests were safe. Nor was the English minority less pleased with one who had married an English wife, and who had been for years the organiser of education on broad and tolerant lines. By the wise choice of these two men, Sir John Macdonald secured from the first the goodwill of the two chief provinces.

Difficulties with Nova Scotia.

Difficulties soon arose in Nova Scotia, where Howe, forgetful of his former advocacy of union, and smarting under the triumph of his old opponent Tupper, had since 1865 been fighting confederation and, on its accomplishment, set up the standard of repeal. His fiery eloquence roused all the local patriotism of the Nova Scotians, all their latent distrust of the Canadians. At the first election after Confederation, of thirty-eight members elected to the local Legislature, thirty-six were pledged to work for repeal; of the nineteen members sent to the Federal House at Ottawa, Sir Charles Tupper alone was in favour of federation. But when Howe had visited England, and,

after splendid efforts, found it impossible to persuade the British Government to reopen the question, he realised that the situation must be accepted. Whatever his faults, Howe was devotedly loyal to British connection, and scornfully refused to follow those of the repeal party who talked of annexation to the United States. The financial terms of the Union were in some respects unfair to Nova Scotia. He easily persuaded Sir John Macdonald to grant "better terms." Then he entered the Federal Cabinet, and did all he could to make the Union a success. Upon him there broke such a storm of obloquy throughout his native province that he sank to death under the blow; but his work was done, and at the election of 1872 Nova Scotia returned, not one, but eighteen supporters of Sir John Macdonald.

Meanwhile the building of the Intercolonial railway (p. 277) had been pushed forward, and in 1876 its completion gave to the western provinces a frontage on the Atlantic and harbours open throughout the year.

The Great West.

But before the Dominion had thus won an outlook toward Europe she had entered upon engagements which brought her face to face with Japan and with the Orient. Early in the nineteenth century the Earl of Selkirk (1771-1820), an enthusiastic and philanthropic Scotch nobleman, had settled a little colony on the banks of the Red River. The remainder of the great West, from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, and from the American border to the Arctic Ocean, had been left to the Indians and to the hunters and trappers of two companies—the Hudson Bay Company, which ever since the days of King Charles II. had claimed ownership of the West, and the North-West Company, which had been at first the rival of the H.B.C., but after a bitter struggle had united with it in 1820. These companies had treated the Indians with great kindness, but, knowing that the advent of white settlers would drive the fur-bearing animals further and further north and west, had discouraged colonists and spread the most gloomy reports of the country. Many of their employés, both French and Scotch, had married Indian women. Their descendants were known as half-breeds, or Métis

The Hudson Bay Company.

Further north the unknown shores of the Arctic had tempted explorers ever since the days of Queen Elizabeth, and the names of Davis, Hudson, Mackenzie, Back, Franklin, McClintock commemorate the deeds of brave men, most of whom

gave up their lives in their endeavour to pierce the veil which shrouded the frozen north. The perils encountered by such heroic souls were not likely to attract the ordinary colonist, and the rest of the Dominion knew little of, and cared less for, the north-west territories; but the leaders of both Canadian parties saw, though the rank and file did not, that upon the acquisition of this territory depended the future of Canada. No one had more strongly advocated this than George Brown, and he took a prominent part in the negotiations by which in 1870 Canada purchased the whole vast area from the Company. The Company retained and still retains its trading rights, and in the wildest parts of the great West the letters "H.B.C." are still the forerunners of civilisation. Unfortunately the Canadian Government acted with great want of tact in taking over the new territory. The foolish conduct of their surveyors, and of the first governor who was sent out, frightened the previous settlers, especially the half-breeds, and under the leadership of one of their number, named Louis Riel, they set up a provisional government and refused to acknowledge the authority of Canada. On the arrival of an armed expedition led by Col. (now Lord) Wolseley, they dispersed, Riel fleeing to the United States. The fertility of the territory thus acquired has surpassed the wildest dreams. In 1870, when the discontent had been crushed, the district settled by Lord Selkirk was made into the Province of Manitoba. Further west the population grew so large in what was in 1870 the home only of the Indian and of the hunter, that in 1905 two new provinces, Saskatchewan and Alberta, were created out of part of the territory bought by far-seeing statesmen from the Hudson Bay Company.

British Columbia.

In 1871 British Columbia entered the Dominion. Bold French explorers had tried in vain to pierce the mountain wall which shuts off the Pacific Province from the great central plain. At last Alexander Mackenzie, a stalwart Highlander in the employ of the North-West Company, setting out in October, 1792, from Fort Chippewyan on Lake Athabasca, ascended the Peace River, and thence, after many hardships, reached the Pacific Coast. He recounts how he took a quantity of raw vermilion, mixed it with grease, and smeared in great letters on the face of a cliff overlooking the ocean the words: "Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three."

The Pacific Coast.

About the same time England and Spain nearly went to war over the Pacific coast, ships of the latter nation having attacked and captured some British traders at Nootka Sound, on Vancouver Island. An agreement was finally reached, by which all unoccupied territory on the Pacific coast was to be free to the inhabitants of either nation. This practically threw open to settlement the whole vast district from California to Alaska. Later on, when settlers began to come into this region, much of it was claimed by the United States. It had already been decided (1818) that from the Lake of the Woods, at the western limit of what is now the Province of Ontario, the boundary should run, as far as the Rocky Mountains, along the 49th parallel of North latitude. Great Britain claimed that thence the frontier line should trend to the south and follow the course of the Columbia River. The United States claimed all the country west of the Rockies as far north as Alaska, which was then owned by Russia and extended south to the parallel of 54° 40′. All through the Western States was heard the cry "Fifty-four-forty, or fight." At length, in 1846, arbitrators decided that the boundary line should continue along the 49th parallel to the coast, and thence through the Fuca Straits to the Pacific Ocean. Soon a new dispute arose as to which of the three channels through the Fuca Straits was meant. On this depended the possession of the Island of San Juan, important strategically as commanding the principal channel. Both claimed it, and neither would yield. For a time it was under dual ownership, and the two great English-speaking nations seemed to be on the verge of war because a British pig trespassed on American soil and was shot by an indignant American patriot. The trouble was patched up at the time, but not settled till 1872, when the German Emperor, who had been selected as arbitrator, decided in favour of the American claim.

Gold Discoveries.

Meanwhile in 1856-7 gold had been discovered in the sands of the rivers Fraser and Thompson, and there was a rush to the province almost as sudden as that to California in 1849. Much gold was found, but the district was terribly rough and hard, and many a hapless prospector lost his life on the upper reaches of the North Thompson. In the hope of controlling the gold-diggers more easily, the mainland was in 1858 separated from Vancouver Island and made into a separate province with the name of British Columbia; but

this division did not work well, and in 1866 they were again united under the name of British Columbia, but with Victoria on Vancouver Island as their capital.

Railway Policy. One of the stipulations made by British Columbia on entering the Dominion was that within two years a railway binding her to the eastern provinces should be begun. The Dominion at first thought of carrying out this work as a Government undertaking, as was being done with the Intercolonial, but afterwards decided to entrust the work to a company. Two companies were projected, one of which was proved to have subscribed large sums of money to the funds of the Conservative Party. The conduct of Sir John Macdonald in thus accepting money from men to whom he had it in his power to give or to refuse such great advantages was rightly censured. He was compelled to resign, was defeated at a general election, and from November, 1873, to October, 1878 the Liberals were in power, under the premiership of Alexander Mackenzie (1822-1892). He was cautious and thrifty, but did not fully see that a new country needs a bold and far-seeing policy, even when that policy entails great expense and sacrifices. In 1875 he founded the Royal Military College at Kingston, many of whose graduates have laid down their lives for the Empire, and in 1877 Sir A. T. Galt, appointed by his Government, got the better of the United States in an arbitration as to the value of the American share in Canadian fisheries (p. 324). But he refused to spend enough money on the proposed railway to the Pacific, and brought British Columbia to the verge of secession. Moreover, all through his Premiership Canadian farmers and manufacturers suffered from "hard times," and though this was really due to business causes, which affected the United States as well, people naturally became discontented, and listened to the promises of the Conservatives that under the new policy of Protection which they advocated, the tall chimneys of factories would spring up all over the land, the farmers would get better prices for their crops, and the depression would pass away as though at the wave of an enchanter's wand. Thus, at the election of 1878, Sir John Macdonald was restored to power with a large majority.

Macdonald and Protection. Canadians felt that at this time the Conservative Party represented the wider hope and the fuller national ideal. This wider ideal was emphasised by Macdonald when to his policy of Protection he gave the name of "The National

Policy," claiming that only by protecting the Canadian manufacturer from undue competition could Canada attain that differentiation of industries which is essential to national greatness. The farmers acquiesced, believing that even if manufactured articles became dearer, they would be repaid by the better prices which the more prosperous manufacturing population would be able to pay for their crops.

The Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

The company, whose dealings with Sir John Macdonald had caused his fall, had soon afterwards been dissolved. Mackenzie had gone back to the earlier policy of Government construction of the Pacific Railway, and had tried to join by short stretches of railway the great lakes and rivers which lie along the route. This policy the Conservatives at first continued, but soon returned to the idea of a great company. In 1881 such a company—the Canadian Pacific Railway Company—was formed and set about the work with great energy and skill. Few thought that they would succeed. English financiers laughed at the audacity of a colony building over three thousand miles of railway through country most of which was an uninhabited wilderness. The engineering difficulties were enormous, and more than once the company was within an ace of ruin. The Government had given to them $25,000,000, twenty-five million acres of land, and the completed sections of the railway, which were worth at least $25,000,000 more. This proved inadequate, and more than once further aid became necessary. Out of the ruck of commonplace politicians and financiers, four men stand out—Sir John Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir George Stephen and Sir Donald Smith. Sir Donald Smith, now Lord Strathcona, had been originally a servant of the Hudson's Bay Company, and had come into notice at the time of Riel's rebellion, when, with a mixture of coolness and tact, he had saved the lives of numerous prisoners. At the time of the "Pacific Scandal" he had opposed Macdonald, but now they stood shoulder to shoulder in the promotion of this great national work, into which both he and his cousin, Sir George Stephen, afterwards Lord Mount Stephen, put every penny of their great fortunes. Equal praise must be given to Macdonald and to Tupper who risked their political reputations in the face of enormous odds. Very graphic are the stories which men still living can tell of stormy Cabinet meetings, when all the infinite address of Macdonald, all the bull-dog courage of Tupper,

were needed to overcome the opposition of more timorous colleagues, while white-faced directors prowled up and down in the corridors, knowing that upon the issue of that secret debate it depended whether they would be millionaires or bankrupts. At length all obstacles were overcome, and on November 7, 1885, at Craigellachie, in the Selkirk Mountains, Sir Donald Smith drove home the last spike of the transcontinental line.

Louis Riel's Rising.

It was not yet completed when its military value was proved. When Manitoba was made a province the Métis were provided for, but no such provision was made for the half-breeds of the territories further west. Year after year went by, white settlers kept coming in, and the half-breeds grew more and more anxious that their title to their farms should be confirmed. The Canadian Department of the Interior showed great stupidity; even Sir John Macdonald, in the scanty time which he was able to devote to the subject, could not induce them to do anything of value. At last, in despair, the half-breeds sent a deputation to their old leader Riel, which walked 700 weary miles to his home in Montana. At their request he returned to Canada and again put himself at their head, but he was flighty and headstrong, and seems to have had the wild idea of setting up a Kingdom of God on the banks of the Saskatchewan River, with himself as dictator. Things went from bad to worse, and on March 26, 1885, a party of mounted police, accompanied by a few volunteers, were attacked at Duck Lake by a superior force of half-breeds, and forced to retreat with loss. At once the news was flashed over Canada. The half-breeds were few in number, but there were some 35,000 Indians scattered over Manitoba and the North-West. If these could be persuaded to join Riel, Canada was doomed to suffer the unnameable horrors of an Indian rising. Luckily the dealings with these old lords of the soil had in the main been just. A few took the war-path and there was one horrible massacre at Frog Lake, but the majority of the Indians remained peacefully on their ranches. It shows the growth of Canada, that whereas the rebellion of 1870 had been put down largely by British regulars, this much larger and more formidable rising was quelled by Canadian volunteers. Against the rebels, whose headquarters were at Batoche, were sent troops to the number of about 6,000, under the command of Major-Gen. Middleton. This officer suffered a severe check at Fish Creek, and an unprovoked attack by one of his subordinates on an unoffending Cree chieftain, Pound-

maker, was repulsed with loss at Cut Knife Creek. After receiving reinforcements, Middleton pushed on to Batoche, where, after three days' fighting, a charge which might just as well have been made three days before scattered the rebels. A few days later Riel was taken prisoner, tried on a charge of high treason and executed. Much sympathy was felt for him in the province of Quebec, where the fires of racial feeling for a time blazed high. With him were hanged eight Indians who had been concerned in the Frog Lake massacre.

Throughout the campaign the Canadian forces exhibited great bravery and cheerfulness in the face of hardship. But the whole revolt, with its attendant loss of life and property, might have been averted had the Department of the Interior consented to remedy the undoubted grievances of the half-breeds.

Macdonald's last Triumph.

In 1887 Sir John Macdonald was again successful at the General Election, though the Liberals tried to make a party cry out of the execution of Riel. Desperate at their long sojourn in opposition, many Liberals now took up the scheme of commercial union with the United States. Finding that this brought them under the charge of disloyalty, and that many of the party disliked the scheme, they changed the name, and advocated unrestricted reciprocity with the Republic. But it was impossible to rebut the charge that unrestricted reciprocity in trade with the United States meant discrimination against the mother country, and Sir John Macdonald bitterly denounced the "veiled treason" of the Liberal leaders. Greatly as unrestricted reciprocity with the United States would have benefited the Canadian farmers, they rejected the bait and at the General Election of 1891 stood firm to British connection, the Conservatives triumphing on a platform of "The Old Flag, the Old Leader and the Old Policy." Later in the same year Sir John Macdonald died (June 6). "A British subject I was born, a British subject I will die," had been his boast throughout the campaign. In his last and greatest fight his faith in Canada and in the British Empire had been seen at its best. He had defeated his enemies on the ground which they themselves had chosen, and he died in the consciousness of victory.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

At his death the Conservative party fell to pieces and presented to the world the ugly spectacle of a party washing in public its dirty linen. When a Premier speaks of his colleagues as a "nest of traitors" the end is not far off, and in

1896 the Liberals, led by Mr. (now Sir) Wilfrid Laurier, were returned to power. By this time the Liberals had seen the folly of coquetting with the United States, and in 1897 boldly ventured to give a trade preference to the mother country. This was the policy of which Sir John Macdonald had approved, but which he had never ventured to put into operation, and the Conservatives bitterly accused their successful rivals of having caught them while bathing and stolen their clothes. In 1900, 1904, and again in 1908, the Liberals were victorious. Their administration has been in many ways efficient and progressive. The agriculture of the country, and its means of transport, have been wisely and generously aided (*see* pp. 302-319). The introduction of Imperial penny postage in 1898, which has greatly strengthened the links binding the settlers in the new lands to the mother country, was largely promoted by Sir William Mulock, the Canadian Postmaster-General. Since the victory of 1896 the country enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity until 1908, and, in addition to the efficiency of much of their administration, the Liberals have had the great advantage of being able to use the argument of "the full dinner-pail." During his long tenure of power, Sir Wilfrid Laurier has certainly been the most picturesque, and in some respects the most praiseworthy, of colonial statesmen. In 1897, at the Jubilee of Queen Victoria, his handsome presence and statesmanlike speeches made him easily the first of the Colonial Premiers.

In 1899, when the war in South Africa broke out, the Canadian contingents which were sent to the help of Britain showed the same cheery bravery as in 1885. When the news came of their gallant though unsuccessful charge at Paardeberg, and of their share in the surrender of General Cronjé a week later, a thrill passed through the country. At last her sons had been privileged to die for the Empire. It is not too much to say that it was felt by the nation to be her baptism into a new communion, the seal of her rise from the status of a colony to that of a daughter nation, and from the day that Canadians and Highlanders fought side by side on the veldt, Canada feels that she has attained her majority.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DOMINION AND THE PROVINCES.

Federal Principles.

The various elements of which Canada is composed, and especially the presence in the province of Quebec of a solid block of French Roman Catholics, made it necessary in uniting the provinces to find a form of union which should give free play to local interests and even to local prejudices. This form was found in what is known as the federal system.

There are two main principles on which States may unite, the federal and the legislative. In a legislative union like those of Scotland with England, and Ireland with Great Britain (*see* pp. 81, 95-8), all power centres in a single Legislature or Parliament. This Parliament may, of course, delegate certain powers to other bodies, as it does in England to the County Councils; but it could, if it liked, take away their powers to-morrow, or abolish them altogether. The greatest example of a federal union is that of the United States. Here each of the States keeps certain powers for itself, and gives up certain others to the federal Legislature, but such as it keeps for itself cannot be taken away from it by the federal authority.

Early attempts at Federation.

From very early times there had been attempts to federate the British dominions in North America. In 1690 Sir Francis Nicholson, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, proposed such a union against the French and Indians, but the Colonies were too jealous of each other. In 1754 a Congress was held at Albany, at which the celebrated Benjamin Franklin submitted a plan which was equally unsuccessful. In 1784, after the revolt of the American Colonies, Col. Morse, of the Royal Engineers, proposed such a union "for the preservation of the fragments of British power upon this continent"; oddly enough, he thought that the best place for the capital would be in the

island of Cape Breton. Later on federation was at several times urged by the United Empire Loyalists and their descendants, and in 1838 by Lord Durham. But to unite such widely scattered provinces, separated by trackless forests, would have been but a paper union until railways were built connecting them. Even in 1867 the railways had not been built, but fear of the United States forced the provinces to unite first and build afterwards.

The Lesson of the United States.

Thus Canada is a federation, but a federation of a special kind. At the time the Dominion was being formed, the United States were just ending a great war, the cause of which was a dispute whether the States which had formed the Union had the right to leave it if they saw fit. The Southerners claimed that they had a right to resume their independence and to form a new Confederacy of their own; the North claimed that the States had sunk their independence in the nation, and had no more right to leave it than a hand would have to sever itself from the body. Neither would yield, and the result was four years of terrible war. Canada resolved that this should not happen to the new Dominion, and therefore went on the opposite principle to that of the Americans. They had given up certain powers to the central Government, leaving the rest to the individual States. In Canada the provinces kept certain powers, but gave up all the rest to the central Government, and it was expressly stated that any power not reserved by the provinces should belong to the Dominion. Thus Canada has a much stronger central Government than has the United States. When the Australian Commonwealth was formed, the desire of the States to preserve their independence was stronger, and they preferred to adopt a compromise between the American and the Canadian plan (*see* pp. 380-4.)

Dominion and Provincial Rights.

But within certain limits the provinces are still supreme, and there have always been two parties in Canada, one upholding "Provincial Rights," the other trying to give as much power as possible to the federal authorities. Up to the death of Sir John Macdonald, the Conservatives under his leadership believed in the latter policy, the Liberals in the former. Since his death there is no longer any such definite political division on the matter.

If the Dominion considers a law passed by one of the provincial parliaments to be against the interests of the whole Dominion or of the British Empire it has the right to disallow it,

British Columbia has twice passed Acts restricting the immigration of the Japanese, and the Dominion has on each occasion vetoed this measure. This power can of course, only be exercised rarely and for very important reasons.

Appeal to the Privy Council.

More often a province passes a law which it considers to be within its powers, but which the Dominion considers to conflict with a Dominion law. In such a case, if the two Governments, after talking it over, cannot agree, the matter is submitted to the Supreme Court of Canada. From its decision appeal may be made to the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council, which sits in London. During the last forty years many cases have been brought before that body, and the exact meaning of the British North America Act and the exact line of division between the powers of the Dominion and the provinces has been worked out. On the whole, the Judicial Committee has tended to uphold the powers of the provinces as against the Dominion. In Australia the power of appealing to the Privy Council is much more limited, and that Commonwealth prefers to have its constitution interpreted by a Supreme Court of its own. But most Canadians thought that they were wise in keeping as an umpire in these disputed questions the Judicial Committee, whose knowledge and impartiality no one could impugn.

Perhaps the chief matter which the Judicial Committee has settled was the boundary line between Ontario and Manitoba. In this dispute Sir John Macdonald took strongly the side of Manitoba, while the interests of Ontario were upheld by its Premier, Sir Oliver Mowat. After years of negotiation, in which extremely bitter feeling rose between the provinces, the claim of Ontario was fully sustained.

The Dominion and its Powers.

What, then, are the main lines of the division of power between the Dominion and the provinces? To the Dominion are expressly assigned all matters having to do with (1) the public debt and property, (2) the regulation of trade and commerce, (3) the raising of money by any mode or system of taxation, (4) the borrowing of money on the public credit, (5) postal service, (6) the census and statistics, (7) militia, military and naval service and defence, (8) the fixing of, and providing for, the salaries and allowances of civil and other officers of the Government of Canada, (9) beacons, buoys, lighthouses and Sable Island, (10) navigation and shipping, (11) quarantine and the establishment and maintenance of marine hospitals, (12) sea-coast and inland fisheries, (13) ferries between a province and any British or foreign country, and

between two provinces, (14) currency and coinage, (15) banking, incorporation of banks, and the issue of paper money, (16) savings banks, (17) weights and measures, (18) bills of exchange and promissory notes, (19) interest, (20) legal tender, (21) bankruptcy and insolvency, (22) patents of invention and discovery, (23) copyrights, (24) Indians and land reserved for the Indians, (25) naturalisation and aliens, (26) marriage and divorce, (27) the criminal law, except the constitution of courts of criminal jurisdiction, but including the procedure in criminal matters, (28) the establishment, maintenance and management of penitentiaries. And also, as has been said, all matters not expressly given to the provinces.

The Powers of the Provinces.

To the provinces were given control over (1) the amendment from time to time, notwithstanding anything in the B.N.A. Act, of the Constitution of the province, except as regards the office of Lieutenant-Governor, (2) direct taxation within the province, in order to the raising of a revenue for provincial purposes, (3) the borrowing of money on the sole credit of the province, (4) the establishment and tenure of provincial offices and the appointment and payment of provincial officers, (5) the management and sale of the public lands belonging to the province and of the timber and wood thereon,* (6) the establishment, maintenance and management of public and reformatory prisons in and for the province, (7) the establishment, maintenance and management of hospitals, asylums and eleemosynary institutions in and for the province, other than marine hospitals, (8) municipal institutions in the province, (9) shop, saloon, tavern, auctioneer and other licences, in order to the raising of a revenue for provincial, local or municipal purposes, (10) local works and undertakings other than such as are of the following classes, (*a*) lines of steam or other ships, railways, canals, telegraphs and other works and undertakings connecting the province with any other or others of the provinces, or extending beyond the limits of the province, (*b*) lines of steamships between the province and any British or foreign country, (*c*) such works as, though wholly situate within the province, are before or after their execution declared by the Parliament of Canada to be for the general advancement of Canada or for the advantage of two or more of the provinces, (11) the incorporation of companies with provincial objects, (12) the solemnisation of marriage within the province, (13) property and civil rights within the province, (14) the administration

*But see p. 292.

of justice within the province, including the constitution, maintenance and organisation of provincial courts, both of civil and of criminal jurisdiction, and including procedure in civil matters within those courts, (15) the imposition of punishment by fine, penalty or imprisonment for enforcing any law of the province made in relation to any matter coming within any of the classes of subjects enumerated in this section, (16) generally all matters of a merely local or private nature within the province, (17) in and for each province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject to certain provisions, of which the chief is that "Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the province at the union."

Taxation and Revenue.

Which of these powers have really proved important? All Governments need money. This the Dominion may raise by direct or by indirect taxation or by an excise. As yet it has not ventured on direct taxation, such as an income-tax would be, and most of its revenue is obtained from indirect taxation, *i.e.*, from customs dues levied on foreign goods coming into the country. This method of raising money is forbidden to the provinces. Within the bounds of the Dominion, as within the bounds of the United States or of Great Britain, trade is free. Direct taxation in the shape of an income-tax is also little used in the provinces. They get their revenues chiefly from (1) certain sums which are paid them yearly in accordance with the B. N. A. Act by the Dominion Government, in return for their having given up the right of levying excise and customs, (2) money from the issuing of licences, especially for the sale of liquor, (3) money from the sale of Crown Lands. This last item means that in all the provinces with the exception of Prince Edward Island there are still large tracts of land owned by the British Crown. In Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick these have been given to the province. Much of this land is proving valuable, some for agriculture, some for its minerals, some for its timber, and by its sale or rent a large income accrues to the provinces. In British Columbia the Crown Lands are owned by the province, which has, however, granted some to the Dominion in return for certain concessions. In the three prairie provinces the Crown Lands are owned by the Dominion, which gives to the provinces large subsidies in return.

As the provinces increase in population and as, in accordance with present tendencies, the Government interferes with more and more relations of life, it becomes more expensive

to carry on. At several times since federation, and especially in 1906, the scale has been revised and the sums given to the provinces have been largely increased. The amount from the sale of licences increases but slightly; that from the sale or lease of Crown Lands is increasing, but even in so large a country as Canada there is of course a limit to the land, and this source of revenue is not inexhaustible. Some of the provinces have already tried other methods; British Columbia has an income-tax, and Ontario imposes death duties.

Justice. By the clauses relating to the administration of justice all the chief judges are appointed and paid by the Dominion, but the number and the powers of all courts, save the Supreme Court of Canada, are decided by each province for itself. Judges are appointed for life, and can only be removed by impeachment before Parliament, a process never attempted since federation. The credit of the Canadian Bench and Bar stands high. Appointed for life, the judges do their duty without fear or favour, as in England. In this Canada is far ahead of the United States, where many of the judges are elected by popular election for a term of years, and are afraid to give an unpopular verdict. Each province has developed its own system of civil law. The criminal law is the same throughout all the provinces, and is modelled on that of England; so also is the civil law, except in the province of Quebec, where it is a compilation resembling in many respects the *Code Napoleon* of France.

Education. The chief matter left in the hands of the provinces is education. It would in many ways have been better to have had a single system of primary schools. They would then have been a powerful influence in building up national spirit. Besides, as the ablest men naturally gravitate to Ottawa, education would have been in the hands of the best men, not of the second best. But the racial and religious feelings of Quebec were too strong to make any such arrangement possible, and it was left to the provinces, with provisions making it impossible for any one race or religious body to crush out the schools of any other. The Roman Catholics have to some extent separate schools, either by law or by custom, which are supported by the province or by the municipality. In Quebec there are two schoolboards, one for Protestant schools and one for Roman Catholics. All the provinces have made great sacrifices in the cause of education, and the Canadians are an extremely well-educated people. In 1901 76 per cent. of the whole population could read and write, and of those over five years of age 86 per cent. The

universities were nearly all founded by one or other of the religious bodies, but some of them, such as the University of Toronto have severed their connection with the Church which founded them, and are supported either by the province, as is the case with Toronto University, or by private gifts, as in the case of Dalhousie.

The Governor-General and the Senate.

The Canadian Constitution consists partly of the British North America Act and of some slight amendments which have been introduced, and also of a great number of unwritten laws and customs, some of which have grown up in Canada and others of which have been adopted from England. Thus, nowhere in the Act, or even in the written instructions to the Governor-General, will it be found that he is to rule only with the consent of his Executive Council, or Cabinet. Yet, as a matter of fact, he does nothing except at their bidding. Any influence which he has over them is because of his character or his wisdom; direct power he has none. At the time of the framing of the Act great attention was paid to the composition of the Senate, or upper house. Senators are appointed for life by the Governor-General in Council—*i.e.*, by the Premier—twenty-four each from Ontario, Quebec, the Atlantic Provinces, and an increasing number from the West. They were to act as a revising chamber, securing the country by wise amendment from the effects of hasty and ill-considered action on the part of the Lower House. They were also to represent the provinces, and by the equality of number from each section to emphasize the importance of provincial rights. In the election of members to the Lower House the principle of representation by population was conceded. Quebec was given 65 members, and the other provinces are represented in proportion. But in the Senate the federal principle of equality between the federating colonies was introduced, though not so fully or so logically as in the United States, where every State has two senators, from little Rhode Island or Nevada to Pennsylvania or New York. The Senate has not justified the expectations of its founders. Sir John Macdonald impaired its influence by selecting defeated Conservative candidates or wealthy manufacturers who had made contributions to the funds of the party. Sir Wilfrid Laurier has hardly improved matters, and the Canadian Senate is at present not taken seriously even by itself. During the rule of the Conservatives it did practically as it was told by the Premier. When the Liberals came into power it blocked everything it could. But as fast as Conservatives died off they were

replaced by Liberals, and the Senate is at present as complaisant to Sir Wilfrid Laurier as it once was to Sir John Macdonald.

The House of Commons.

Thus, with a Governor-General, who is much more important socially than politically, and a Senate which does what it is told, Canada is perhaps the most democratic country in the world. All power centres in the House of Commons, which is elected for five years (it generally sits for four) on a franchise which practically gives a vote to every male of twenty-one years old and upwards. The parties are strictly controlled by their leaders, so that the amount of power possessed by the Premier is very great. In both the Senate and the House of Commons either the French or the English language may be used, and all State papers are printed in both languages.

Provincial Parliaments.

In the provinces the system of government is much the same. The Lieutenant-Governors are appointed by the Premier, and are purely figureheads. In most of the provinces there is only one House, but in Quebec and Nova Scotia there is still a Legislative Council. In Nova Scotia vigorous attempts have been made to get rid of this feature of the Constitution, but though members of the Council pledged to vote for its abolition were appointed, once in office they have refused to perform so suicidal an act.

Local Government.

The older provinces, especially Ontario, have very well organised systems of local or municipal government. In Ontario every town of over 10,000 is called a city, and has its local affairs carried on by a mayor and aldermen, usually elected for one year, but in some of the larger cities for two. While the mayor is eligible for re-election, there has been a feeling in favour of passing the honours round, so that long terms of office are not common.* Towns, which must have over 2,000 inhabitants, also have their local government. The country parts are divided into counties, which conduct their local affairs by means of a warden and councillors, and each county is divided into townships, each of which has a reeve and councillors. These little organisations are a very good school for politicians, but there is really no need for so many governing bodies; and the chief objection to the suggestion that senators should be elected is that Canada has too many elections as it is.

CHAPTER VII.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND PROBLEMS.

Political Tendencies.

Every politician prefers to be in power rather than in opposition. If there is in his nature a touch of dishonesty, to that extent his methods in gaining and in retaining power will be dishonest also. In a new country where the absence of a large leisured class makes it necessary to pay members of Parliament, it becomes for the poor member an absolute necessity to keep his seat; failure to do so means destitution not only for himself, but for his wife and family. The result is that a Government becomes unwilling to introduce new measures of importance, unless there is an obvious and general public desire for them. Unless led by a strong leader it tends to preserve the *status quo*, and to devote its time to perfecting its party organisation and to making itself popular by the distribution of favours to individuals and localities, without much regard to the general interests of the country.

Meanwhile the Opposition endeavours to win popularity by letting in the light of day upon such practices. The objection to this is that when an Opposition devotes its time to finding scandals, even the good deeds of the Government are misrepresented, and there grows up an atmosphere of suspicion and of slander. In its attitude on matters of public policy an Opposition is torn by two conflicting ideas. On the one hand it tends to take up any new idea which it hopes may be popular, and on the wings of which it may soar into office. Thus in 1878 the Conservatives adopted the policy of Protection, and in 1891 the Liberals that of unrestricted reciprocity.

On the other hand this tendency to what is called kite flying in the hope of catching a favourable breeze is curbed by the unwillingness of the individual members to risk their seats.

The Attitude of Parties towards new Ideas.

The usual result is that new ideas are rather dreaded by party leaders, and that the chief currents of thought which are to direct the future will be found in the speeches and writings, not of politicians, but of independent thinkers and publicists. Thus the great question of Imperialism, of the proper position of Canada within the Empire, was long discussed by such independent bodies as the Imperial Federation League without much encouragement from political leaders who afterwards became its loudest advocates. Similarly, the consciousness of Canadian Nationalism, now felt equally by both parties, was promoted by a body of young men who called themselves the "Canada First" Party, and who were attacked with equal vigour by both Liberals and Conservatives.

Canada and the United States.

The most important question is naturally that of Canada's political future. Three lines have ever since Confederation been open to her: Independence; closer union with the Mother Country; and closer union with the United States. To take the last-named alternative first, it is clear that after the last great fight of Sir John Macdonald in 1891 all danger of peaceful annexation to the United States passed away. If Canada ever becomes part of the United States it will only be as the result of conquest, and a war between the two great English-speaking nations is becoming more and more unlikely, while the growth of Canada makes its outcome more and more uncertain. Such danger as there is lies rather in the social and industrial Americanisation of Canada. In spite of some unfavourable symptoms, it is to be hoped that Canada will be strong enough to resist this tendency, and that there will be on the continent of North America two great nations working out by different methods and along different lines the great problems of democracy.

The Dream of Independence.

Independence has long been the dream of many French-Canadians, and, with the growth of the country, is now favoured by many of the British stock. Papineau and some of the more ardent of his followers cherished the idea of a French-Canadian Republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence, but even if such an ideal were desirable it is so obviously impossible that we need not stop to consider it. Sir John Macdonald always scouted the idea of Canadian independence, saying that her proximity to the United States made it merely "fancy politics." With the growth of the country it is no longer so impossible. Canada feels that she is outgrowing the colonial

status, that even such control as is now exerted by the Colonial Office belongs to an obsolete order of things. More and more she is making up her mind not to be contented with any truncated independence, any incomplete national ideal. But many of the best minds dread a sterile independence, and feel that it would leave the country exposed, if not to the conquest, at least to the overwhelming influence of the United States; and also that to cut themselves off from the glorious traditions which are so valuable an influence in the life of the British people would be a counsel of despair. "We too are heirs of Runnymede," sang the American Whittier; and if the Americans, sundered from the Empire by two wars and by a century of misunderstandings, feel that they are still thus linked to the past of Britain, how much more has Canada a right to those traditions!

The Prospect of Closer Union with the Mother Country.

Those in favour of closer connection with the Mother Country desire to reconcile the idea of independence with that of Imperial unity. They are groping towards a new conception of the word Empire, a word which, while flattering our lust of power, has the disadvantage of having always hitherto implied one strong central Government, which is just the thing most dreaded by the colonies. If some form of permanent alliance can be made, if we can imitate the virtues and avoid the weaknesses of the old Greek Delian League, then we shall have solved the problem of "Imperium et Libertas." At present a large party in Britain is seeking to bring about such a closer union by some form of Preferential Trade within the Empire, by extending the preferences which Canada and Australia now give to the Mother Country, and by changing the Tariff policy of Great Britain so as to admit of her giving a return preference to her Colonies. On this question much may be said on both sides. But greatly as a preference in the British market would benefit the Canadian farmer, there is no fear that if Britain refuses to change her policy the result will be the death of Canadian loyalty. Canada fought on the side of Great Britain in 1812, when she enjoyed a preference in the British market; she fought beside Great Britain in 1901, when there was no such preference. Preferential trade may or may not be a good thing, but it is not, and never has been, the foundation-stone of Canadian loyalty.

In 1897 a great step was taken towards the realisation of this ideal of complete nationality, when the Mother Country denounced her commercial treaties with Belgium and Germany

because they stood in the way of her acceptance of the Canadian offer of preferential trade. Further progress was made in 1905 when Canada relieved the Mother Country of the expense of maintaining the great Imperial fortresses of Halifax and Esquimalt, which are now kept up and garrisoned solely by Canadian troops paid by Canadian money. The command of the Canadian forces has since 1903 been vested in Canadian officers, and there are signs of a desire to create the beginnings of a navy.

The Attitude of the French-Canadians.

The chief stumbling-block to closer connection between Canada and the rest of the Empire lies in the attitude of the French Canadians. The *habitant* is loyal, but his loyalty is to Canada. Were his country invaded, even though by France, he would fight as blithely in defence of his cherished rights and privileges as he did when the bugles blew at Chateauguay. But he has a fear, perhaps exaggerated, of losing the local autonomy which he won with so much difficulty, and dreads a union which might entail the sending of Canadian troops to fight in quarrels in which he has little or no interest. To the British connection he is devotedly loyal, regarding it as the safeguard of his language, his religion and his laws. Annexation to the United States he knows would seal their death-warrant, for under the American Constitution no religious establishment is allowed, nor the use in Parliament or in the Law Courts of any language but English. Independence he dreads, for fear the British majority, increasing faster and faster with the development of the West, might curtail his privileges, if it did not destroy them. There was truth in the famous saying of Sir Etienne Taché, Premier of Canada in 1856-7 and 1864-5, and a colonel in the Canadian volunteers, when, in answer to a charge of disloyalty, he proudly replied, "If ever the British flag ceases to wave over Canada, the last shot in its defence will be fired by a French-Canadian."

Domestic Questions.

The chief internal problems are those connected with the great advance of the country in population, and its still greater advance in wealth. In addition, there is the old question of the relations between French and British Canadians. There is little social fusion between them, the antagonism being not only racial but religious. But the acerbity which long characterised their relations is dying down. Protestant and Catholic no longer show their religious fervour by breaking each other's heads, and French and British, though they rarely intermarry, are coming to have mutual respect and a measure

of mutual confidence. Racial fusion will not come for centuries, but there is already an *entente cordiale*, which has been fostered by the growth of the national consciousness and will grow stronger with time. It is also a curious effect of good coming out of evil that the inability or reluctance of the Englishman to learn French has forced the French to learn English. Every prominent Frenchman is to-day bi-lingual; Sir Wilfrid Laurier is the greatest Canadian orator in both languages. Both races, both languages and both religious systems have their part to play in the building up of the nation; and the mingled poetry and prudence of the Frenchman may, perhaps be destined to counteract the influence of the American upon Canadian national character.

Political Purity. A problem, which concerns not Canada alone, but every democracy, is the depth of the roots which have been struck by political corruption. The Government in power possesses means of rewarding its followers which ensure to it the support of those to whom politics is an affair of loaves and fishes. One of the greatest needs of Canada was met in 1908 by the creation of a Civil Service Commission to take appointments out of the hands of politicians and make them, as they are almost wholly in Britain and to a large extent in the United States, the reward of merit shown in examinations. Previously active work in an election was often the best way of gaining a position, or, once there, of attaining promotion. The Public Works Department controls the expenditure of enormous sums of money, and many contracts have been given to men whose chief merits were their fidelity to the party in power and their subscriptions to its funds. Better laws would do something to cure this evil; but it can only be rooted out by the growth of a higher standard of honour among the people and especially among the official classes.

State-control of Railways. The growth of large private fortunes, and of vast corporations controlled by one or two men, has brought home to Canadians the need for public supervision. When it is in the power of one man or of a small group of men to throw tens of thousands out of employment, or to disorganise the greatest railway in the country, it is felt that the Government must step in to regulate and supervise. Hence a number of questions are being discussed at present, some of which have even been debated in Parliament. Should the State own the railways? If so, should it work them, or should it let out

their working to a company? So many unsuitable appointments have been made to the Intercolonial Railway by politicians, its route was so often diverted to win not passengers but votes, that few now wish direct control of the railways by Parliament, but many think that the State should take over the lines and work them through an independent Commission. At present parts of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway are being built and will be owned by the Government, though they are to be leased to the company which is building the rest of the line. Much good has been done through the appointment by the Federal Government of a Railway Commission, which has extensive powers, among others that of fixing rates which may not be exceeded, powers in which the railway companies have cheerfully acquiesced. In Ontario a provincial board has power over local lines, dealing chiefly with the electric tramways which are a feature of Canadian life, and which are yearly stretching further and further, binding the smaller towns and villages to the great centres. The same province has taken the bold step of building a provincial railway and has also placed under provincial control a part of the rich mining lands which have recently been opened at Cobalt, though leasing their working to a company.

The same principle is also being discussed with respect to the telegraphs and telephones, which in Canada are at present controlled by private companies. Sir William Mulock, who was Postmaster-General from 1897 to 1905 and Minister of Labour from 1900 to 1905, was in favour of the Government acquiring and working them as part of the postal system, but to this change Sir Wilfrid Laurier is strongly opposed.

Labour Politics.

These are instances of the tendency to increase State control and to check the predatory tendencies of individuals. There can hardly be said to be as yet any body of Socialist or Socialistic thought behind them. There are at present very few Labour members in the House of Commons, and though a Labour party has been organised, the great influence of the farmers makes it improbable that Canada will follow the example of Australia, where power is much more centred in a few large cities (*see* pp. 377-9). Meanwhile, this growing tendency to public control and even to public ownership is proving a source of great perplexity to the Conservative party. Since 1878 its affiliations have been with the manufacturers and with the Canadian Pacific Railway, both of which bodies are naturally enemies to public ownership. On the other hand, it comprises, especially in Ontario, a strong Radical wing, whose

policy is almost avowedly modelled on that of the Independent Labour party in England, and on the socialistic legislation of New Zealand (pp. 464-8). It is a curious proof of how little there is in a name that the Liberals uphold the *status quo*, while the Conservatives are coquetting with the most Radical proposals.

The Problems of the Future.

The reluctance of the established political parties to deal with great questions in their infancy lays Canada open to the danger that problems may grow up and become so complicated that statesmen with the best intentions may be unable to grapple with them; a pessimist might say that the greatest danger of Canada to-day is that in the twentieth century she may go the same road that the United States went in the nineteenth; that she may develop great material prosperity, may show the greatest intelligence, versatility and daring, may cover half a continent with the material elements of civilisation, may produce wealth and the means of wealth in ever greater profusion, but may not produce either politicians or publicists capable of grappling with the problems to which wealth gives rise.

On the other hand the history of the British Empire, the history of Canada herself, is a history of dangers grappled with and problems solved. Previous chapters show that Canada has in the past settled racial, religious and educational questions, some of which still perplex the statesmen of the British Isles. She has few unemployed, and still fewer unemployables. One may walk the streets of her cities from dawn to dusk and see not one of the hungry, hopeless faces which are so evident in London or in Glasgow. Above all, her people are proud of her and look forward to the future with that high confidence which breeds success. In dealing with her new problems she has the advantage of the dearly-bought experience of Great Britain and the United States. We must hope that she will develop men gifted with the same insight and the same high ideals as inspired her leaders in the past, and that the fancies which now frighten and perplex will be dispersed as easily and as completely as were the shadows which surrounded her dawn.

CHAPTER VIII

NATURAL RESOURCES.

Agriculture and Manufactures.

Canada is and has long been a nation of farmers. But to talk of her as the "Granary of the Empire" gives a wrong idea both of her character and of her aspirations. A nation composed only of farmers would be terribly slow and unprogressive, just as a nation of manufacturers would probably become so degenerate in health and physique that it would fall an easy prey to its neighbours. A great nation must have differentiation of interests, must have within its borders farmers, merchants, manufacturers. But while this is the ideal for which Canada is striving, it is none the less true that on the produce of her farms depends her prosperity. If she has a good crop of wheat and fruit, if her cheese and butter and eggs have sold well, then her farmers can afford to buy the manufactured goods of Toronto and Montreal. Thus the whole nation is bound together, and a shortage in the western wheat crop would throw out of employment thousands of men in Ontario and Quebec.

The old System of Farming.

The farming of the *habitant* in the province of Quebec was for a long time of a very simple kind. He grew enough wheat to grind at the seignior's mill into flour for himself and his numerous family, enough oats to feed his horses, kept enough cattle to supply his family with milk and butter and an occasional roast of beef or veal, enough sheep to give him spring lamb or autumn mutton, and sufficient wool for the good wife to spin in the long winter evenings. He even grew his own tobacco, usually so strong that a Canadian poet represents the devil coming to carry off a notorious vagabond, but flying in fear at the smell of the *tabac Canadien* which he is smoking. This simple, self-sufficing life is passing away, farming is pur-

sued on a larger and more scientific scale, more of the crop is sold, and the money spent on luxuries from the city. The butter of Quebec, made in well-ordered and well-inspected creameries, is famous in Canada, and is shipped in large quantities to the British market.

Ontario and Manitoba.

Ontario has a still larger quantity of land suitable for farming. The western peninsula around London and Brantford is especially fertile. In 1906 the amount invested in lands, farm-buildings, implements and stock in this province alone was $932,488,069 (£192,075,734), a sum larger than that invested in the manufactures of the whole Dominion. Though more is heard of Manitoba and the great West, and though the vast plains of the prairie provinces are rapidly filling up with settlers from England, Scotland and the United States, the value of the farm products of Ontario is still greater than that of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta taken together. Only Manitoba produced more wheat than Ontario in 1906, while of barley, oats and roots Ontario yielded more than all the rest of Canada, and is still far ahead of any other province in the production of horses, cattle and sheep. At the same time Ontario has for a generation seen many of her sons emigrate to Manitoba, called partly by desire for fresh land and partly by the strange charm of the West. Since 1871 her farming population has increased but little, though improvements in method have doubled the output and more than doubled its value. Since 1900 there has been found north of the Height of Land (*see* p. 246), a wide belt of fertile land said to contain not less than 16,000,000 acres, and here to-day the old process of settlement is being repeated; little clearings are being made among the bushes, little log-huts and large barns are being erected; not only in the West, but in New Ontario and New Quebec, as this district is called, is being heard—

> **"The tread of pioneers,**
> **Of nations yet to be;**
> **The first low wash of waves where soon**
> **Shall roll a human sea."**

For some time after their purchase in 1870 from the Hudson Bay Company (see p. 281) the prairies did not attract a large population, and the settlers suffered from lack of a market. In 1885 they were at their last gasp, and the war (see p. 285), in which they sold their crops at high prices to the troops, enabled them to tide over a very trying

time. From that date till about 1900 progress was slow but steady, since then it has been by leaps and bounds. Alberta was long the ranching country, cattle and horses roamed on the great tracts of land around Calgary, and Edmonton was little more than a Hudson Bay Co. post. Now where forty years ago the buffalo grazed, where fifteen years ago a few cowboys "rounded up" the frightened cattle, fields of waving wheat stretch to the horizon. Edmonton is a city of 15,000 people and growing yearly by thousands. In 1906 the number of immigrants into the West was 189,064, of whom 86,796 were from the British Isles; between 1901 and 1906 the population of Manitoba and the two prairie provinces increased from 419,512 to 808,863.

Improved Methods.

Not only is the population increasing, but, as has been said, methods are steadily improving. For this great credit is due to the Federal and to the Provincial Governments, especially to the present Federal Administration. The Minister of Agriculture, the Hon. Sydney Fisher, an Englishman by birth and a graduate of Cambridge, has done much to teach the benefits of science and of co-operation, and he has been helped greatly by his subordinates, of whom the chief has been an able and energetic Scot, Prof. James W. Robertson the pioneer of the movement. At Ottawa is an experimental farm where all manner of experiments are tried, the results of which are communicated to the farmers. Several of the provinces have similar farms, and also support agricultural colleges, of which the most celebrated is that of the Ontario Government at Guelph, which draws students from all parts of North and South America. The scope of the work done here has lately been enlarged by the generosity of Sir William C. Macdonald, a wealthy Canadian manufacturer, born in Prince Edward Island, who has spent money freely and wisely to help the farmers of the country.

One of the chief lessons taught by Prof. Robertson has been the need of co-operation. Its advantages have been especially manifest in all branches of dairying. In almost every township of Ontario and Quebec there is now either a cheese-factory or a creamery. These collect the milk, so that instead of each farmer having to take his milk to the factory, he has only to put it at his door in cans specially provided, and later on to call at the factory to take away the skimmings for his pigs and calves.

In Ontario and Quebec, and even in Manitoba and the West, farmers are coming to rely less and less on their wheat

crop alone; nearly all raise stock or pigs, grow oats, barley and roots, and raise poultry. The latter industry, in England usually regarded as a small perquisite for the farmer's wife, is in Canada often the most paying branch of the farm life. In Ontario the growing of peas, beans, Indian corn and other vegetables for canning is greatly increasing.

Fruit-farming. Fruit-farming is also a large industry. In this Ontario outranks the other provinces. In 1901 she produced over 13,000,000 bushels of the 18,626,000 bushels of apples grown in the Dominion, nearly all the peaches, and 23,000,000 of the 24,302,634 bushels of grapes. Almost finer are the apples of Nova Scotia, where in spring-time in the Annapolis valley, as Howe said long ago, "a man may ride for fifty miles beneath the apple blossoms." In the valleys of British Columbia, especially that of the Okanagan River, peaches and plums are grown; this industry has made great strides since the last census, now that co-operation in collecting the crop and the growth of branch railways are making it easier to bring the fruit to market.

The great difference between the farming of Great Britain and of Canada is that in the colony almost every farmer owns his own land; save in Ontario the tenant farmer is almost non-existent, and even there the proportion is six owners to one tenant. The great majority of the farms are from 50 to 200 acres in size, except in the prairie provinces, where 240 acres is the average.

Timber. Though much has been wasted, the uncut timber of Canada still exceeds in value that of any other country in the world. Fires, due to carelessness, have swept away whole forests; settlers have burnt lumber worth thousands of dollars to grow a few potatoes on the land cleared, but in spite of this Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia still have vast forests, and both the Provincial and Federal Governments are taking measures to stop the needless destruction which has gone on and to begin reforestation. The mountains of British Columbia are covered with the stately Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga Douglasii*) which grows to a height of 300 ft. Lumbering has always been the main business of New Brunswick, while Ontario and Quebec export pine, and are now finding in their stores of spruce and poplar, till recently little valued, a new source of wealth in the production of pulp for paper-making. The trees are felled in the autumn and winter, and hauled to the bank of the nearest

stream, down which they are carried by the spring freshets; then the logs are gathered and made into rafts, which are floated or towed down the river to Ottawa, or Three Rivers, or Miramichi. In the old days most of this lumber was sent as squared timber to Great Britain, and many were the fortunes thus made. But now nearly all of it is sawn in Canadian saw-mills into deals and laths, and so more men are employed in the country. More and more, too, of the furniture used in Canada is being made in her own factories. Of the lumber exported about half is sent to the United States, the rest to Britain. Much of the pulp is used in the country, the rest is exported to the United States. In 1901 the value of the timber known to have been cut in Canada was $51,082,689 (£10,510,841); in addition, an unknown quantity was used by the farmers. Of this, Ontario produced over $21,000,000 and Quebec $19,000,000.

Coal Mines. The bituminous coal of Cape Breton has been known from very early times. Indeed, it could hardly be otherwise, for to this day as one sails into Sydney harbour one sees the outcrop on the cliffs. In 1672, Nicholas Denys, a Frenchman, one of the earliest white inhabitants of the island, published at Paris a "geographical and historical description" of it, which speaks of the coal. In 1711, Sir Hovenden Walker, who had led an expedition against Quebec to disgrace and shipwreck, brought the remnants of his fleet to Sydney harbour, where, he tells us, "the coals are extraordinary good and taken out of the cliffs with iron crows only and no other labour." After the British conquest the mines were worked sometimes by the Government on its own account and sometimes by individuals. In either case a large royalty went to the Lieutenant-Governor, and production was thus discouraged, so that in 1784 only 1,190 chaldrons of coal were sold and in 1820 only 6,000. In 1827 all the mines of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia were most iniquitously handed over by the Crown to the Duke of York, and transferred by that Royal spendthrift to his creditors. Some of these formed a company known as the General Mining Association, which from 1827 to 1857 controlled the mines of Nova Scotia. Under them sales of coal increased from 12,000 tons in 1827 to 120,000 in 1857. In that year all mines still unopened were taken away from them and leased to independent companies. During the continuance of the Reciprocity Treaty (1854-1866) with the United States the sales went up rapidly, but on its repeal a long period of depression ensued. In 1893 all the

mines of the Sydney coalfield not owned by the successors of the General Mining Association were leased to a newly-formed company, and since then the production has enormously increased. On the west coast of the island new and valuable mines have lately been opened up. On the mainland of Nova Scotia, especially in the neighbourhood of Pictou and of Springhill, excellent coal is mined.

No coal worth speaking of has yet been found in Ontario or Quebec, or the prairie provinces, though in the north of Ontario there are said to be signs of its presence, which further surveys along the line of the Grand Trunk Pacific (*see* p. 316) may yet confirm. In Manitoba lignite of fair quality is found and is used for fuel. In British Columbia good bituminous coal has been mined in Vancouver Island ever since 1850, in which year an Indian chief turned up at Fort Victoria with his canoe full of coal, taken from the mines where the city of Nanaimo now stands. All through the Rocky Mountains, from the American border to the Peace River country, coal is found, and is said to include several seams of good anthracite. In 1896-7 an especially rich field was discovered in the Crow's Nest Pass, and has proved most productive. In 1871 671,000 tons of coal were mined in the Dominion, in 1901 5,321,715, and in 1905 8,775,933, of which rather more than two-thirds came from Nova Scotia and Cape Breton.

Iron. Iron ores of various kinds occur throughout the Dominion, but in spite of bounties from the Federal Government are not very extensively worked. Red hematite is mined in Ontario, to the north of Lake Superior, and at Sault Ste. Marie (usually known as the Soo) are large blast-furnaces and steel mills. Two companies produce pig-iron and steel at Sydney and North Sydney, Cape Breton, chiefly from ore brought from the Wabana mines off the coast of Newfoundland. Counting Newfoundland ore as foreign, in 1904 there were made in Canada 46,445 tons of pig-iron from Canadian ore, and 226,989 tons from foreign ore, while 73,900 tons were imported.

Gold. Gold is found in all the provinces, especially in Nova Scotia and British Columbia. In 1897 the Yukon region was reported to be "full of gold," and a rush to it was made, in spite of the difficulties of transit, and still more those of procuring food. As a result, the production of gold in Canada has increased from 22,941 oz. in 1871 to 862,000 oz. in 1901 ($2,174,412 to $24,128,593); of this British Columbia and the Yukon Territory are the largest producers.

But though the Yukon still produces largely, its export is declining and is now only about three-fifths of the yield in 1900.

Silver, Nickel and Petroleum.

Practically all known metals and minerals are mined in one or other part of the country, especially in the Rocky Mountains. Since 1905 all Canada has been talking of the rich find of silver at Cobalt in Northern Ontario. In the same province, at and around Sudbury, are the richest nickel mines in the world. Most of these are in the hands of American capitalists, and the product is shipped to that country. In the western part of Ontario, near Sarnia, are a number of petroleum wells, but the yield as yet is but a trifle of that from the neighbouring fields in the United States.

Fisheries.

Canada's fisheries are also extremely valuable, though they have proved a plentiful source of trouble with the United States. Nova Scotia fits out a large fishing fleet, part of which sails to the banks of Newfoundland, the rest remaining in the coast waters of the province. In all the Atlantic Provinces, particularly Nova Scotia, lobster-canning is an important industry; in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island oysters are especially good and plentiful The fisheries of the Gulf of St. Lawrence still draw many of the French-Canadians, though the once prolific whale fishery is extinct. Along the coast of British Columbia, with its numerous rivers, large quantities of salmon are caught and canned. In the same province, vessels are fitted out for the seal fishery in the Behring Sea. This sea the United States endeavoured to declare a *mare clausum*, their private property, and between 1890 and 1896 many Canadian sealers were seized. The Canadian Government protested, the matter was referred to arbitration, and in 1897 Canada was awarded $464,000, which was paid after much undignified grumbling. All the Great Lakes are full of whitefish (*Coregonus clupeiformis*), and salmon trout (*Salvelinus namaycush*), and in countless lakes and streams trout of various kinds, salmon, bass, &c., are found. In fact, the whole country is a paradise for sportsmen. In 1904 the value of the fish sold in Canada was $23,516,439, of which $10,759,029 was exported. This does not include the catch of private sportsmen, or of farmers along the banks of rivers, which must have been worth many thousands more.

Fur.

French Canada has been called "a Jesuit mission grafted on a fur-trading post." Fur lured the first settlers to Canada. It produced the French *coureur de bois*. To procure it the Hudson

Bay Company was founded. To control the fur trade men fought and died from the Red River to the Rocky Mountains. In 1904 the fur exported from Canada was valued at over $2,000,000. Most of this is gathered by Indians in the far North and sold to the factors of the H.B.C. As settlement progresses the fur-trader and the hunter are driven further and further afield, but to this day there are valleys in the Rocky Mountains where the "fool-hen" are so tame that they can be knocked down with a stick, and in every province good shooting can be found within driving distance of the railway. In Ontario, north-east of Lake Simcoe, the provincial Government has set aside a large area known as the Algonquin National Park, where the wild animals and the trees are left in their natural state, and where no shooting is allowed, though permission to fish is easily obtained. In the Rocky Mountains the Dominion Government has a similar park at Banff.

But natural advantages are of little avail unless there are roads, railways and steamers to bring the worker to the land and to the mine, and to transport his produce to the great markets of the world.

CHAPTER IX.

MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE AND TRANSPORTATION.

The Navigation Acts.

Under the old colonial system the trade of the Colonies was controlled by the Mother Country. The chief laws regulating trade were the Navigation Acts, passed in 1651 and 1660 (*see* pp. 52-3 and 67), and frequently amended. This control has been spoken of, especially by American historians anxious to justify their rebellion, as due to the wish of Great Britain to make use of her Colonies to her own advantage. But while British merchants sometimes induced the British Parliament to put down a colonial industry which was competing with them, as when in 1732 New England was forbidden to export beaver hats, the ideal on which this system was founded was really that of binding together the Mother Country and the Colonies by ties of mutual advantage and profit. If Britain forbade certain branches of colonial trade, she gave bounties to others, especially to the production of all articles suitable for naval stores.

After the revolt of the American Colonies this policy was kept up in the Colonies which remained. The West Indies, which had got their timber from the American Colonies, were forced to get it from Canada, in spite of the distance. Nor was this plan greatly resented by the Colonies. It hardly figures at all among the Canadian grievances. Indeed, the right to regulate their own trade was one of the last things claimed by Canadian Reformers. In 1839 Joseph Howe wrote to Lord John Russell four open letters putting with great force the case for allowing the Colonies to manage their own local affairs, but he distinctly admits the right of the Imperial Legislature to control the commercial policy of Nova Scotia. But in 1346, at the accession to power of Lord John Russell and the coming of Lord

Grey to the Colonial Office, the bounties were taken off colonial products. To impose restrictions while taking off bounties was so manifestly unfair that in 1849 the Navigation Laws were repealed, though not till much discontent had been aroused in Canada. That the Colonies might later on take advantage of their freedom to lay taxes on British goods does not seem to have occurred to the British statesmen of the time, who were so impressed with the advantages of Free Trade that they looked forward to its universal adoption.

Tariff Reform.

But in 1859 this very thing happened. A. T. Galt, the Canadian Finance Minister, brought in a tariff of a distinctly protective character, and backed it up by the argument that it was necessary to encourage the nascent Canadian manufactures. The Duke of Newcastle, at the Colonial Office, protested, but Galt replied that "Self-government would be utterly annihilated if the views of the Imperial Government were to be preferred to those of the people of Canada." It was the death stroke to the old theory of Empire.

In 1878 the government of Sir John Macdonald greatly increased the protective duties. The Atlantic Provinces had previously had a very low tariff, and that of Canada had been about 17½ per cent., with a large list of articles admitted duty free; but all the provinces, with the exception of New Brunswick, supported Macdonald (*see* p. 283). The new policy was based on what is called "scientific protection," with high duties on all goods capable of being manufactured in the country and free admission of raw materials.

Colonial Preference.

Whether or not as a result of this policy, a distinct increase took place in the number and variety of Canadian manufactures. This tariff, with some small changes, remained in force till the victory of the Liberals in 1896. They had always been strong advocates of Free Trade, but, feeling that the manufacturers would be greatly injured by any sudden and violent change, contented themselves with reducing or abolishing the duties on a number of unimportant articles and with giving to imports from Great Britain a preference of 12½ per cent., raised later on to 25 per cent., and still later to 33 per cent. In 1907 the manner of granting the preference was altered, but it was left at about its old rate. This preference was intended, on the one hand, to show Great Britain that Canada was not ungrateful for her aid in the past; on the other hand, it was to stimulate the flow of British goods to Canada. This was

especially desirable, as at the time many of the ships which carried wheat and cattle from Canada to England were forced to come back almost empty, and so to charge the Canadian merchants freight sufficient to repay them for two voyages. From both points of view the results have been excellent. The flow of British goods into Canada, which had decreased from $43,418,015 in 1884 to $38,717,267 in 1894, rose in 1906 to $83,229,256. At the same time the greater proximity of the United States, and the greater similarity of their climate and of their methods of farming, has, in spite of a hostile tariff, caused the imports from that country to increase still more rapidly, from $50,492,826 in 1884 to $53,034,100 in 1894, and to $208,721,601 in 1906.

Foreign and Domestic Trade. The prosperity of a country is often measured too much by the amount of its foreign trade. Canadian manufacturers are as yet, for the most part, content if they can supply the home market. This they are doing to an increasing extent. Of the $600,000,000 worth of manufactured goods consumed yearly in Canada about $500,000,000 are produced in the country; but a desire for further protection is loudly expressed. The chief manufactured articles imported are agricultural implements. Steel rails, machinery, cutlery and other goods made of iron and steel form the largest item of import, and are brought mainly from the United States. In 1904, of imports of these articles into Canada worth $44,093,576, nearly 69 per cent. came from the United States and only 23½ per cent. from Britain.

Manufactures. Manufactures centre in Ontario and Quebec, though those of Nova Scotia are not unimportant, and the iron industries at Sydney are the largest in the Dominion. The chief factories are at Toronto and Montreal, but others are scattered through the provinces. Toronto has long been a distributing centre for the farming country round, but till recently the goods distributed were the products of the factories of Montreal, Great Britain and the United States. Of late years, however, more and more of these goods are the produce of the factories and mills in the outskirts of the city.

In many ways the trade of Canada would seem to flow naturally from north to south. Ontario still buys her coal in Ohio and Pennsylvania; British Columbia sends her minerals to Washington and Montana. But Canada has spent great sums of money to ensure that the streams of trade may flow east and west instead of north and south,

in order that as much of it as possible may remain within her own borders and that as much as possible of the rest may go across the sea to Great Britain.

Waterways. No country has a more complete system of waterways; they lead past Montreal and Toronto through Lakes Huron and Superior, then by a chain of lakes and rivers to Lake Winnipeg, and thence by the Nelson to Hudson's Bay, or by the Saskatchewan to the very base of the Rockies (*see* p. 246). Countless other rivers may be studied on the map which make the whole country a perfect network. Between 1840 and 1850, when the larger rapids and waterfalls had been overcome by canals, and the channel of the St. Lawrence had been deepened, it was hoped that the wheat of the American west would seek the sea by the St. Lawrence route. But the great development of railways, in which the United States had the start, completely shattered the Canadian hopes.

Railways. Not till 1836 was the first railway opened in Canada. On July 23 of that year a line, sixteen miles in length, was opened by the Governor-General, Lord Gosford, between La Prairie on the St. Lawrence and St. John's on the Richelieu. The coaches were at first drawn by horses, but in 1837 steam was substituted. Fifteen years later the Colonies making up the present Dominion contained only fifty miles of railways. In 1851 a great change took place. In that year (1) an Act was passed by the Canadian Legislature for the construction of a railway through the two Canadas; (2) the Canadian Railway Committee had under consideration a Bill providing for the construction of a railway through British territory to the Pacific coast; (3) delegates from Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia went to Great Britain to negotiate for the construction of a railway connecting Canada and the Atlantic Provinces. Thus from 1851 date the three greatest Canadian railways, the Grand Trunk, the Canadian Pacific and the Intercolonial. From 1851 to 1854 Francis Hincks was Premier of Canada, and with him began that interest in railways which every succeeding Government has been compelled to take.

The Grand Trunk Railway. The present Grand Trunk Railway has grown out of the amalgamation of a number of lines. In 1851 a line from Montreal to Toronto was proposed. Soon after, the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railway, from Portland in the State of Maine to the Canadian border, was leased for 999 years. In

1853 the section from Portland to Montreal was opened; in 1856, that from Montreal to Toronto; in 1858, that from Toronto to Sarnia; in 1879 two American lines were bought, giving a route from Sarnia to Chicago; in 1882 the Great Western system, which controlled 900 miles in western Ontario, was absorbed. In 1906 the Grand Trunk Railway system controlled nearly 4,000 miles of line, of which the 333 miles from Toronto to Montreal was double-tracked. From Confederation till the building of the Canadian Pacific this railway controlled the traffic of Ontario. Its management was directed from London, and was often extremely indifferent to the comfort of its passengers and to the interests of its shippers. Its unpopularity was one of the chief causes which led Ontario to welcome the coming of the Canadian Pacific. In 1896 its head offices were removed to Montreal, and it has since become much more efficient and prosperous. At various times during its construction it was helped by the Canadian Government both with money and land; in all, it is said to have received aid amounting to $16,000,000. Its construction was marked by great extravagance and mismanagement, and for a long time no interest was paid to the shareholders; many English families were ruined, and this failure was the reason why for many years English capitalists were unwilling to invest money in Canada. Under better management and with the increased prosperity of the country it has begun to pay, and much of the stock which had been flung aside as mere wastepaper has proved valuable.

In 1860 much excitement was caused by the opening, by H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, now His Majesty King Edward, of the Victoria Bridge over the St. Lawrence at Montreal. The bridge, which is owned by the Grand Trunk, was at first tubular, and was considered a wonderful engineering feat. It was 9,184 ft. in length and cost $6,300,000. Since then the tubular form has proved unsatisfactory, and it is now open, like other modern bridges.

The Intercolonial Railway.

The Intercolonial Railway was long talked of as a necessity for binding together the scattered provinces, but its construction was delayed by the refusal of the Imperial authorities to give a guarantee. At Confederation its building was made a condition by the Governments of the Atlantic Provinces, and work was at once begun with Mr. (now Sir) Sandford Fleming as engineer-in-chief. To follow the direct route was impossible, a portion of the territory having been adjudged by the Ashburton Treaty to the American State of

Maine. The next best route would have been by the valley of the River St. John, but the Imperial Government, which wanted the line for military purposes, decided that this would bring it too near to the American border. The "North Shore" route by the Bay of Chaleurs was finally chosen. This won an Imperial guarantee, but greatly lengthened the line. In 1875 the branch across Prince Edward Island was completed; in 1876 the main line was opened from Halifax to Rivière du Loup; in 1879 the branch of the Grand Trunk from that point to Levis was purchased; in 1898, by the purchase of the Drummond County Railway and by arrangements made with the Grand Trunk, it secured an entrance into Montreal. In 1906 it controlled 1,484 miles of line.

The Pacific Railways.

The early story of the Canadian Pacific Railway has already been told (p. 284). Though in grants of money, of land and of completed portions of the line, and in subsequent guarantees of interest this railway has cost the Canadian Government alone no less than $100,000,000, no money has been better spent. No other public work in Canada can be compared with it in importance. Even greater than the energy which went to its building are the enterprise and sagacity which kept it in operation through the lean years of 1885-95. It now controls over ten thousand miles of railway between Halifax and Vancouver, and has large and well-equipped lines of steamers running across the Pacific and Atlantic oceans (*see* p. 318). In 1904 a Bill was passed in the House of Commons incorporating the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, an undertaking almost equal in size to the Canadian Pacific. When completed it will include a line from Atlantic to Pacific, with branches running north and south. Starting in New Brunswick, the line will run up the valley of the St. John, through northern Quebec and Ontario to Winnipeg; across the prairies to Edmonton, and through the Rockies to Prince Rupert on the Pacific, keeping to the north of the Canadian Pacific. In its construction the Government has abandoned the old policy of land grants in favour of that of guaranteeing the interest on the bonds (debentures) of the company. The section from Quebec to Winnipeg is to be built and owned by the Government, though leased to the company.

The Canadian Northern Railway.

Meanwhile, Messrs. Mackenzie and Mann, two Ontario contractors, have been buying and building railways in every province of the Dominion, and are gradually binding them together into a third great system, the Canadian Northern. In

addition to scattered portions in the West, they have now an uninterrupted line from Port Arthur on Lake Superior to Edmonton. When these new lines are completed Canada will no longer be open to the charge of possessing length without breadth, and the old sneer of the opponents of Confederation, who compared her to a tapeworm, and to a bundle of fishing-rods tied together by the ends, will lose its point. In 1867 Canada possessed 2,087 miles of railway, in 1896 16,387, in 1906 25,663, and many thousands more were either under construction or contracted for.

Canals. In spite of the great development of railways the rivers are still of great importance. There is hardly a lake or river, from the Bras d'Or in Cape Breton to the Mackenzie and Yukon, on which steamers do not ply. The natural obstacles have been overcome by canals, on which over £23,000,000 have been spent, chiefly since Federation. The St. Lawrence Canal system from Lake Superior to tide-water at Montreal overcomes a difference of about 600 ft., and has a minimum depth of 14 ft. The chief links in this system are the Lachine Canal around the Lachine Rapids above Montreal, the Welland Canal overcoming the Niagara Falls, the construction of which was the great work of Upper Canada between 1824 and 1829, and the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, between Lakes Superior and Huron (*see* pp. 246-7). This was begun in 1887 and opened in 1895. Up to that date the only canal was on the American side, and vessels loaded with western grain had for this mile of their course to pass through American territory.

After the war of 1812-15 Great Britain decided that it would be wise to have a back-door between Toronto and Montreal, in case the Americans should again seek to control the line of the St. Lawrence. Accordingly the Rideau system was planned, connecting Kingston and Ottawa by means of the Cataraqui and Rideau Rivers. The work was carried out by Col. By, of the Royal Engineers, in memory of whom Ottawa was for many years known as Bytown. The first stone was laid in 1827, the system was finished in 1834, and in 1857 was given by the Imperial to the Canadian authorities.

Ottawa and Montreal are connected by a number of small canals, and the same system is practically prolonged by the canals on the Richelieu, which enable the logs of the upper Ottawa river to be sent by water to Lake Champlain, and thence to New York.

One great desire of Canada has always been to get a shorter route for her western wheat to tide-water. The saving of

time and distance is all-important to the western farmer, who wishes to get his grain to market in the year that it is grown, instead of having to see it stored in elevators till the next spring or autumn. With this end in view work was begun on the Trent Valley system, connecting Lake Ontario with the Georgian Bay (an arm of Lake Huron), but the canals are still small and incomplete. Another similar route which has been surveyed is one joining Ottawa and the Georgian Bay by means of French River, Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa River. The engineering difficulties are great, but not greater than have been overcome elsewhere, and a look at the map will show how much distance would be saved. So great is this desire that an increasing quantity of grain is taken to the Georgian Bay ports by water and thence by rail to Montreal. The Grand Trunk has now two separate lines engaged in this work.

Ocean Steamers.

In spite of the importance of the home market, Canada is a very large exporter, particularly of farm produce. While Reciprocity with the United States was in force (1854-1866), most of this was sent to that country, but since then a series of protective measures has more and more shut Canadian produce from the American market. In consequence, the need of quick and frequent transport to the markets of Britain has been felt. The first to inaugurate a regular service between the two continents was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Samuel Cunard, of Halifax, who in 1839 formed a company which in 1840 began to ply between Liverpool, Halifax and Boston, and which still continues as the great Cunard Line. In 1854 the Allan Line began to run from Montreal, and in 1856 commenced a regular service, which is still maintained. In 1901 the Canadian Pacific Railway bought a line, which they have since greatly improved and enlarged. In 1889 the Canadian Pacific also began running steamers between Vancouver and Yokohama, which have ever since given a fortnightly service of such excellence that it has largely cut out the American lines from San Francisco.

On the Atlantic the chief ports are in summer Montreal and Quebec, in winter Halifax and St. John. From June to October the shorter route to the north of Newfoundland through the Straits of Belle Isle is used; for the rest of the year the southerly route through the Cabot Straits.

Though the Canadian Government has spent great sums on deepening the channel between Montreal and Quebec, it is doubtful if, with the increasing size of modern steamers, a

fast service to Montreal can be maintained (*see* pp. 247, 251). Montreal, however, will always be the chief port for freight.

The route to Halifax and St. John is nearly one thousand miles shorter than that to New York, and, with the growth of the Canadian railways, it is not improbable that these ports will attract much of the traffic which now goes to the American sea-board.

CHAPTER X.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

Discovery. It is highly probable that some of the early Norwegian voyagers from Iceland or Greenland, such as Lief, son of Eric the Red, may have pushed as far west as Labrador and Newfoundland, but their discoveries were not followed up, and the curtain closed down on America for nearly five centuries. But in the spring of 1497, when all the world was agog with the discoveries of Columbus, Henry VII., King of England, sent out John Cabot, an Italian sailor in his service, to make discoveries in these new lands of the West. Many think that Cabot's landfall was at Cape Breton, "the nose of North America"; but all good Newfoundlanders claim that it was at Cape Bonavista, and in 1897 they celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the event.

Early Voyages. In 1501 a Portuguese navigator named Cortereal landed on the shore of either Newfoundland or Labrador and carried off some of the natives to sell in the slave market of Lisbon. Two of his ships returned in safety, but to this day no man knows what became of Gaspar Cortereal. In the next year his brother Miguel fitted out an expedition to look for him, but off the coast of Newfoundland his ship, too, disappeared for ever. Cabot's son Sebastian is said on insufficient authority to have made several voyages to Newfoundland, and in 1527 Lord Edmund, Queen Catherine Howard's father, begged Wolsey to be allowed to join a proposed expedition to Newfoundland, "with divers ships and captains and soldiers in them," and thus find his wife and children meat and drink. This expedition was not made, but in 1536 Armagil Wade, who has been absurdly called "the English Columbus," sailed in the "Minion" from Gravesend and visited Cape Breton and Newfoundland.

Newfoundland Fisheries. The object of all these voyages, however, was not to discover new lands or found colonies, but to find a new passage to the East Indies; and if any settlement was made at this

time in Newfoundland, it was for temporary fishing purposes. Gradually the value of these fisheries off the coast and on the Grand Banks to the south-east became well known, and hardy sailors from all the nations of Western Europe came in their brown-sailed fishing-smacks in search of cod. It was the French who first turned these fisheries to account, and in 1524 a ship of Rouen, laden with Newfoundland fish, was captured by the English. Similar captures soon became regular incidents of any wars between France and England or Spain; and in 1542 a Spanish force met the French fishing fleet returning from Newfoundland, and captured most of the eighty or a hundred vessels of which it consisted. Two years later the English captain John Winter endeavoured, but apparently without success, to repeat this exploit. By this time the English had established a footing in the Newfoundland fishery; it was exempted by an Act of 1541 (33 Henry VIII. c. 2) from the restrictions imposed on other fisheries; and in 1549 (2 and 3 Ed. VI. c. 6) the officers of the Admiralty were prohibited from levying fines, dues, or tolls upon the Newfoundland fishermen. In 1578 one Anthony Pankhurst writes to his friend Richard Hakluyt, who has preserved for us the brave deeds of the Elizabethan seamen, that "there are above 100 sail of Spaniards that come to take Cod" off Newfoundland, "besides 20 or 30 more that come from Biscaie to kill Whale for Traine; . . . of Portugals there are not lightly above 50 sail, . . . of the French nation and Bretons are about 150 sailes, . . . but of English only 50 sail. Nevertheless, the English are commonly Lords of the harbours where they fish, . . . according to an old custom of the country."

The first Settlements.

In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a gentleman of Devonshire, tried to found a colony in the island, but his attempt was not a success and on his way back he was lost in the Atlantic. Several other attempts at colonization were made, especially one (1621-29) by George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, whose ideas of religious toleration were in advance of his age and who tried to found in Newfoundland a refuge where all Christians might worship God without fear of persecution; but the harshness of the climate ruined his enterprise, though he endeavoured to renew it in Maryland. Gradually, however, a few poor but stubborn fishermen built little homes for themselves here and there along the south-eastern coast. They were governed in an arbitrary, reckless fashion. Originally the first master who entered a harbour

became *ex facto* Admiral, Justice and supreme ruler over all. This was modified by the fishermen from Devon and Cornwall, who instituted a weekly rotation of the office, and this system was adopted by Louis XIV. for the French fishermen.

The Beothiks. The native Indian inhabitants, the Beothiks, a savage race apparently akin to the Mic-Macs of Nova Scotia, were from the first at feud with the settlers and with the fishermen. During the eighteenth century the whites shot them down in cold blood as so much vermin; and the Beothiks retaliated with such deeds as the beheading of Lieut. Buchan, R.N., and two of his marines in 1810. They were gradually driven into the woods in the centre and north of the island, where they perished of cold and disease. The last survivor died of consumption at St. John's in 1857.

Opposition to the Colonists. A fresh series of misfortunes began for the island in the seventeenth century. The Devonshire merchants, who fitted out the fishing fleets, had no desire to see Newfoundland settled. It suited them much better to have the fisheries and the use of the harbours for themselves, and they discouraged colonists, much as the Hudson Bay Company did in the plains of the Canadian North-West. During the reign of King Charles II. they persuaded the British Government to order the removal of the planters, as the settlers were called, and to destroy their "stages" for curing fish; but the planters clung to their rights and at last were allowed to live in peace. Other difficulties were, however, created by Charles II.'s sale of Placentia to the French; and as late as 1793 an English official stated that Newfoundland had "in all former times been considered as a great ship moored near the Banks during the fishing season for the convenience of English fishermen only." It was not till 1813 that the grant of lands was officially permitted, and the building of houses made legal.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century a trade sprang up with Waterford and the other ports on the south coast of Ireland; but, though this brought a number of settlers, most of the Irish Roman Catholics now resident in St. John's and in the south of the island date not from this time, but from immigration late in the eighteenth century or early in the nineteenth.

The "Fishing Admirals." In the reign of King William III. it is estimated that 300 English ships, with 15,000 sailors, annually visited the Banks, and that from France came not less than 400 ships and 18,000 men. In this reign a law was passed legalizing the old practice

that "the master of such ship as shall first enter a harbour shall be Admiral, the second Vice-Admiral, and the third Rear-Admiral." For many a year the Newfoundlanders had to be content with the rule of these rough "Fishing Admirals," who were often extremely brutal and ignorant, and gave judgment in favour of themselves or of the highest bidder. Later on the captains of the men-of-war stationed on the coast often took things into their own hands, and dispensed a justice which was, at least, better than that of these captains of fishing-smacks; one of the best of these administrators of justice was Rodney. In 1729 Commander Henry Osborne, of H.M.S. "Squirrel," was appointed the first Civil Governor of the island, and before long a Supreme Court of Justice was established at St. John's by Act of Parliament. But for some time the administration of justice was extraordinarily bad. The "Fishing Admirals" fought with the Governor and the courts which he set up, the settlers fought with both, and the Devonshire merchants did all they could to keep the country in a state of anarchy. At one time the Chief Justice was also the ordnance storekeeper, sworn broker, sole notary public, and sole auctioneer. But in 1791 a number of patriotic men set to work to reform such abuses, and after a long struggle, in which the West Country merchants showed themselves as averse to justice as they had previously been to settlement, the courts were greatly improved and purified.

Disputes with France.

When the war of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) broke out between France and England, there was much hard fighting in and around Newfoundland, and the little settlement of St. John's was taken and burnt by the French. By the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 the island became England's, and the French carried off their settlers from Placentia, on the south coast, to their new settlement of Louisbourg, in Cape Breton. But by Article XIII. of this treaty the French were given certain rights of fishing and of drying their fish along part of the shore. These rights were considered of great importance by the French, not only on account of the value of the fish, but because in the days of sailing ships no nursery for seamen was so valuable as the Newfoundland fisheries. The French Government still give bounties to the fishermen and encourage them in every way, in order to have a reserve of brave and skilful seamen in time of war. During the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), the great Pitt tried to get France to give up its rights, but

was told by his envoy that the French would not do so even if an English army was in the heart of their country. Thus, when peace was made by Pitt's successors, the French retained their rights, and were given the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, to the south of Newfoundland, as a shelter for their fishing-smacks. These islands have ever since been a great nuisance to the Governments of Newfoundland and of Canada, especially because quantities of French brandy and lace are landed there and smuggled into Newfoundland and into the Canadian villages along the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In 1783, Great Britain, in making peace with France, changed the boundaries between which the French were allowed to fish, and gave them certain other rights, which the French took to mean that they, and they only, had the right to land on that part of the coast and to set up stages for drying their fish. At the time this part of the coast was not inhabited, but later on, when English settlers wished to colonize it and to set up factories for canning lobsters, fierce riots took place with the French fishermen; and the British Government, unwilling to get into trouble with France, ordered British men-of-war to drive away the Newfoundlanders, to burn their nets and to destroy their factories. Such a state of things was unendurable, and at last in 1904, after another century of bickering, the French gave up their claims and were recompensed by Great Britain by the gift of some territory on the West Coast of Africa (*see* p. 703).

And with the United States.

But though this hindrance to the growth and prosperity of the island has at last disappeared, Newfoundland has still an equally bitter grievance. In 1818 a convention was signed between Great Britain and the United States giving to the latter power certain fishing rights along the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador, and of late years this has proved to the island as great a source of annoyance as the arrangement with France had been. In 1877, at the Fisheries Arbitration at Halifax (*see* p. 283), of the $5,500,000 awarded to Britain, $1,000,000 was allotted to Newfoundland. In 1891 a treaty, known as the Bond-Blaine Treaty, was made by Newfoundland with the United States, which would have given American fishermen such advantages over Canadians that the Canadian Government protested, and the treaty was disallowed by Great Britain as contrary to Imperial interests. The anger in Newfoundland was naturally great, but has now

died down, and is replaced by increasing vexation against the United States. In May, 1907, however, at the Colonial Conference, it was decided, on the motion of Sir Robert Bond, to refer the question to the Hague tribunal, and the Government of the United States acquiesced.

During the wars of the eighteenth century the fine harbour of St. John's was a British naval base, and later on, during the war with France (1793-1815) and that with America (1812-1815), so many prizes were carried into St. John's that a man is said to have walked from one side of the harbour to the other on American prizes chained together. All sorts of valuable cargoes were sold for what they would bring and the colony enjoyed a riotous prosperity (p. 265).

The Acquisition of Self-Government.

In 1832, after many years of endeavour, the colony was granted a Legislature; but, as in other colonies, this Legislature did not control the Executive, and there were many quarrels between the two, which led to the suspension of the Constitution. In 1841 a new Parliament was formed, consisting of fifteen elected and ten nominated members. It worked fairly well under Sir John Harvey's administration, but in 1846 an agitation was commenced for Responsible government, which was granted in 1855. The struggle for its attainment became mixed up with religious questions, and from 1855 to 1861 there were fierce riots at Harbour Grace and elsewhere. Irish Catholics and English Churchmen fought with great bitterness, and several lives were lost, but this bitterness has in great part passed away, and elections are no longer the exciting events that they were in the olden days.

The Question of Federation.

In Newfoundland as in all other Parliamentary countries, including Great Britain, there is a good deal of misrepresentation and some corruption at election times; and it was said that the proposal that Newfoundland should federate with the Dominion of Canada, which was laid before the electorate in 1868, was defeated owing to the tales with which the electors were misled. But such methods do not account for the emphatic and prolonged refusal of Newfoundland to part with any of its independence; and the General Election of 1893, after which more than half the members were unseated for bribery and corruption, was also exceptional.

In 1894-5, however, the failure of the two local banks and of several sea-harvests in succession, following upon a fire in 1892 which destroyed half of St. John's, induced the island to reconsider the question of federation. Unluckily, at this time

Canada was in the weak hands of Sir Mackenzie Bowell's Cabinet, and it refused to give to the island the financial terms for which its delegates asked. When it is remembered how quick Sir John Macdonald had been to give better financial terms to Nova Scotia (*see* pp. 279, 280), it is a matter for regret that his death left his successors free to make the greatest mistake made by Canada since Federation.

The Reid Contract.

Largely owing to a contract made with Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert Gillespie) Reid, a Scotch Canadian who had fought his way up from being a working-man, and had made a large fortune by contracting in Canada and elsewhere, the island weathered the financial storm of 1895. The early experience of Newfoundland with railway promoters had been so unsatisfactory that in 1890 the Government determined to build and to operate their own railway system. In the following years, with Mr. Reid as contractor, the Government built a railway across the island, from Port-aux-Basques, on the south-west coast, to St. John's, a distance of 528 miles. Other contracts were made with Mr. Reid, and the old fortnightly service to Halifax, which had been Newfoundland's only means of communication, other than telegraphic, with the outside world, was replaced by a steamer running three times a week between Port-aux-Basques and Sydney in Cape Breton. Just at this time the above-mentioned misfortunes had left the Government no money to run the railway (the greater part of which passed through uninhabited country) or to attract settlers. A contract was therefore made with Mr. Reid by which he assumed control of the railway, of the steamers between Port-aux-Basques and Sydney, of those which had been established between St. John's and the chief bays and outposts of the island, of the electric trams in St. John's, and of various other Government works. In return for this he was granted enormous tracts of land, quite undeveloped, but said to be rich in minerals and timber. To give so much power to one man was, no doubt, to run a great risk; but Sir James Winter's Government considered that the circumstances justified the acceptance of the risk, and Mr. Reid's honesty and ability were not seriously disputed. Sir Robert Bond, however, the leader of the Opposition, who had materially assisted in tiding over the difficulties by raising loans abroad for the colony and its Savings Bank, resisted the arrangement on the grounds of public policy, and made it the principal issue of the General Election of 1900. The financial crisis being now

past, the majority of the electors considered Mr. Reid's privileges disproportionate to his services, and returned Sir Robert Bond to power. In 1901 an Act was passed resuming the fee-simple of the railway, telegraphs and lands, and giving Mr. Reid compensation for the loss of his vested interests.

Recent Developments.

Under Sir Robert Bond (who again won the general election of 1904, but tied with the opposition under Sir Edward Morris in 1908, the colony prospered. Copper had long been mined at Tilt Cove, and latterly the Canadian steel-making companies at Sydney have got most of their ore from the island of Wabana, near St. John's; other mines are being opened up along the west coast. Lumber, though not of first-rate quality for building, is plentiful and well suited for the making of paper-pulp, and several large paper-making firms are now established in the colony. Although much of the farm produce is imported from Canada, and manufactured goods are brought in about equal proportions from Canada, the United States and Great Britain, the commerce of Newfoundland has within six years increased by thirty per cent. Its revenues have exceeded its expenditure and the surplus has been devoted to building up a reserve fund for emergencies, or returned to the people as additional grants for public works.

The Cod Fishery.

But the great industry of Newfoundland is still the fisheries. The cod-fishery falls into two branches, that carried on through the summer on the Banks, and the shore fisheries, engaged in by smaller boats which put out before dawn and return to harbour in the evening. The fish is dried in the sun, with the addition of a little salt, and sent off to Europe, especially to the Roman Catholic countries of Spain and Portugal. Not only does Newfoundland possess this inexhaustible treasure, but in the caplin and herring which visit her shores in the spring she has a monopoly of the best bait, and in her disputes with the Americans has found the threat of cutting off their supply of bait a useful weapon. In 1905-6 the products of the cod made up 68 per cent. of the island's total exports.

Seal-fishing.

Lobster-canning is also carried on, and of late an increasing number of tourists have come to Newfoundland to shoot deer (cariboo), and to fish for trout and salmon. During the spring the chief industry is the killing—fishing, as it is called—of seals. These are not the fur-seals, which are found on the other side of America, near Alaska, but another species which is killed for its oil. Early in the spring, as the ice begins to

float down the coast of Labrador, the hardy fishermen go out in steamers as far as these can be driven through the loose ice, and then follow the seals on foot. In 1906 the catch was 341,836 seals. Part of the coast of Labrador is under the rule of Newfoundland, and the frontier line between it and the Canadian hinterland is still in dispute. The inhabitants are a few Eskimo and Indians, with here and there a trapper or fisherman, or a Hudson Bay Company post; but timber has been, and minerals may be, found in the disputed territory, so that the two Governments are now taking steps to settle the question.

Imperial Defences and Communications.

In 1897 a branch of the Naval Reserve was established in Newfoundland, and is now about six hundred strong. If need arose it could be greatly enlarged, for Newfoundlanders are to a man loyal to the great Mother across the sea.

Since 1866 Newfoundland has been the Anglo-American Cable Company's half-way house to America, and many schemes have been proposed for a steamship line from St. John's to Galway or some other port on the west of Ireland. If with this line could be joined the proposed tunnel between Newfoundland and Canada under the Straits of Belle-Isle, and, perhaps, one uniting England or Scotland with Ireland, the sea-passage between England and America would be reduced to three days, or even less. Such a knitting together of the cords of Empire would be of the greatest importance.

II.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.

The Continent of Australia.

The Continent of Australia comprises the three large islands of Australia, New Guinea and Tasmania, and many smaller islands rising above the Australian Continental platform. This platform extends from the equator half-way to the South Pole and, except the western and north-eastern parts of New Guinea, the whole of it is British. We shall here confine our attention to the islands of Australia and Tasmania, which constitute the Commonwealth of Australia.

The island of Australia has an area of over 2,900,000 square miles, that of Tasmania 26,000 square miles. Australia is 2,400 miles from west to east and nearly 2,000 miles from north to south. It consists of three well-marked divisions: the Western Tableland, the Great Central Plains and the Eastern Highlands.

The Western Tableland.

The Western Tableland consists of a mass of archæan rock, above which the sedimentary strata—among them the barren desert sandstone—lie more or less horizontally. In structure it may be compared with the greater part of Africa, but its general elevation is much lower, being little over 1,500 ft. It rises in a fairly steep escarpment above the western and northern coastal plains; only here and there along this margin, and in the centre, does it reach a level more than 2,000 ft. above the sea, from which in the north-west and in the south it rises abruptly. It has not yet been thoroughly explored; the difficulties are due to climate and not to the physical features, the general character of which we know. A few rivers rise in

and flow from it; the Swan in the South, the Gascoyne and the Ashburton in the centre, and the Fitzroy in the north-west flow westwards, while intermittent rivers start in the east but rarely reach the great central plains (*see also* pp. 419-20).

The Great Central Plains.

These Great Central Plains stretch from the north to the south. They are penetrated by three marked inlets. On the north the shallow Gulf of Carpentaria extends far inland; while on the south the Spencer and St. Vincent Gulfs mark the south-eastern end of the tableland, where it joins the outlier of the South Australian Highlands (*see* p. 419). Owing to climatic conditions the plain can be divided into three parts; the north is comparatively wet, the centre arid, and the south moist. In the north the Flinders River flows to the Gulf of Carpentaria; in the centre Diamentina and Cooper's Creek flow south-westwards to Lake Eyre, whose shores lie some 40ft. below sea-level; in the south the Darling-Murray and its tributaries from the Eastern Highlands flow into the Alexandrina Lake, a large navigable sheet of water with a long arm known as the Coorong.

The Eastern Highlands.

The Eastern Highlands form a denuded highland area and not a mountain range. They start at Cape York in the north, and extend southwards with varying width to Bass Strait, beyond which they rise again in Tasmania. They are broadest near the middle where they are drained by the Burdekin and the eastern Fitzroy. In the north and south they become narrower and, on the whole, loftier, the highest region being that of the Kosciusko mass in the south-east, where Mount Townsend rises to 7,250 ft. The steep rise of these Highlands above the narrow eastern coastal area is most marked in New South Wales. Although they are not very lofty, they form difficult barriers to overcome. "Deep water-worn gorges nearly everywhere cut into a maze of narrow cliff-sided ridges; there are few passes . . . to cross you must, as a rule, climb over the top." On the western side the slope is much more gradual and is drained by the long rivers which flow across the Central Lowlands (*see* pp. 418-19). Many recently volcanic hills exist to the west of this region in western Victoria.

The Barrier Reef.

East of the mainland from 10°S. to 20°S. stretches the great barrier reef made of coral, at distances from the coast which vary from 25 to 150 miles. It is difficult to cross except in openings

opposite the great rivers and forms a natural break-water to the coastal waters of Queensland.

The whole of Australia lies between 10°S. and 40°S. It is thus almost entirely within the belt of the south-east trade winds and calms of the horse latitudes. Only in the winter months do the stormy west winds seriously affect the southern part of the continent. In the summer the extreme north is so heated that the north-east trade wind is drawn across the equator and forms the north-west monsoon. The south, therefore, receives winter rains and has the Mediterranean type of climate, while the north margin has summer rains of a true monsoonal character. On the east coast the south-east trade-winds dominate and, owing to the height of the Eastern Highlands barrier, they may deposit rain at all seasons. The rainfall is, however, slight in winter and is heaviest in the summer months, when the land is greatly heated and the air above it tends to rise into higher altitudes. From the centre to the heights of the western margin rain is rare, save when summer thunderstorms are drawn into the desert, usually from the monsoon area. On the west coast the region of the north-west stormy winter rains extends almost as far north as the southern limit of the north-west monsoon winds of summer. Hence the margins of Australia are fairly well watered except the middle of the west coast and the middle of the south coast, where the Great Bight curves northwards.

Climate.

Rainfall.

The weather of Australia is dominated by a series of high-pressure systems (anti-cyclones) moving from west to east. They are most marked in winter, least marked in summer. Between two such high-pressure systems are low-pressure troughs, opening to the north on the north side and to the south on the south side, and on these much of the rainy weather of Australia depends. During the passage of one of these inverted V-depressions in the south the wind may suddenly change, within a few hours, from a hot, dry, north wind from the interior to a cold, moist southerly wind from the southern ocean, known as a southerly "burster."

Anti-cyclones.

While in the higher parts of south-eastern Australia the winter cold is sufficient to permit snow to lie on the ground for some considerable time, the temperature over the greater part of

Temperature.

the continent rarely falls below 50°F. in mid-winter, and hence the heat is sufficient at all seasons for the growth of plants. It must be remembered that during the southern summer the earth is nearest the sun, and consequently, other things being equal, the southern summers should be relatively warmer than the northern. On the other hand, the summer is shorter than in corresponding northern latitudes, and the mass of water in the southern hemisphere makes the average conditions more equal. Australia is a sufficiently large land area to have very high temperatures in the interior in summer. Even at an elevation of 2,100 ft. at Alice Springs the mean temperature for January is 85·4°F. Speaking generally we may say that lack of moisture and not an unfavourable temperature explains the unproductive character of part of the continent.

Economic Conditions.

The economic conditions of Australia depend very largely on rain. Where this is under 10 in., little or no use can at present be made of the land, though on Government farms in Queensland and elsewhere excellent results have been produced when the rainfall has been as low as 5 in. The soil receiving from 10 in. to 20 in. may be described as the sheep area; that receiving from 20 in. to 30 in. the wheat belt; that receiving from 30 in. to 40 in. can produce maize, and the marginal lands which receive over 40 in. can grow sugar, provided the temperature is sufficiently high (*see* pp. 371, 410-11). In South Australia, however, land with from 12 to 20 in. rainfall is classed as wheat land, while outlying wool stations abound on land with a lower rainfall.

Flora and Fauna

The forests are most abundant in the south-west region of winter rains, where the tall jarrah and karri gum-trees or eucalypts attain a great height, and form useful hardwood trees; in the south-eastern region, where they receive both winter and summer rains; along the east coast, where the blue and other gums flourish; and in the wet and hot north tropical lands. In the interior vast areas are covered with scrub of dwarf gums (mallee scrub) or acacia (mulga and other scrub) "providing wattle for hurdles and (like mulga) drink for man and food for stock." The native fauna of Australia is peculiar. It is noted for its marsupials, but the most important mammals have been introduced since the European occupation. Of these the chief are the camel in the desert, the merino and other sheep of the grass-lands, the horses and cattle. The

mineral wealth of the continent is described in a subsequent chapter (*see* pp. 406-7, 412-14).

Influence of Geographical Conditions on the growth of Australia.

As in South Africa, small communities first grew up round harbours situated amid the more fertile parts of the coastal plains. The area of the fertile districts is greater, and the character of the harbours better in the case of Australia. The coastal plains of New South Wales are penetrated by the magnificent harbour of Port Jackson. The great valley of Victoria is cut in half by Port Phillip, and Spencer's Gulf and the St. Vincent Gulf run far into the South Australian highlands. The Swan river in Western Australia and the lower courses of the Brisbane and other rivers of Queensland cross the fertile coastal plains. In such favoured spots each of the six Australian capital cities naturally grew up. Sydney on Port Jackson in New South Wales and Melbourne on Port Phillip in Victoria are each great cities with over half a million inhabitants, roughly two-fifths of the population of their State. Adelaide, with its Outer Harbour and its ports of Largs Bay and Port Adelaide on St. Vincent Gulf, has over two-fifths of the population of South Australia. Perth on the Swan river in Western Australia and Brisbane on the Brisbane river in Queensland are not such natural centres as the capitals of the other three States, and they have rivals in other parts of the coast, or in the case of West Australia in the mining centres of the interior; Perth and its suburbs, however, contain about one-fourth of the population of West Australia. In Tasmania, while Hobart on the Derwent is the capital, the town of Launceston on the Tamar facing Victoria is almost equal to it in importance (*see* pp. 377-9).

Communications.

These fertile parts are, however, separated by wide stretches of what was long almost uninhabited land, and is still in many parts but sparsely peopled. Until railways were constructed the sea and not the land routes were the natural, easiest and quickest ways of communication. Even to-day Western Australia is remote from the rest of the continent (*see* p. 393), and this has led to the demand for a linking up of its railways with those of the east by carrying the line from Kalgoorlie eastwards across the tableland. It was natural that each large fertile area should become the nucleus of a separate colony, and just as natural, now that railways have united them, that a federal commonwealth should have been established.

Railways.

The continent is now opened up by railways between the chief centres of the south-east. They run from the margin of the tableland north of Lake Eyre through Adelaide to Melbourne, and thence to Sydney, Brisbane and Rockhampton. From the last three and from Townsville three lines extend far into the interior of New South Wales and Queensland respectively, and bring them into touch with the coast. Smaller lines cross the sugar plantations round Mackay and Bowen in Queensland, and run inland from Cairns and Cooktown in the north-east and from Normanton near the Gulf of Carpentaria. In Western Australia a line runs from Perth southwards over the coastal plain of Bunbury and the Blackwood river, south-south-eastwards to Albany on King George's Sound, eastwards across the plateau to Coolgardie, Kalgoorlie, Menzies and Laverton, and northwards to Northampton, with a branch from Geraldton, running far into the interior to Nannine on the Murchison gold field. There are proposals to continue the Coolgardie railway eastwards to South Australia, and the South Australian line northwards to meet a short railway which runs inland from Palmerston on Port Darwin on the north coast. In Tasmania Launceston is connected with Hobart by railway, and other shorter lines have been constructed.

CHAPTER II.

THE DISCOVERERS: DE QUIROS, TASMAN, DAMPIER, COOK.

Why was Australia colonised so late?

If we look at a map of the world, we see that the bulk of its northern half is taken up with the huge continent of which we call the western third Europe and the rest Asia. To the south-west, joined to it only by the narrow isthmus of Suez, lies Africa. To the south-east, connected by a long chain of islands with narrow straits between them, lies Australia. Apart from all these land masses, cut off by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, are the twin Americas. Seeing these things, and knowing that civilisation grew up along the southern shores of Asia and Europe, how are we to explain the fact that the Americas were colonised from Europe nearly three hundred years before Australia?

There are three very good reasons. In the first place, the Malayan islands, that are the nearest land to Australia, are more fertile and attractive than the northern shores of Australia itself, which offered comparatively slight inducements to migration. (The present natives of Australia probably came across from the Malay islands, but they were driven over by stronger tribes.) In the second place, the sea-folk of the Indian Ocean, as far as we know, lived in its north-western corner, and thought themselves heroes if they sailed as far as Java. And thirdly, when European voyagers did reach the Australian coasts, they lit upon the northern and western sides; while it is only the eastern and south-eastern coasts that are likely to attract any one coming in from the sea.

The Aborigines.

So Australia was left to itself for many centuries; and in it there were also left to themselves two races of men who had settled there in the days before history began. In those days southern India was filled with tribes which are now confined chiefly to

its hill country, of the stock we call Dravidian (*see* p. 561), some of whom found their way across the Bay of Bengal to Malaya. They spread along the islands, intermarrying with the inhabitants—frizzy-haired blacks like the Papuans of to-day—and expelling some of the weaker blacks, who were forced over Torres Straits into Australia. Then behind them into the islands poured the copper-coloured Malays (who are still there), and in their turn drove the Dravidians over the Straits; they chased the earlier immigrants south across Bass Straits into Tasmania, and themselves spread abroad in the larger country, undisturbed for thousands of years.

Black and Brown Races.

Of the Tasmanian "blackfellows" we know little. Very few of them were left when the white men came, and those few (as we shall see later on) died off quickly and are now extinct. But the Australian "blackfellows"—who are really only chocolate-brown—became a most interesting nation. When they left Asia they had only learnt to hunt, and none of them managed to invent even the simplest kind of agriculture, so that they were entirely dependent on the wild animals and fruits that the land provided. These being scanty, except in extraordinarily good seasons, their life became mainly a struggle to avoid starvation and to make the most of the food supply. They split up, therefore, into small communities, each keeping a large hunting district jealously to itself, and each governed by its own camp-council administering laws intended to keep the tribe as well supplied with good huntsmen as possible. The marriage laws, especially, were most ingeniously contrived: a man of one totem must marry wives of another, and the children would belong to a third. As you might kill, but not eat, the animal which was your totem, a man could thus provide food for his family without interfering with his own supply.

Language.

One result of the isolation of small tribes in large districts was that each gradually developed a language of its own. In an area of Queensland less than three hundred miles square seven different languages are spoken, one of them in five different dialects, by tribes none of which have more than three hundred members. They are very complicated languages, too; few have a word for numbers higher than two, or can express one higher than five (two-two-one), but they give separate names to every creek and mound and track in the district, even to every large tree; and the grammar has as many cases and

numbers as Greek, besides plenty of tenses and moods, and includes pronoun-endings that distinguish between a man close in front of you, close behind you, or some way off. So the blackfellow must have plenty of intelligence; indeed, if one had to live in the country as it was by nature, without being allowed to cultivate it, it would be hard to improve much on the blackfellow's arrangements.

The Discoverers: Portuguese.

To this country, sparsely inhabited by isolated tribes that had seen little of each other and, probably, nothing of outsiders for thousands of years, white men seem first to have come early in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese, at any rate, were in New Guinea by 1526; and, unless the fringing coral reefs of Torres Straits scared them, as they scared the Dutch eighty years later, they must have known something of the Queensland coast. They had good reason to look for it. The old map-makers liked to make their maps symmetrical, and had a theory that only equal areas of land and water could keep the earth properly balanced. So, before the discovery of America, they used to fill the western half of their maps with Europe and Africa enclosing the Mediterranean, and put in the eastern half Asia and an "unknown continent," enclosing the Indian Ocean. At first this imaginary land joined the south of Africa to Sumatra. When it was discovered that Africa was a peninsula, the "unknown land" was shifted eastwards, and made to stretch across the South Pacific from Java south-east to Tierra del Fuego. The Portuguese, therefore, would naturally be on the look-out for a big stretch of land south of New Guinea. But, if they found it, they kept quiet about it —and for another good reason. They had agreed with the Spaniards that all new lands on the Pacific found to the west of 147°E. should be Portuguese, and those east of that line Spanish (*see* p. 660). On that understanding nearly the whole eastern coast of Australia would belong to Spain, and the Portuguese were not inclined to give their rivals new territory.

Spanish.

The Spaniards, however, had their suspicions, and sent many expeditions across the Pacific from their South American ports, but in one way or another these all kept too far to the northwards. The Portuguese, Magellan (who came through the Straits that bear his name) had made no headway in those southern latitudes against the perpetual westerly winds, and so had borne away north-west till he hit the Philippines. The Spaniard, Mendana, in the course of three voyages, not only discovered and tried to colonise the

Solomons, but sighted so many small islands on his way over that geographers believed firmly in the "*Terra Australis Incognita*" for nearly two hundred years thereafter. And De Quiros, Mendana's second-in-command in 1595, ten years later took an expedition himself across the Pacific; he tried hard to get southwards, but was forced back within the tropics for want of wood and water, and at last came to a great bay with much land at the back of it, which he felt sure was the long-sought continent. He founded a town there, calling it New Jerusalem; then a sort of mutiny broke out in his fleet, and he had to sail back to Peru; while his second-in-command, Luiz de Torres, took his own ship round the new land (it was only one of the New Hebrides), and then sailed westwards home through a tangle of small islands and along the south coast of New Guinea. Queerly enough, he actually sighted the Australian coast, and passed through the strait now called after him without knowing it; while De Quiros, who had stopped short at an island nearly fifteen hundred miles away, spent the rest of his life in writing memorials to the King of Spain about "the fourth part of the world, the unknown Austrialia, very rich and fertile." For he had called his discovery *Austrialia del Espiritu Santo* ("the Austrian land of the Holy Ghost"), because the Spanish King was of Austrian descent. But all that is left of the name now is its last two words, which are the name of the largest of the New Hebrides.

Dutch.

While Torres was imagining the coast of Australia to be a line of islands, other explorers were taking the islands of Torres Straits to be solid land. Portugal and all its possessions had in 1580 been secured by Philip II., and the Portuguese islands of the Malay Archipelago not long after fell into the hands of Spain's great enemies, the Dutch. They, in 1602, founded a Dutch East India Company, with its headquarters at Batavia, in Java. Seeking a route thence to the "unknown south land," their little exploring ship, the "Duyfken," in 1606 crept along the south coast of New Guinea as far as the strait; but somehow it missed the opening, and went on southwards right down the west coast of the Cape York peninsula, till shallowing water and broadening mud-flats made it evident that there was no way to the ocean there. So its captain turned back to Batavia and reported "no waterway south of New Guinea"—and it took one hundred and sixty-five years to correct that mistake.

Still, the Dutch did a good deal for Australian discovery. They found that the best way to Batavia was to thrust their ships, after leaving the Cape of Good Hope, down into the track of the westerly winds that always blow south of latitude 36° or so, and steer due east for about four thousand miles, then turning up to the north. A glance at the map will show that ships trying to follow these directions were certain sooner or later to find themselves on the western coast of Australia. Captain Dirk Hartog, in the ship "Eendragt," was the first to do this; and in the next twelve years (1616-1628) many Dutch captains and ships left their names on patches of the coast, from Nuyt's Archipelago, in South Australia, right round to Arnhem Land in the Northern territory. But these discoveries were to them part of "The Known South Land" or "New Holland," and the *Terra Australis Incognita* was still thought of as lying across the South Pacific from New Guinea eastwards.

Tasman.

In 1636 Antony van Diemen came to Batavia as Governor-General of the Dutch Indies. He was anxious to enlarge his country's possessions and increase her wealth, and he began at once a search for the unknown land, in hopes that it might prove as rich in minerals as Peru. An expedition which he sent along the track of the "Duyfken" failed because its captain was killed by natives in New Guinea. Then he fitted out a more important one, which was bound, if it followed his instructions, either to find the "South Land" or to reach Chili. Abel Tasman, already an experienced explorer, was given command. In obedience to orders he sailed to Mauritius, struck south into the belt of westerly winds that sailors call "roaring forties," and then let himself be carried east. As a natural result he came upon Tasmania, sighting its west coast first, and following the shore-line round till he found a landing place on the south-east corner. The landing party reported that they had seen no people, but had found footprints like the claws of a tiger and tall trees with steps cut in their bark five feet apart, which seemed to show that the inhabitants were giants. So Tasman merely sent his carpenter ashore with a pole and a Dutch flag; when that had been hoisted he stood north along the coast till head winds forced him east to the open sea.

In nine days he sighted land again. This time it was the South island of New Zealand, close to what is now the town of Hokitika. He sailed along it till he found a bay safe for anchorage, but natives in canoes attacked his landing party

and killed three men, so that he called the place "Murderers' Bay," and made hasty sail again. He followed the shore line of the North island to its northern extremity, stood across to Tonga, and then made back to Batavia by the north side of New Guinea. Within eight months he was at sea again, commissioned to look once more for the strait that the "Duyfken" had failed to find; but by some ill luck he made again the old mistake, and the only result of the voyage was an almost accurate chart of Australia's northern and western coasts.

The net result of his explorations was this: there was certainly a long stretch of coast line dotted with islands reaching from New Guinea to Nuyt's Archipelago, of which the new land of tigers and giants (Van Diemen's Land Tasman named it, but we call it Tasmania) might be an extension. During the next hundred years geographers came more and more to believe that this was not a solid shore line, but only the edge of a great group of islands, probably with a passage through it about longitude 137°; it is on this passage, by the way, that Swift locates Lilliput. As for the second discovery, the land of dangerous natives (called at first Staaten Land, and later on New Zealand), Tasman and everybody else down to 1769 believed that it was the western edge of the *Terra Australis* itself: but there were no ardent exploring Governors after Van Diemen, and the South Pacific was left alone for many years.

Dampier. One Englishman, however, found his way to Australia before the seventeenth century was over. William Dampier was one of a crew of buccaneers who thought profit might be made out of plundering Dutch traders in the Eastern seas, and came looking for safe harbourage on the New Holland coast. But both on that voyage and when sent from England with a King's ship, the "Roebuck," to explore the country deliberately, he found nothing desirable. The land was sandy and waterless, the natives were unfriendly and disgusting, the timber was stunted, and sharks were the only delicacy he could find to eat. So he went off to the tropical splendours of Timor and New Guinea, and Australia was left untroubled for another seventy years.

Cook. It so happened that during those years Britain was establishing herself as the ruling power at sea. And when at the close of the Seven Years' war our Admiralty had to find employment for a number of experienced sailors, the idea of using them on

scientific explorations came into favour. In the first three years of peace three expeditions were sent to the Pacific, under Captains Byron, Wallis and Carteret, but all three kept to the tropics. In 1768, however, Lieutenant James Cook, who was taking a party of astronomers in the "Endeavour" to Tahiti to observe a transit of Venus, was ordered to make search during his return voyage for the *Terra Australis.* He found no signs of it for seventeen hundred miles south of Tahiti; then, turning west, he came upon land near Tasman's second discovery, and followed its shores right round till he had proved that it was only a couple of islands Next he meant to explore Tasman's first-seen land. But close to the Tasmanian coast a southerly gale drove him from his course, and on April 19, 1770, he sighted the long stretch of sandhills at Australia's south-eastern corner. At once he determined to make north along this new land. On the 28th he anchored in Botany Bay, and spent a week there trying to find out something about the country and the natives; then he sailed north again, observing the coast closely, and nearly lost his ship on the Barrier Reef above Cairns; and finally, coming round Cape York into waters already charted by the Dutch, he learnt that the new coast line he had just discovered must be the eastern side of New Holland, and took posession of it for Britain by the name of New South Wales.

Banks.

Cook thought little of his discovery. He even apologized to the Admiralty for not finding something better; and when sent out again he spent his time in the same old useless hunt for a continent between New Zealand and South America. But on the "Endeavour," working as botanist of the expedition, was a rich young man much interested in science, Joseph Banks by name; and he did not forget New South Wales so easily. He had been most active in exploring Botany Bay, and in his enthusiasm seems to have exaggerated what he really saw there—for on his authority it was stated again and again in England that round the bay there was "abundance of grass" and "the finest meadows in the world," not to mention "a deep, black mould, fit for the production of grain of any kind." This was a very different story from Dampier's, and from the telling of it dates European interest in the future of Australia.

Banks became, in later years, influential and prominent among British scientific men, and was made President of the Royal Society. But his interest in Australia grew always. It was due to his persuasion that Englishmen settled there at all;

only his influence prevented its abandonment within twenty years. Everyone—Ministers at home, Governors and settlers out there—consulted him about all sorts of things. He practically chose most of the early Governors, and provided them with farming experts to improve the land and explorers to enlarge its bounds. For fifty years he was the best friend Australia had, and it is hardly too much to say that he alone secured it for the Empire.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY YEARS (1788—1831: PHILLIP, MACQUARIE, WENTWORTH).

Governors:

Captain Arthur Phillip, R.N.	1788—1792.
Captain John Hunter, R.N.	1795—1800.
Captain Philip King, R.N.	1800—1806.
Captain William Bligh, R.N.	1806—1808.
Major-General Lachlan Macquarie	1810—1821.
Major-General Thomas Brisbane	1821—1825.
Lieutenant-General Ralph Darling	1825—1831.

Lieutenant-Governors (Tasmania):

Colonel Thomas Davey, R.M.	1813—1817.
Colonel William Sorell	1817—1824.
Colonel George Arthur	1824—1836.

Colonising Projects.

The years succeeding Cook's first voyage were for England full of political turmoil, culminating in the war of American Independence. And one of the first results of that war was to flood England with convicted criminals. Since the days of Charles I it had been the English custom to make use of certain classes of prisoners by sending them to work as bondmen in the West Indies and the colonies of North America: when those colonies revolted they naturally ceased to take the prisoners, who accumulated in the gaols at home. In 1779 a committee of the House of Commons was discussing how best to dispose of them, when Joseph Banks suggested the use of them to occupy the new lands Cook had discovered; but nothing could be done just then. When the war ended, the feeling of the successful revolutionists against those of their fellow-countrymen who had remained loyal to Britain was so strong that homes had to be found for the loyalists outside the United States; and James Matra, who

had sailed on the "Endeavour," proposed to plant them in New South Wales as landowners, bringing over Chinese and Kanakas to work for them. The French, however, were also thinking about making a settlement in the South Pacific, and their navy was then strong enough to annex any unprotected British outpost. Matra, therefore, asked the British Government for protection, and after much bargaining it was agreed that Britain would guarantee the new settlement from harm if it would accept convict labour instead of Kanakas. But the bargaining had taken so long that all the loyalists had settled elsewhere (*see* pp. 78, 263, 278); and so the actual peopling of New South Wales began with convicts only.

Phillip. On May 12, 1787, the first fleet sailed from England for Australia. It was commanded by Captain Arthur Phillip, whom Lord Sydney, the British Home Secretary, had specially chosen for the work—an admirable choice for a most difficult task. He had to take safely to an unknown country, twelve thousand miles off, inhabited only by probably hostile natives, more than one thousand people, most of whom were criminals and had no intention of working more than they could help. By their work alone he had to grow crops, raise cattle, build houses, create a settlement from the very beginning; also he had to keep them in order. After an eight months' voyage he reached Botany Bay, to find that Banks had been badly mistaken about its fine meadows and rich soil. Its shores were nothing but swamps and sand, and the bay itself an unsafe anchorage. A noble harbour was soon found close by, and on one of its coves he began to build the town of Sydney; but along its rocky shores no successful farming could be done, and when he at last did discover fertile soil at the head of it he discovered, too, that there was not a single farmer among the men he had brought out.

Obstacles to Success: Famine. But we need not consider his troubles in detail. He and his successors for the next twenty years were concerned almost entirely with two problems—the difficulty of procuring food and the difficulty of maintaining discipline. For a long time food had to be imported from South Africa and China, and the whole settlement was again and again put on short rations. Store ships were wrecked; ships that brought more convicts arrived safely. Phillip explored the country inland, and found a fine river (the Hawkesbury) some forty miles away, on which he gradually settled farmers; but their crops were often destroyed by floods, and good harvests paid better

when turned into spirits than when sold as flour. The Governor had also at the earliest possible moment occupied Norfolk Island, which proved so fertile that he was almost persuaded to transfer the whole colony thither. Some food reached Sydney from that quarter, but the colony did not become self-supporting until after 1807.

The Convicts.

The difficulty of maintaining discipline was even harder to surmount. In the first place, the convicts were a very mixed lot. Men were transported in those days for political offences, as well as for crimes we now think trivial, and it was practically impossible to deal justly with an indiscriminate crowd of murderers, forgers, poachers, pickpockets, republicans and Irish "Home Rulers." The evident remedy was to isolate the different classes, and the early Governors encouraged as much as possible exploration along the coast, in order to find other places where a small convict population could be settled. The important points were a good harbour to ensure communications by sea, a fertile patch of soil to provide the settlement with food, and a belt of barren or rocky country inland to prevent the prisoners from escaping that way. So young adventurers were allowed to go where they liked by sea; but journeys inland from Sydney, past the Hawkesbury (beyond which rose a rocky tableland cut up with gorges fifteen hundred feet to two thousand feet deep) were discouraged—the barrier was too useful to be broken.

The New South Wales Corps.

Much more uncontrollable than the convicts were the convict-guards. Phillip had used marines, but they were too valuable to be spared from home for long. So the British Government allowed a Major Grose to raise a regiment for the special purpose of maintaining order in New South Wales. Now, men become soldiers usually in the hope of fighting and winning glory—that, at least, is one of their motives. But men who enlisted in this "New South Wales Corps" could have no such motives: they could never be anything but gaolers. So it came about that the officers of the corps joined it purely as a monetary speculation, hoping to make fortunes in Australia as other men had done in India; while the rank and file were men of such bad character that no real regiment would admit them. Not long after the corps reached Sydney Phillip left, and Major Grose took charge till the next Governor arrived—which was, unfortunately, some years later. The hold the corps thus gained on the colony was not relaxed for twenty years. Phillip's plans and regulations were cast

aside; the officers granted themselves what good land there was, took the best convicts to work it, and sold the produce to the community at exorbitant prices. Nothing, they found, brought in such high profits as "rum" (the name given to spirits of all kinds). They imported it: they taught the farmers how to distil it.* When Governor after Governor tried to prohibit its sale, they disobeyed and defied them. Their friends in England procured Governor Hunter's recall in 1800; their own ingenious torments drove his successor, King, to resign: against Bligh the unshakable they mutinied, and held him prisoner for two years. Not till they were recalled from the colony was there any chance of orderly growth and genuine prosperity.

Flinders.

Two episodes only of the time deserve special notice. One was the exploring work of George Bass and Matthew Flinders along the Australian coast. Bass in 1797 took a whale-boat along the shore-line south and west to Western Port, destroying thereby the illusion (shared by Cook and most other people up to that time) that Tasmania was simply the southern end of Australia. In 1798 he and his friend Flinders mapped the Tasmanian coast completely, exploring the rivers Tamar and Derwent on their way. Within the next five years Flinders (for Bass went off to Chili and was never heard of again) made a careful survey of the whole coast-line from Cape Leeuwin past Sydney to the Gulf of Carpentaria, meeting on his way a French expedition that Napoleon had sent to spy out the new land. For the French were much interested in Australia. They were exploring the neighbouring seas in Cook's time; a French ship was only a week behind Phillip at Botany Bay; an expedition in 1792 left French names all over southern Tasmania, and the one that Flinders met did the same between Cape Howe and the Leeuwin—but here the English names have been replaced wherever Englishmen were the first discoverers. And when Flinders sailed for home in 1803, and had to touch at Mauritius (*see* p. 755), the French Governor imprisoned him and sent his maps to Paris, where they were published as French discoveries with French names.

The immediate result of Flinders' work was that Governor King, partly from fear of French annexation, and partly to isolate the most troublesome of his convicts, made settlements on the Derwent and Tamar, which afterwards became the towns of Hobart and Launceston. Hunter had already made

* The superintendent of the great gaol owned the public-house outside its gates.

one at Newcastle, at the mouth of the river which bears his name: and the home authorities attempted to occupy Port Phillip for the same purpose, but the party they sent out grew disgusted with it, and went to Hobart instead.

Bligh and Macarthur.

The second episode, the mutiny against Bligh, brings us in contact with the founder of Australia's greatest industry. John Macarthur was a lieutenant in the New South Wales Corps, and got large grants of farming land in Grose's time. But he was an experimenter at heart, and soon came to the conclusion that the colony was admirably suited for sheep. He imported from the Cape Colony a few of the rare and valuable Spanish merino breed, obtained more from the flocks of King George III, and persuaded the British authorities to make Governor King grant him a block of valuable land which had previously been reserved for State cattle. At the same time he sympathised with and supported his old Corps in all its quarrels with the Governors. Consequently, when Bligh came out resolved to crush the Corps, Macarthur and he became at once bitter enemies. At a critical moment Bligh put Macarthur under arrest. Macarthur called the Corps to his aid; its commander Major Johnston, marching his men to Government House, seized and deposed Bligh; and for two years the Corps' officers ruled the colony at their will.

Macquarie.

But that was their last exploit. The British Government, scandalised at such open defiance of authority, determined to make a clean sweep of the old administration. Hitherto they had chosen naval men for Governors, as good disciplinarians who could keep a gaol in order; and their plan had failed, they thought, because the soldier-garrison resented the rule of a naval officer. In future a soldier was to command; and appointments in Australia soon became the usual reward of men who had done good work in the Peninsular War. Moreover, the place was to be a gaol no longer. The transported convict, instead of being kept always under severe restraint, was to be encouraged to earn his freedom as soon as possible by good conduct, and might then settle down as a prosperous and respected citizen. Colonel Lachlan Macquarie, the first of the soldier-governors, was enthusiastic about this idea; the troubles of his ten 'years' rule came about chiefly because his encouragement of "emancipists" (the freed convicts) was resented by the officials and ex-officers of the Corps who were still the most influential settlers.

The Inland Plains.

Not being a gaoler, Macquarie at once set to work to open up new land for settlement. The Blue Mountains, that barren range beyond the Hawkesbury, which had hitherto been the colony's western boundary, were soon crossed; Blaxland, avoiding the gorges which had entangled his few predecessors, climbed and kept to the highest ridge of the plateau, and came down on the other side into well-watered, grassy valleys. Evans, following Blaxland's track (which is still used by main road and railway), emerged on noble plains and found two fine rivers running into the interior, to which he gave the Governor's two names. A few years later John Oxley opened up more plain country along another large river, the Peel; and in the upshot Macquarie, who had found the settlement measuring fifty miles by forty, extended it to three hundred miles by four hundred before he left.

The Emancipists.

Over this territory he began to weave a network of roads and to build schools and churches for the convenience of settlers. Also, he began to reconstruct local society by admitting to it every emancipist who seemed likely to behave well. Such men he made lawyers and magistrates, to the great disgust of the existing officials; when he asked them to dinner, and invited the officials to meet them, they revolted openly. One judge (G. H. Bent) would not let an emancipist lawyer argue before him; another refused to make a free man pay an emancipist what he justly owed. Macarthur, who had been exiled to England for eight years as punishment for his share in the Bligh mutiny, urged the British Ministry to recall this unseemly Governor. Some of the emancipists belied Macquarie's expectations, and he was attacked at home on the three-fold ground of his lavish expenditure, high-handed action and defects of his emancipist policy. In 1818 a Commissioner was sent out, and upon his report Macquarie was recalled in December, 1821.

The Explorers: Sturt.

The next two Governors, Brisbane and Darling, were men of a very different stamp. Brisbane was a scientific amateur interested in exploration. His administration was almost entirely a matter of routine; but he helped everyone who showed a desire to discover new territory, and it was during his four years' rule that Oxley found the Brisbane River, Cunningham made Liverpool Plains accessible, and Hume and Hovell crossed the Murray and half-a-dozen of its tributaries to open up an overland route to Port Phillip.

Darling, for that matter, aided explorers too; his governorship is marked by Cunningham's discovery of the Darling Downs, a noble plateau of pasturelands at the back of the Brisbane's watershed. Better known still are the two great journeys of Charles Sturt, one across the marshes of the lower Macquarie to the Darling, the other down the Murrumbidgee and Murray to the shores of Encounter Bay, and then—because the ship that was to have met them had gone astray—one thousand miles upstream again; eleven hours a day men rowed on three-quarters of a pound of flour, till they fainted at the oar or lost their senses, and Sturt himself went blind. That is a story to be read at length—say in Henry Kingsley's pages, where the romance and the tragedy of early Australian life are set fitly forth.

Wentworth.

Darling was a ruler, too, and anti-emancipist to the backbone. If he had had Macquarie's powers, New South Wales might have remained for many years a narrow official oligarchy. But in 1823 the British Government, adopting their Commissioner's recommendations, remodelled the colony altogether. Instead of a gaol or a reformatory, it now became, like Virginia before the War of American Independence, a settlement of freemen to whom convicts were sent as bondservants. The Governor was given a nominee Council to advise him, and a system of law-courts with a Chief Justice at their head to control him, for he could make no new law until the Chief Justice certified that it was consistent with the existing law of England. Now the one reform Brisbane had made was to let newspapers discuss politics freely; and as a result two new papers were published, one, *The Australian*, edited by William Charles Wentworth. No man has done more than Wentworth for the advancement of Australia. As a boy of nineteen, he had accompanied Blaxland on the journey that broke through the Blue Mountain barrier. In 1819, still a Cambridge undergraduate, he wrote a history of the colony which for the first time interested the British public in its welfare. Under Darling's *régime* he began his career as winner of its political liberties. In *The Australian* he persistently attacked Darling's domineering policy, and advocated trial by jury, an elected legislature, and "no taxation without representation." Darling tried to re-establish the press censorship, but the Chief Justice would not consent. As the attacks grew more bitter, the Governor brought libel actions and won them, for they were still tried before juries of military officers; but the chief result of that move was to make the cry

for real trial by jury irresistible. Profiting by the methods of Macquarie's enemies, Wentworth (who had identified himself with the Emancipist party) carried the fight into the British House of Commons, and in 1831 Darling was recalled.

Free Immigrants.

The Emancipist campaign gained considerable strength from the colony's new status. To become a settlement of freemen New South Wales must be supplied with the men, and a stream of immigrants soon began to occupy the downs and valleys that exploration had thrown open. Bathurst and Wellington on the Macquarie, Goulburn high up on a tributary of the Hawkesbury, Singleton on the Hunter, were centres of the new settlements, where young men with a little money were granted farming areas at the rate of one hundred acres for every convict they took as a servant. The immigrants, coming from freer England, sided as a rule with the opponents of Darling's attempted autocracy, and the name "emancipist" lost its former offensive meaning. The less criminal class of convicts, too, who in the end earned their freedom, lived meanwhile under more cheerful conditions; instead of being herded in gangs for road work and confined miscellaneously in barracks, they were classified according to their behaviour and sent, two or three together, as farm labourers to men who wanted and encouraged good and steady workmen.

Tasmania and Governor Arthur.

Prisoners of more irreclaimable disposition, and those who had been again convicted after they reached Australia, were sent to Tasmania, which was now set aside as the real penal settlement. Its first twenty years had not been productive of much success. The natives were naturally more barbarous than those of the mainland, and had received worse treatment from the settlers; and the officers left in charge of the island were not of the best stamp. Colonel Sorell, who took charge in 1817, kept what order he could, encouraged the free settlers to breed merinos from Macarthur's stock—for which Tasmania is still celebrated—and made a prison for the worst convicts at Macquarie Harbour, on the inhospitable west coast. To carry out the new policy Colonel George Arthur was transferred from Honduras in 1824, and soon made clear what he wanted. The island might or might not be a free country—probably not—but it was to be a moral and orderly country. The bushrangers—escaped convicts roaming at large in the island bush, and getting their food by robbery or murder of the free settlers—were exterminated.

The natives, after the failure of a grotesque attempt to sweep them into a corner with a *cordon* of troops, were induced to surrender themselves, and were then deported to an island in Bass Straits. The worst convicts were transferred from Macquarie Harbour—where a barbarous *regime* tended to deprive them of the advantages alike of savagery and of civilisation—to Tasman's Peninsula in the south-east, from which a neck of land not eighty yards wide is the only exit. The rest were assigned as farm servants or to road gangs, according to their behaviour. Order reigned everywhere under Governor Arthur: but it was the sort of order which made free men grow restive.

CHAPTER IV.

EXPERIMENTS IN COLONISATION (1831-1851).

NOTABLE GOVERNORS:

New South Wales.

Major-Gen. Richard Bourke ..... 1831—1837
Sir George Gipps ..... 1838—1846

Tasmania.

Sir John Franklin ..... 1837—1843

South Australia

Col. George Gawler..... 1838—1841
Capt. George Grey ..... 1841—1845

Meanwhile the rest of the Australian continent had not been entirely neglected. France, recovering from her collapse after the Napoleonic wars, was thought to have cast an envious eye on unoccupied lands in the north and west. To forestall her, Melville Island was occupied in 1824 and Albany, on King George's Sound, in 1826. Captain Stirling, who was sent to inspect the new fort at Albany, took the opportunity of inspecting also the western coast on his way home, and reached England full of enthusiasm about a noble river he had seen there—the Swan. Now England in those years was astir with philosophies of reform. The coming leaders in politics and literature discussed and advocated the reform of nearly everything; and one of their favourite proposals was the founding of new colonies, in which their theories might be carried out without hindrance. So the news of this fertile but empty region within the British dominions was very welcome. One of the reformers, James Peel, planned a novel colony at once. The Government should give him and his friends four million acres in Western Australia, to which he would send out at least ten thousand people and set them to horse and cattle breeding, and the growing of sugar, flax, cotton and tobacco. The Government had no idea of being so generous.

Western Australia.

Still, they adopted most of Peel's ideas for their own use, and eventually advertised for settlers (five women to every six men), who were to go out at their own expense, but would be given forty acres of land for every three pounds or three pounds' worth of goods they took with them. Land, indeed, was to pay for everything, including the salaries of most of the officials.

Land at eighteenpence an acre sounded so cheap that there were soon many immigrants with much property, chosen rather for its value in cash than for its usefulness in a new country. One man at least brought a seventy-guinea piano, landed it on the beach at Fremantle, got his order for nine hundred and eighty acres on the strength of it, and then left it to rot in the sand. The complete failure of the scheme was ensured by a regulation giving those with the largest land-orders first choice; so that Perth, the capital of the new colony, was encircled with huge estates, while the men who came out prepared personally to farm small blocks found that their farms must be selected many miles from market on inferior soil. Peel, who believed thoroughly in the scheme and spent all his money on it, was ruined, and the settlement struggled on despairingly for many years, valuable only as an object-lesson in wrong methods and as an obstacle to French annexation.

The "Letter from Sydney."

As an object-lesson it soon had its use. In 1829 Edward Gibbon Wakefield, one of a reforming band that centred round Lord Durham, published, under the name of Robert Gouger who was afterwards Colonial Secretary in South Australia, "A Letter from Sydney . . . together with the Outlines of a System of Colonisation." He had never been to Sydney, and had no personal knowledge of Australian conditions. The gist of his complaint was that under those conditions a community of the English type could not be obtained. A leisured class, he said, was impossible; everyone must work for want of servants—convict servants being detestable, and free men preferring to farm land of their own, which they could get for very little. Wakefield wished to retard this easy acquisition of land and to encourage the immigration of labourers. To provide funds he proposed that free grants should be discontinued and that a tax should be imposed on rents received by owners. But the price of new land was to be fixed low enough for a labourer to be able to purchase a holding in four or five years. He hoped thus to secure a regular supply of labourers who should gradually become

small proprietors, and the residue of the proceeds from the land sales and taxes he would have spent on roads and schools and other comforts of civilisation.

South Australia.

Lord Durham's set took up Wakefield's ideas enthusiastically. They founded societies and companies to carry it out; they fixed on the region of the lower Murray (which Sturt's journey had made known) as the site for their colony, and asked the British Government to give them control of all the lands between New South Wales and Western Australia. When that request was refused they formed a new society, the "South Australian Association," and pushed a modification of their scheme through Parliament. In 1834 the huge area between 132° and 141°E. longitude, south of latitude 26°, was handed over to a body of Commissioners to be administered on Wakefield's lines. The price of land must be at least twelve shillings an acre, more than double what it then was in New South Wales; it must be the same all over the Colony at any one time; and the proceeds must be devoted to bringing out emigrant families, of whom only those under thirty would be paid for. This was an improvement on Peel's scheme, but, unfortunately, did not avoid a similar error. The land was sold in advance in England, so that men paid the same for good and bad soil, for town and suburban and country areas; the whole thing was a wild speculation. Also, authority was divided between the Resident, who was the Commissioners' agent, and the Governor, who represented the Imperial Government, and much quarrelling followed. When Colonel Gawler came out as Governor and Resident in one, he found the landowners crowded together in Adelaide, speculating in town lots, while the imported labourers, finding themselves unemployed and unable to get land of their own, were rapidly emigrating again to New South Wales, where there was land in plenty at reasonable prices. Gawler tried to improve matters by giving men employment on public works; but this brought everybody into Adelaide, and cost him all his own money, as well as nearly £600,000 on Government account, which the Government refused to pay. He was recalled, and Captain George Grey sent hurriedly out to save the Colony from bankruptcy.

Bourke and Gipps.

These unpractical experiments in its near neighbourhood were bound to affect seriously the political conditions of New South Wales. There Darling had been succeeded by Sir Richard Bourke, and he in 1838 by Sir George Gipps—one

the best-beloved, the other the ablest administrator, of all Australian Governors. The reforms which Gipps inaugurated Bourke had made possible by his advocacy and his tact; it was Gipps' firmer hand that ensured their success. In their fifteen years of rule the old convict settlement was purged and cleansed and remoulded, and the Australia of to-day first became possible.

Convicts replaced by "Assisted" Immigrants.

Bourke began the process by suggesting two great reforms—the abolition of transportation and the system of "assisted immigration." The immigrants of Brisbane's time were young men with money, who took up land of their own; consequently, as Wakefield truly said, no one could get free men to work for him, and convict labour was not satisfactory for many reasons. At Bourke's suggestion, therefore, half the money received from land sales was used to pay the passage of immigrant artizans and labourers. In a few years the newcomers had taken over most of the trades that had previously been left to convicts or ex-convicts, and it was found possible to abolish the "assigned servant" system. At the same time Bourke was constantly urging the home Government to look after its own criminals instead of flooding Australia with them: the House of Commons appointed a Committee to make thorough inquiry, and its reports showed that England benefited little by transportation, while the colonies were being demoralized. A few large landowners in Australia at first feared that, when there were no more convicts, labour would become scarce and dear. But the colony was at the same time demanding self-government by an elected legislature; "no one," said leading members of the House of Commons, "would let a convict colony govern itself"; the choice was quickly made, and in 1840 transportation to the mainland of Australia was abolished.

The Lands of the Colony.

The influence of the West and South Australian experiments definitely showed itself in the development of the land question. Brisbane and Darling, as has been already said, granted land to settlers in proportion to their expenditure and the number of their "assigned servants," besides selling it at five shillings per acre for country land and a little more for land near Sydney. Outside the "settled districts"—"the nineteen counties," surveyed within a radius of about one hundred and fifty miles from Sydney—no land could be disposed of. Bourke was ordered to grant no more land—those who wanted some must buy it; and soon after the

founding of South Australia the price was raised to twelve shillings per acre, in order not to compete with that colony. But while this price was not unfair for farmlands near townships, it was manifestly an absurd one for the great areas of pasturage needed by stockowners. So they began to move beyond the "settled districts" into the ill-watered plains of the Darling-Murray basin, "squatting" on a well-grassed area till the grass gave out and the waterholes were dried up, and then moving on to another. They were trespassers, but that did not matter: the Government could not afford to ruin the wool industry by prosecuting them. Bourke, however, compromised by dividing the "unsettled" region into pastoral districts, and charging each squatter £10 for a licence to trespass within a district. Under this system nearly the whole of the Darling-Murray basin was by 1843 in the occupation of a few hundred squatters.

Batman and Fawkner.

By that time the Colony had acquired a new province. Arthur's Tasmania, as has been said, was not an inviting home for free men. The colonists began to look elsewhere, and naturally bethought themselves of the little-known coast-belt across Bass Straits. Twice already attempts to occupy it had failed because the pioneers had pitched on unpromising localities. But in 1834 the Hentys, who had come in the first place to Western Australia and moved to Launceston, settled on Portland Bay as a depot for provisioning their whaling ships. Almost at the same time John Batman, already notable for his exploits against bushrangers and blackfellows, formed an association to occupy Port Phillip; the next June his ship lay in Yarra mouth, and he was bargaining with the blacks for nearly one thousand square miles of land. Scarcely had he left the bay to sail for Hobart, where he hoped to persuade Arthur into confirming his purchase, when Fawkner, a Launceston journalist, brought another party across the straits, sailed into Port Phillip and up the Yarra, and promptly made a settlement at tidewater head without troubling himself about blackfellows or governors.

The Settlement of Port Phillip.

Of course disputes followed. Batman claimed the ground by right of discovery and purchase, Fawkner by right of occupation. Governor Arthur said it was beyond his jurisdiction. Governor Bourke, as his duty was, warned all parties that they were trespassing. The British Government forbade the occupation altogether. Then Bourke who, in dealing with the colonists, had been bound to obey orders,

showed his common-sense by persuading the Colonial Office to give way. The men were there, he said, and would stay there, in spite of any regulations; it would be better to legalise their position and secure control of the settlement. So in 1836 an administrator was sent to Port Phillip, and the next year Melbourne was founded. Fawkner and his friends bought land there and became the fathers of the city, and Batman's party were given large areas for pasturage in the noble plain country west of Geelong.

Mitchell's Explorations.

While all this was happening on the south coast, the inland regions of the new settlement were being opened up by the explorations of Sir Thomas Mitchell. When Bourke came out, the known territory of Eastern Australia was shaped something like half a spider; from its body, the "Nineteen Counties," Cunningham's tracks went north, Oxley's and Sturt's north-west and west, and Hume's south-west. Mitchell, as surveyor-general, determined to connect these struggling lines. He began by completing the survey of the Upper Darling and its tributaries; in 1836 he connected Oxley's Lachlan with Sturt's Murrumbidgee and Murray, identified the mouth of the Darling, and turned back up the Murray towards the route taken by Hume (*see* pp. 348-9). Then he struck south by the Loddon to the Wimmera through country that threw him into raptures; "of this Eden" he says, "it seemed I was the only Adam," and much more equally poetical. Eventually he emerged at Portland Bay, scaring the Hentys considerably, and made his way back to Sydney across the upper Loddon and the Goulburn, "over flowery plains and green hills, fanned by the breezes of early spring." No wonder that population soon followed in his tracks!

The Constitution of 1842.

By 1842, therefore, New South Wales was a well-rounded, fast-growing colony, free from the curse of transportation and apparently blessed with large areas of good land. So Wentworth and his friends obtained at last their demand for self-government, and the nominee Council of Darling's and Bourke's time was changed to one of thirty-six members, twenty-four of whom were elected by such colonists as had either £200 worth of land or lived in a house worth £20 a year. To this Council was given full power of legislation within the colony, and full control of all revenues except those received from land; and, as the high qualification for voters made the squatting and landowning interest predominant in it, land questions from the first took up most of its time. Wentworth,

as spokesman for the squatters, demanded low prices and local control; it was grotesque, he said, to offer them pasturage at £1 an acre, and unjust that they themselves should not be able to fix the price of land in their own colony. Gipps admitted the first charge, but argued that there was no need to sell the outback lands at all yet. As for the second, he denied altogether that the Colony's lands belonged to the few settlers who happened to be in it; they had been secured for the Empire by the use of British troops and the naval strength of Britain, and ought to remain under British control for the good of the Empire; indeed, he thought Britain was generous in devoting all land moneys to expenditure within the Colony. It is probably lucky that Gipps held this view personally. For every British politician and the British Parliament agreed with him, while the Colonial Legislature was unanimous against him; so that his neutrality would have turned against the Home authorities all that bitter feeling which was, in fact, concentrated upon him. One of his strongest opponents was Robert Lowe, afterwards Viscount Sherbrooke; and those who have read Lowe's speeches against the Reform Bills of the sixties (*see* p. 162) can imagine the acrid vigour of his attack when he was younger and less restrained by his surroundings. Gipps, who had to be his own Prime Minister without the advantage of being able to reply in debates, fought on till Sir Robert Peel's resignation in 1846 established a Liberal Ministry in Downing-street, and filled the Colonial Office with Wakefield's friends; then he resigned and went home to die.

Gipps and the Squatters.

The new *régime* was inclined to give Australia nearly all it wanted. Gipps' successor, Sir Charles Fitzroy, cared only for an easy life, and the Council soon controlled the finances almost absolutely, while the squatters were given a lease of their runs with the right to buy them later on at the bare value of the land. The colonists did not know, however, that it was intended to exact a price for this freedom, and were aghast when it was proposed at home to revive transportation. The squatter-led Council, indeed, rather favoured the proposal, since it would supply them with more cheap labour; but the townsfolk and artizans, whose interests did not lie in that direction, and who were already proud of their new home, resented the idea savagely. Earl Grey, the new Colonial Secretary, began by sending out "exiles"—men who, after a term of imprisonment at home, had received a

The "Exiles" and the Anti-Transportation League.

pardon conditional on their going to some British Colony and staying there. As far as Australia was concerned, they were free, and their entry could not be prevented; but when Earl Grey went a step further and sent out ticket-of-leave men, the whole Colony was at once in an uproar. When the first ship bringing these men anchored in Port Jackson, the Sydney townsfolk crowded to the landing-place to resist the disembarkation of its passengers. Melbourne followed suit, and soon it became known that the same scheme had been tried at Capetown in South Africa and had been resisted in the same way (*see* p. 490). The ships were quietly sent on to Moreton Bay, where labour was badly needed on any terms. But since the question had been brought up again, it must be settled once for all, thought the Sydney men; they formed an Anti-Transportation League, forced the Council to pass resolutions refusing flatly any kind of convict under any conditions, and included Tasmania within the sphere of their operations.

The Freeing of Tasmania.

Since Governor Arthur's time Tasmania had every year come more and more under the thumb of "convictism." Franklin, Arthur's successor (better known in England afterwards as an Arctic explorer), tried vainly to reform the prisoners by mildness; Wilmot, who came next, theorized over them; Denison had superintended convicts in the English dockyards, and was sent out to organise similar labour at the other end of the world. Moreover, there was an excess of material to hand. Since the mainland was freed in 1840 the island had to take more than ever, until nearly half her adult males were prisoners. In 1846 it was proposed to abandon Norfolk Island, which had hitherto been a depôt for the worst cases—like Port Arthur, but more so—and transfer its inhabitants to Tasmania. That overstrained the free men's sufferance; they practically drove Wilmot out of the colony, and forced Earl Grey to promise that transportation should be stopped. When he tried to evade the question they joined hands with the Sydney leaguers, bombarded Grey with petitions, and at last persuaded his successor, Sir John Pakington, to renounce formally and for ever the right to send convicts to any Australian colony. Western Australia, however, which was cut off from the other settlements by impassable deserts, was allowed to go on receiving them at its own request.

While the Sydney Council and townsfolk were occupied with these struggles against Gipps and Grey they had their hands full also with an internal quarrel. The settlers at

Port Phillip had from the first disliked their enforced connection with Sydney, and hankered after independence. The old colony was certainly overgrown. To administer from Sydney the local affairs of a scattered population, stretching across an area eleven degrees by fourteen (about the size of of Germany and Austria put together), was becoming impossible. In 1840 a British Commission recommended the division of this area for land purposes into three, with centres at Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne respectively. This would have been a fairly even partition, but would have included in the Port Phillip division lands south of the Murrumbidgee, which were owned and had been settled by Sydneysiders years before Melbourne existed. Accordingly protests from Sydney caused an alteration of the boundary to that which still exists between New South Wales and Victoria, and Melbourne acquired a lasting grievance.

The Separation of Port Phillip.

To the elected Council of 1843 Port Phillip sent a quarter of its members. But this concession was worse than useless. Melbourne business men would not leave their affairs for five months to go and be outvoted at Sydney, so Sydney men had to be chosen; and when Earl Grey promised some sort of redress and then forgot all about it, the indignant Melbournians elected him, explaining that their member might just as well be in London as in Sydney for all the good he was. Immersed in his transportation scheme and eager to appease colonial feeling where he could, Grey asked the British Board of Trade (strengthened by three experts in colonial affairs) to report generally on the government of Australia. In 1849 the report was made. It recommended that Port Phillip be made a separate colony; that the Councils of the various Colonies be allowed to draw up their own constitutions and submit them to the British Government; that the land revenue be mainly used to establish a good scheme of local government; and that customs, the post office, railways, shipping and a few other subjects should be put under the control of a "General Australian Assembly." This early attempt at federation was dropped there and then, but the rest of the report was embodied in an Act which the Imperial Parliament passed next year; and in 1851 four colonies set to work to make constitutions—New South Wales, Tasmania, South Australia and the new Port Phillip colony, henceforth to be known as Victoria.

CHAPTER V.

GOLD AND EXPLORATIONS.

In more than one way the year 1851 is a turning-point in Australian history. It saw the final veto put on transportation to the Australian mainland; it saw the meeting of the four Councils which were to draw up the new self-governing constitutions; but, before either of these achievements, it witnessed the discovery of the first Australian gold-diggings.

The attraction of the Diggings.

The search for gold has always a unique and overmastering fascination for men who are not very stolid, or very self-controlled, or extremely well-contented with their lot. For some years after its first discovery in any country men can find it lying on or close to the surface of the ground, mixed with the sand or gravel of stream-beds, from which it is separated with very simple apparatus; and there is always a market for it at a steady price. Of course, if men are stupid or very unlucky they may not find it at all. On the other hand, they may find enough in half-an-hour to make them rich for life; and a quiet, persevering digger, who uses his common-sense, usually manages to keep himself going till he hits upon a nugget or rich patch. When the surface gold has been all taken, mining for the underground deposits becomes as prosaic and expensive as any other sort of mining; but the first few years on a new diggings are full of excitement and adventure, and attract reckless and discontented and venturesome spirits from all the world over.

The first "Rushes."

In 1848 there had been a rush of this sort to California, and among the adventurers from Australia was one Edward Hargraves. He could not help noticing, as he worked in the Californian gullies, how like they were to the gullies of the Macquarie River below Bathurst; the likeness haunted him, and drove him back to

New South Wales; and on February 12, 1851, he found gold in Summerhill Creek. Up and down the valleys he went, discovering gold everywhere; then back to Sydney to bargain with the Government; and by June every tributary of the Macquarie, and gullies from end to end of the Dividing Range, were full of farmers and labourers and townsfolk of every profession. The excitement spread to Victoria. Melbourne, in the first pride of its freedom from Sydney rule, found its population disappearing into the hated northern colony, and offered a reward of £200 for the first gold found in Victoria. On the instant came the response. Before the end of the year the New South Wales fields were half-forgotten for the renown of Ballarat and Mount Alexander and Bendigo, where men came trooping in, a hundred a day, and made £30 to £40 a day for weeks at a time. Melbourne and Geelong were empty; the squatters' sheep had no shearers, the farmers' wheat had no reapers; little Tasmania lay almost deserted, for eleven thousand men crossed the Straits in seven months. Bread went up to 20d. the quartern loaf in Melbourne, and was far dearer on the diggings. And early in 1852 the crowds of Australian diggers were swamped in the crowds of immigrants from Europe and America, that nearly doubled the population of Victoria within the first year, and (what was more important) introduced an undisciplined, non-British element which made it very difficult to keep order.

The Immigrant Diggers.

In New South Wales, where the fields were scattered from end to end of the main range, separated from each other by hundreds of miles of rough country, distant from Sydney, and frequented mostly by men who already belonged to the colony, there was little trouble. An inrush of ten or twelve thousand diggers was easily handled by a Government which already controlled a population of two hundred thousand. But the Victorian administration, only just formed, and designed for a scattered population of about seventy thousand, was suddenly confronted with crowds of excited immigrants swarming over gold-fields close to each other and to Melbourne; a riot, say, at Mount Alexander would at once infect Ballarat on the one side and Bendigo on the other, and its leaders could have marched fifty thousand men against Melbourne within a week.

Not all the diggers were turbulent. Those from England often brought their families, and showed an intention of settling

down as residents. But 1848 had been a year of revolutions in Europe, mostly unsuccessful; some of the immigrants, therefore, were refugees from the vengeance of the Governments they had failed to overturn, and were in a mood to quarrel with any Government. The incoming Tasmanians, too, included many ex-convicts, and round the mass of diggers, who spent or lost their money as casually as they had won it, hovered a swarm of criminals preying on their carelessness and ready for any ill-doing. Actual crime, of course, was not hard to deal with, because it was to the interest of the diggers themselves to prevent it, and they helped the officials willingly; but should diggers and officials be at odds, order would not be easy to maintain.

The "Eureka Stockade."

The occasion soon came. The New South Wales Government was taxing its diggers thirty shillings a month, and the Victorian followed suit. But the northern diggers were mostly local men, as has been said, and their money was only going to pay expenses in their own country; of the southern a large majority were birds of passage, not at all interested in the welfare of the colony they happened to be in. Also the fee itself, though a mere trifle to a lucky digger, was large for an unlucky one. The British Government advised the Victorian Council to abolish this inequitable fee, and replace it by a duty on all exported gold; only goldwinners would thus be taxed, and the money would be collected in Melbourne, where law could be enforced quietly. The Council did nothing. Then the miners began to riot; Bendigo refused to pay more than ten shillings a month, and declined to obey a Council for which miners had no votes. Troops were sent out from England to restore order, and the arrival of a new Governor (the last one having made himself unpopular), was calming the malcontents, when a Ballarat miner was killed, and a corrupt magistrate refused to convict the murderer. There was a riot, and a rush to Ballarat of the discontented from other fields; these formed themselves into a "Reform League," demanded the abolition of fees ("no taxation without representation" was their motto), and announced that men refusing to join them would not be protected against violence. Almost immediately the movement fell under the control of political refugees, mostly foreigners, who seized the opportunity to proclaim an independent "Republic of Victoria," and fortified themselves in a stockade on the Melbourne road. This development, however, alienated the large body of diggers;

a small force of soldiers stormed the stockade early on a Sunday morning, and the revolt was at an end.

Hotham, the recently arrived Governor, soon took measures to remedy the miners' legitimate grievances. The proposed export duty on gold became law; the fee was lowered to twenty shillings a year, and every man who paid it was given a vote for his diggings. But the "Eureka Stockade," though foolish and un-Australian from start to finish, became and remained for many years a watchword of liberty. It had been the impotent result of a foreign revolt against a locally elected Council, and the soldiers who took it were called in by that Council; the popular imagination transformed it, illogically enough, into an Australian Bunker Hill (*see* p. 69), a brave uprising of Victorians against British military rule. Just for that reason it has needed more detailed explanation than its actual importance deserved.

The Transformation of Australia.

The colonies in which gold was found were not the only ones to profit by the discovery. Tasmania, though it lost a third of its population, yet was cleaner thereby, since it thus got rid of many exconvicts; and Tasmanian vegetables and timber fetched high prices on the diggings. So did South Australian wheat; and New South Wales profited almost as much by selling cattle and sheep to the Victorian diggers as by the gold found on its own fields. Australia began to pass out of the pastoral and primitive stages of civilization; the construction of railways began, and the founding of Universities and Museums; convictism was barred out for ever, except among the far-distant West Australian fringe of settlers. And the constitutions, which but for the gold-discoveries would have been drawn up by and for a squatters' oligarchy, were now so shaped that with little alteration they have lasted through the successive developments of one of the most democratic governments in the world.

South Australia, 1841-1855.

Before we deal with these constitutional developments, we must take up the history of South Australia from the arrival of Governor George Grey in 1841. At that time the young colony was nearly bankrupt through the quarrels and mismanagement of his predecessors. His first remedy was to cut down all expenses, especially on public works, so that the labourers had no inducement to stay in Adelaide. At the same time work was being provided for them in the country; for,

although the Government was still compelled to charge a high price for land, private owners were eager to get rid of theirs at any sacrifice, and young New South Wales squatters were crossing the border to breed stock along the lower Murray. Rich mines, also, first of silver-lead, then of copper, were discovered in the ranges; and, whereas in 1841 four-sevenths of the population lived in Adelaide, four years later less than a third were townsfolk. By that time Grey had been sent off hurriedly to New Zealand (*see* p. 442). But South Australia remained quietly prosperous, and in 1851 was given a partly representative Council like its eastern fellows. The explorations of E. J. Eyre (1838–41), and of Charles Sturt (1844–5) seemed to disclose a permanent barrier of waterless desert on the west and north; indeed, the hardships of Sturt's Murray voyage (*see* p. 349) would have passed for pleasures in that fiery journey to Central Australia which shattered his health and left him permanently blind. So South Australians devoted themselves to making the most of their strip between the Murray and St. Vincent's Gulf. The gold-rush passed them by, but brought great profit to their farmers; and the quieter of the lucky Victorian diggers, who preferred to put their money into land but found Victorian soil mostly pre-empted by squatters, invested their gains in farms in South Australia.

The Constitutions.

So the colony, small in area and occupied in smaller holdings than its neighbours, became the home of a calm, but—for the times—extreme, democracy. The Constitution it chose in 1855 provided for an Assembly elected by all adult male residents, and a Council elected in one body by the whole colony, voters requiring a small property qualification. Victoria and Tasmania also required a certain amount of property as a qualification for Council voters, but were divided into several electorates; New South Wales, where Wentworth (now a strong Conservative), had still much influence, preferred that its Councillors should be nominated by the Governor—*i.e.*, by the Ministry in office—for life. The Assembly in all these three colonies was to be elected by voters with a small property qualification. With a few alterations all four schemes, which had been devised in Australia, were accepted and made law by the British Parliament; and in 1856 Australia east of 129° was free to administer its own internal affairs.

Not yet, however, were the boundaries of the colonies finally settled. New South Wales, whose farming settle-

ments were still for the most part comprised within the "nineteen counties," had a flourishing offshoot further north in the valley of the Brisbane, separated by steep hill country from the great squatting areas of the Darling Downs. As long as the squatters maintained their connection with Sydney by the inland routes southwards, Brisbane remained unimportant. But when they took to using the eastern passes to the coast, the "Moreton Bay district" individualized itself, and began to demand separation for the same reasons which had actuated Port Phillip. The Colonial Office during the forties was in favour of making Brisbane the centre and capital of a colony running back from the coast between 26° and 30°S., and founding yet another colony further north from a base at Port Curtis. But this last was to be a convict settlement, and Australian feeling forbade it. In the end, after much bargaining and petitioning, New South Wales consented to let go her territory north of the Dumaresq River, provided that all the land as far as Cape York came under the new colony's rule; and so was born the colony of Queensland, which is still somewhat hampered by its magnificent distances and by the fact that its northern tropical area has to be administered from a capital down in the south-eastern corner, nearly a thousand miles away.

The birth of Queensland, 1859.

The great northern colony thus created was not quite unknown. As early as 1829 a military station had been established at Port Essington, almost in the centre of Australia's north coast, but within the jurisdiction of New South Wales. When Port Phillip grew restive in 1843, the New South Wales Council thought to balance the probable loss of that district by opening up this half-forgotten northern appendage, and organized an expedition under Sir Thomas Mitchell to reach Port Essington from Bourke. While red tape delayed its starting, Ludwig Leichhardt took an expedition of his own (1843–5) from the Darling Downs to the foot of Cape York Peninsula, across to the Gulf of Carpentaria, and thence to Van Diemen's Gulf, passing for two-thirds of his journey through fine pastoral country. Mitchell's expedition (1845–6), too, though it wandered through central Queensland without ever reaching the northern sea, discovered excellent grasslands there. A later trip (1848) in which Leichhardt hoped to traverse the continent from the Darling Downs to Perth ended in disaster; the whole party simply disappeared, and no trace of it has ever been found

Explorations: Leichhardt, Gregory, Stuart. 1843—1862.

since. But A. C. Gregory, who was sent out to look for the missing men, zigzagged still more across the inland plain (1855–8) and finally came out into South Australia *via* the lake country which had hitherto been thought barren. His report of it stimulated John McDouall Stuart, a pupil of Sturt's, to investigate the lakes carefully, and at last to strike due north for the Timor Sea; two years saw failures, but in 1862 he won through.

Burke and Wills, 1860–1.

Meanwhile Victoria had not been idle. To the wealthy and ambitious men of Melbourne it seemed a generous and patriotic use for their money to explore still further the resources of Australia; and they began by establishing a depot on Cooper's Creek (near the terminus of Sturt's disastrous 1844–5 journey), from which fresh explorations might start. But they chose their leader badly, and his impatience ruined everything. Burke quarrelled with his subordinates, would not wait for his supplies, and made a mad dash for the Gulf of Carpentaria—absolutely contrary to his instructions—with only three companions. They reached it, and so beat Stuart in the transcontinental race by more than a year; but accidents, delays, and mismanagement prevented them from meeting the main body again on their return, and three of the four, including Burke and Wills, died of starvation simply because they did not know how to utilize the food-resources of the bush.

Final division of the land.

Directly the news of their disappearance reached Melbourne, relief expeditions were organized with all speed; these, starting from north, east, south, and south-west towards the same goal, opened up the greater part of the still unexplored back-country, and set the various colonies agape for the possession of such valuable land. Victoria, of course, could not hope for any addition to her territory, but her adventurous younger sons made cattle-stations all over the new lands, and developed much of western Queensland with Victorian gold. South Australia demanded that her boundaries should be extended to the north coast, so as to give her the regions opened up by the South Australian, Stuart. Queensland objected that such an extension would cut her off from the rich plain-country south-west of the Gulf, which her explorer Leichhardt had discovered. In the end a compromise was arranged; Queensland gained three degrees of longitude westward; South Australia received a strip of country on her west which still belonged, nominally, to New South Wales; and the area north of lat. 26° and

between long. 129° and 138°, henceforth called the "Northern Territory," was given into South Australia's charge, but not united to her territory.

Western Australia, 1835—1899.

One colony lay slumbering all these years—and many more—far from all the turmoil of the diggings and the clamour of legislative debate. Western Australia (which for practical purposes consisted of Perth and two or three townships near it, a military station at Albany on King George's Sound, and a couple of patches of settlement on the intervening coast) was for a long time hardly regarded as a colony at all; it was rather an occupation of the territory just genuine enough to warn other nations off it. Grey in 1838–9 tried to explore its north-western districts, and Eyre in 1840–1 toiled along the shores of the Great Bight; but it so happens that both on the north-west and on the south, Western Australia is edged by a barren coast-belt, the more fertile country lying some distance inland. So the colonists reconciled themselves to isolation, and, since they could not compete for free immigrants against the greater attractions of the eastern settlements, accepted the British Government's offer of convicts. This class of labour kept the colony going for eighteen years; but its use angered the other Australian colonies, and Victoria even proposed to boycott the offending community. For this and other reasons transportation was abolished there also in 1868, and the colony was given the sort of government that New South Wales had in 1842.

Slowly the area of settlement began to enlarge. John Forrest discovered the southern belt of fertile soil, his brother some years later opened up the northern; in this gold was found at Kimberley, and prospects of a second field were reported eastwards of Perth. Stirred with the hope of better fortunes, the colonists (all Australia backing them) asked and received self-government and the control of the whole huge area into which they had scarcely bitten (1890); almost immediately Coolgardie was discovered, and Kalgoorlie next, and field after field of patchy but enormous wealth. As in the eastern States the inrush of diggers, and the riches they produced, inspired every sort of enterprise. The older settled areas are now progressive farming districts; agriculture is advancing almost up to the boundaries of the goldfields; numbers of miners have settled on the land, numbers of farmers have an interest in the mines; and increasing communication and community of interests have done much to modify the old antagonism between the miners and the agriculturists.

CHAPTER VI.

SELF-GOVERNMENT.
(1856–1900).

Problems before the new Colonies.

It would be impossible to give here a detailed account of the history of Australia during the forty years which followed the grant of the constitutions. Five small communities, each clustered round a seaport jealous of the other four seaports, made clumsy experiments in the management of huge, scantily populated areas of country, of whose quality and climatic conditions they understood but little. They were left almost entirely to themselves, for the British Government had handed over control with a sigh of relief and a half-expressed wish not to be bothered with them again. The chief problems with which they had to deal were connected with the land, immigration, education, communications, and fiscal policy. That is, they had to find out how they might best

(*a*) use the land of their colony to the best advantage :
(*b*) induce settlers of the right sort from other countries to help them in doing so :
(*c*) train their children for the same work :
(*d*) keep open communications with those who were actually at work on the land, and with the rest of the world :
(*e*) arrange taxation so as to make all the citizens comfortable, and as many as possible prosperous.

Add to these five the problem of getting the parliament most capable of solving them, and we have the work with which, for those forty years, Australia principally occupied itself. But the attempt to deal with such questions all at once confused men's minds so much that no colony developed a definite

party system, such as Great Britain possesses; the leading politicians were supported now by one set of men, now by another which had previously opposed them, and coalitions—which, according to Disraeli, England does not love—have been a common phenomenon in Australian politics from the first. Ministries, in fact, that had no coalition at their back were mostly short-lived. New South Wales, in spite of several such arrangements, had twenty-eight Ministries in forty years, and South Australia forty-six (*compare* p. 449).

Land legislation.

The typical Land Act of the early self-governing period is the New South Wales Act of 1861. The old land-policy of settling farmers near the coast and leaving the out-back country to be leased by squatters was upset by the gold rushes. Gold might be found anywhere; wherever it was found, a township sprang up, and food and fodder must be raised close at hand to supply it. So the squatter had to give up the best patches of his run to anyone who proposed to farm them, provided that the applicant guaranteed to live on his block and "improve" it by fencing and tillage. Many hard workers got farms in this way, and the colony prospered through their efforts; but many idlers simply claimed patches of the best soil or the best-watered land on a run, and waited till the worried squatter paid them to go away. The squatters, too, to guard against being thus victimised, either persuaded a dummy selector to claim the patches they wished to retain for their own use, or borrowed money from the banks to buy all they could, so leaving themselves without any savings to keep them going when the seasons were bad. In spite of these and many other defects the system was maintained till 1885, when all runs leased from the State were cut in half, and the squatters given undisturbed tenure of one-half for a definite period of years; and more recent Acts have introduced systems of leasing even the farm-lands rather than selling them, and of allowing people to take up only blocks which have been properly surveyed and valued.

Victoria passed its Act of a similar character in 1862; but the evils were not so patent, since the goldfields (which determined the position of the townships, and therefore of the blocks required for farming) were not near the big stations; the richer squatters, too, had been given their runs in the pioneer times, so they were not open to "selection." South Australia had no goldfields, and had already a law allowing the Government to resume leased land at six months' notice, so that it

was easy to find farmland for anyone who wanted it. Queensland had enormous vacant areas of pastoral country inland, and of farmland on the coast, so that it was many years before the interests of classes began to clash. The coastbelt, within and outside the tropics, was found suitable for the growing of cotton and considerable areas were planted chiefly in Southern Queensland. Sugar cane plantations also were for nearly forty years successfully worked by "Kanaka" labour; there were, however, few Kanakas in Queensland, and that name is a misnomer (*see* pp. 410, 761).

The "Torrens" Act.

One of the most useful land-laws in the world, probably, stands to the credit of the first South Australian parliament. This was the Torrens Act, so called after its author, under which the owner of any piece of land may have his right to it registered in a Land Registrar's office, and so make it indisputable. If he sells it, or mortgages it, these transactions are also registered. As the other colonies have passed similar Acts, and most of the privately-owned land in Australia has been registered under them, a buyer of land can at once find out who owns it, and whether it can be legally sold to him, without the complicated researches and frequent disputes which often accompany land sales in older countries (*see also* p. 459).

Immigration.

The immigration problem was a double one —how to get the right sort of immigrant, and how to keep out the wrong. Most of the colonies for many years "assisted" immigration by paying out of public funds the passages from England of artizans and servants. This system had been inaugurated in New South Wales by Governor Bourke (*see* p. 355), and was continued till 1888, when politicians reckoned that enough immigrants could be obtained without assistance. South Australia dropped it about the same time, but Queensland, whose huge fertile areas are always hungry for settlement, went steadily on, as did Western Australia. Victoria had ceased to give assistance very early, the gold-rushes bringing her all the immigrants she wanted.

Chinese immigrants.

Of one immigrant race Australia soon had enough. The Chinese came thronging in after the first gold discoveries, and, by living under conditions that white men would not accept, and taking trouble that white men would not take, made themselves extremely unpopular. On several diggings anti-Chinese riots

broke out, and the cry "The Chinese must go" became a democratic watchword. But these early arrivals were not settlers, and did go of their own accord as soon as they had made enough money. In 1878, however, a fresh stream of Chinese began to flood the towns, settling down as market-gardeners and furniture-makers in dwellings that were usually crowded, dirty, and ill-drained. Sydney and Melbourne found themselves infested with Chinese, in whose quarters low-class whites were provided with all sorts of degrading vice. After several conferences between the Premiers of the various colonies (which incidentally paved the way for Federation), it was agreed to put a heavy poll-tax on Chinese immigrants; and within the last ten years, the immigration of other Asiatic races being also considered undesirable, all new arrivals who are not certainly Europeans or white Americans have been made to pass an educational test which is so devised as to keep out the undesired.

Education.

The third problem, the educational, was the cause of many severe parliamentary fights and much ill-feeling. But the result was very much the same in all the colonies. Primary education is free, except in Tasmania. Every child must attend some school, unless it is being taught by a tutor or governess; but public money is used only to support those schools which the State itself controls; and in them no denominational form of religion may be taught by the State-paid teachers, though clergymen are allowed to have classes of children of their own church in the school-buildings, in some colonies during, in others after, school-hours. This compromise was accepted by all churches except the Roman Catholic; that church prefers to teach its children entirely in schools of its own, and is aggrieved because no colony grants public money in their support. Otherwise education is not a partizan problem. Four Universities (Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Hobart), each receiving a grant of money from its own State Government, control higher education; the road to these from the primary State schools is opened differently in different States, New South Wales preferring State High Schools, the other States giving scholarships which State school pupils may hold at private schools. "Technical" instruction in agriculture, mining, and various trades is well maintained in New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria, the other States being less forward in this particular.

Railways.

The problem of providing communications, though hardly a political one (except in so far as railways and bridges might chance to be constructed more freely in districts whose members supported the Government of the day), had to be faced by the local parliaments. The population was too scattered and too small to permit the successful carrying out of the British system, under which the ratepayers of a district look after their own roads, and railways are made by private companies wherever they can hope to make a profit out of the traffic. The big main roads, therefore, of eastern Australia had, before the coming of self-government, been made at first by convict labour, then out of the revenue from land sales, in both cases under Government control; and the parliaments, when they came, for many years retained responsibility for keeping them in repair and for making new ones. In 1846 men began to talk of railways, and a company was formed in Sydney; but before work was seriously started the gold rushes broke out and took away all the labourers, and in 1854 the two existing private companies were bought out by the New South Wales Government, which has constructed all the lines in its State except two short ones on the southern and western border. In Melbourne, where the rich goldfields provided more private wealth, private companies were a little more successful, and one was not absorbed by the Government till 1878. The other States followed suit slowly; in 1870 there were not a thousand miles of railway in all Australia; but after 1875 construction went on rapidly, and in 1906 fifteen thousand miles were open for traffic. A great deal of this was not at first profitable, and the whole of it had been built with borrowed money fifty years after the first Australian line was opened, nearly £132,000,000 (close on three-fifths of the whole public debt) had been thus borrowed, and only one of the States was really making a profit on its railways, over and above the interest charges which companies call profit. But the country benefited enormously; traffic across the Dividing Range, on the inland side of which lie the large areas of fertile soil, has been simplified and cheapened, the produce of rich mines in out-of-the-way places has been easily brought to the seaboard, and the necessaries of life made readily procurable by the miners. One serious defect has arisen in some States from the fact that the chief city, in which the legislature sits, is a seaport; the railways from the interior, instead of reaching the

sea at the nearest or easiest point, have been made to converge as much as possible on the capital, which has thus absorbed practically the whole of the trade in the State, and has become over-swollen in proportion to the rest of the population.*

The Overland Telegraph Line.

Postal and telegraphic communication was from the first a public matter. In 1856 mail-steamers were already running to and from England, and three Colonies had telegraph services. The great feat in this line stands to South Australia's credit. Poor and empty as she was in 1870, with a population about the size of Cardiff's administering a territory nearly as large as British India, she set to work to construct a telegraph line across Australia from north to south, through nearly two thousand miles of country that only one white man had ever crossed before, while everything needed for the work had to be fetched either from Adelaide or from Port Darwin. In less than two years the work was done, and the overland line connected with a telegraph cable from Java through which messages could be sent to England.

Tariffs.

The money for this and most of the other great public works constructed in Australia was, as we have already seen, borrowed from British capitalists. But the money needed for carrying on the ordinary work of government must, of course, be raised from the resident population by some form of taxation. In any new country the simplest form of taxation is a duty on imports; it is easily collected, because the few seaports can be properly supervised, while it might be very difficult to follow each separate resident to his home and collect money from him there. A "revenue" tariff, therefore—a list of duties on imported articles that would yield plenty of revenue—formed part of each Australian State's machinery from the beginning of self-government. And in New South Wales, which was mainly a farming and mining State, and which soon got into the bad habit of using as ordinary revenue the proceeds of its land sales, the tariff—until the eighties—was designed almost entirely to bring in revenue. But in Victoria farmlands were scarcer, and the immigrant diggers, when they had won enough gold, went into the towns and took up again their old trades; they were quick to see that, by raising the duties on such imports as they themselves could produce, prices could be raised until the imported articles would become dearer than their pro-

* See the note on Australian towns appended to this chapter.

ducts, and they demanded incessantly through their representatives in parliament that this should be done. Of course men, who did not produce anything that could be thus protected, had no desire to pay more than they could help for what they must buy; so the fight waxed bitter, and even Governors were drawn into it and recalled for becoming partizans. In the end, however, Victoria became a highly protectionist colony, and all the others, except New South Wales, more or less adopted the same policy; and even New South Wales, though ostensibly adhering to free trade, retained in her tariff several duties which were found to give a good deal of protection to certain local industries.

Parliamentary Reform.

It is perhaps only natural that the most exciting political struggles of those forty years should have concerned the sixth problem, that of getting satisfactory parliaments. The "Upper Houses" provided by the Constitutions of 1856 were meant to be brakes on the legislative wheel, and came into conflict with the more popularly elected Assemblies over almost every new measure of importance. The nominee chambers of New South Wales and Queensland could be mastered, and were mastered on occasions when they were evidently thwarting the deliberate will of a majority in their States, by the nomination of additional members who favoured the blocked reform. The elected Councils were harder to manage, as their constituencies could not be widened except by an Act which they themselves must agree to pass. There was a great fight in Victoria in 1877, when, because the Council refused to pass estimates which included money for paying members of Parliament, the Graham Berry Ministry dismissed nearly all the better-paid civil servants on what was for many years remembered as "Black Wednesday." The Governor sided with the Ministry, and was accordingly recalled by the Imperial Government: Graham Berry even went to England to ask that the State Constitution should be altered by the Imperial Parliament: but in the end the Council gave way, and members have ever since been paid. Still, that did not alter the narrow franchise for Council voters. The same difficulty has cropped up again, and not in Victoria only; even in 1907 South Australia was in turmoil for many months because its Council, originally the most democratic of all, stood out against reforms for which the majority of the citizens had voted at several elections; and that trouble was scarcely settled before Queensland went through a Ministerial crisis

and a general election, because its Council threw out an important Bill. The truth is that the less democratic classes find it more and more difficult to elect to the Assemblies members who sympathise with them, and so, naturally perhaps, use the Councils to hamper the sometimes excessive radicalism of the Lower Houses. If the friction, which has occurred of late becomes recurrent there is a possibility that Upper Houses may disappear (in the States) altogether, as they have in most of the provinces of Canada (*see* p. 295).

Some politicians, and Sir Henry Parkes.

Of all the men who led parties and shaped Australian administration during these forty years few deserve lasting remembrance outside their own States. Sir John Robertson's name is connected with the New South Wales land legislation of 1861, and that of Sir Richard Torrens with the admirable South Australian Act. William Bede Dalley, an eloquent lawyer and patron of young authors, came to sudden fame when in 1885, as acting-Premier, he dispatched the first colonial contingent of troops to fight side by side with British troops at Suakin. George Higinbotham, "the highest type of intelligence and integrity yet vouchsafed to Australia," might have been her most notable political leader if he could have brought himself a little more into touch with the crowd; as it is, he will be remembered chiefly because of his strenuous protests whenever the Colonial Office seemed to be interfering with Victorian self-government. The one great man, worth calling a statesman for his wide outlook and grasp of politics beyond as well as within Australia, was a farm-labourer from Warwickshire who kept a Sydney toy-shop in the forties, ran a daily newspaper in the fifties, and developed into the cleverest parliamentary leader and most effective speaker (in spite of great natural disadvantages) that Australia has yet known. To explain Sir Henry Parkes is impossible. His faults, both public and private, were so many and so serious, that in one light he seems a compound of John Wilkes and Mr. Micawber. He was neither a master of finance nor an originator of reforms. But he had an almost unerring judgment about the usefulness of men and the timeliness of measures, and complete confidence in his judgment; when he took up a cause, he carried it to victory, using colleagues or throwing them aside with equal indifference, handling Parliament and the public with equal skill, conciliatory or defiant as he saw need, but never a backslider or a coward. He came into public life as a leader of the Anti-Transportation move-

ment, fought Wentworth bitterly over his attempts to make the Constitution of 1856 oligarchic, and not long afterwards quarrelled with his own constituents because they were blind to the value of assisted immigration. Taking office in 1866, he passed the colony's first useful Education Act, supplementing it in 1880 with the still existing Act, which is a pattern for other States to follow; and in the same term of office (1878-1883, in coalition with Sir John Robertson) he reformed the colony's electoral system, administered the first check to Chinese immigration, and inaugurated valuable social reforms. His fourth Ministry (1887-1889) removed the State railways from political influence to the control of expert Commissioners, subjected all important public works to the scrutiny of a non-partisan Committee, practically ended Chinese immigration, and carried through the first naval agreement with the British Admiralty. In his fifth (1889-91) he made Federation a certainty.

Add to this record of public work—which may almost be called the permanent substructure of his State's political mechanism—his perpetual care to maintain sound constitutional principles in a country impatient of order and fond of experiment, and his power of forming lasting friendships with such men as Carlyle, Browning, Tennyson, and Bright; and we understand how, in spite of all his faults, he must still be reckoned the greatest Australian yet known, with the possible exception of Wentworth.

A NOTE ON AUSTRALIAN TOWNS.

Australia has remarkably few towns of any great size. Only four in the whole Commonwealth—Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Brisbane—pass the one hundred thousand limit of population. Only eighteen more pass the ten thousand limit. And yet one of the most obvious faults about the settlement of Australia is the congestion of its inhabitants into small areas: for the two great cities, Sydney and Melbourne, are swollen out of all proportion to the country population for which they cater.

They are, in fact, an illustration of the way in which trade has for too many years overshadowed production—the merchants, concentrated in the State's principal seaport, controlling State politics and public works, and forcing the producer to bring his goods to market where it suits them, not him. Sydney and its neighbourhood have attracted thirty-five per cent. of the inhabitants of New South Wales because it has been the seat of government; and the legislature—composed mainly of Sydney folk and dominated by Sydney interests—has so built and managed the railways as to bring nearly all the State's produce to it for shipment, whether or no the growers had nearer and easier routes to other ports. Melbourne's history is much of the same kind; but the shape of Victoria and the proximity of the great goldfields made the process a more natural one, so that the proportion—forty-two and a third per cent.—is even larger than Sydney's.

Speaking roughly, there are three reasons for the existence of Australian towns. They are either ports or mining centres, or farming centres. If ports, they are usually on rivers which the sailing ships of fifty years ago could enter, and as high up as those ships could go. Melbourne and Brisbane are where they are for this reason: so are Maryborough, Bundaberg, and Rockhampton in Queensland, most of the N.S.W. north-coast townships, and Launceston in Tasmania. And this has resulted in considerable inconvenience: for the larger steamers of to-day either cannot get up the rivers—in which case goods have to be trans-shipped at the river mouth at great expense—or are brought up along dredged and excavated channels which were costly to make and costly to maintain. Only two towns in all Australia are on good natural harbours, Sydney and Hobart; there are other good harbours, but the vested interests of the old "head-of-navigation" towns, or the jealousy of the State capital, keep them idle. Of these Gladstone on Port Curtis is the most conspicuous; Bowen on Port Denison, starved out by the superior influence of the inferior port, Townsville, is another; while the neglect of Twofold Bay, once the port of the Monaro district, is due to the concentration of all inland trade in New South Wales on Sydney. A few ports—*e.g.*, Fremantle (W.A.), Port Pirie (S.A.), Geelong (V.), Townsville (Q.)—make the best of poor natural harbourage because the districts at their back need ports so badly.

Of the mining towns Ballarat and Bendigo in Victoria owe their origin to gold, Newcastle and Lithgow in N.S.W. to coal, Broken Hill to silver. New South Wales has no purely gold towns, the fields lying, as a rule, within reach of already established farming centres. Thus Ophir and the Turon diggings helped Bathurst to grow instead of becoming new centres themselves. So Mount Morgan in Queensland, though the mere extent of the operations there makes a town of the place, is really a feeder to Rockhampton; but at Gympie and Charters Towers, to which no already established settlement was handy, new towns sprang up and have become permanent. Gold is also responsible for Beaconsfield in Tasmania and Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie in Western Australia; copper has to its credit only Cobar (N.S.W.) and Chillagoe (Q.); the N.S.W. tin field feeds the nearest farming centre, Inverell. The case of Newcastle is worth noting. The original port of the Hunter River was, as on other rivers, at the head of navigation—Morpeth, forty miles upstream and close to the important farming centre of Maitland. Newcastle was made by its coal, and was thus ready to hand when the altered conditions of navigation demanded a port at the river mouth.

The position of the distributing centres in the various farming districts was usually determined by the simultaneous existence of (i.) permanent water, (ii.) land above flood level, (iii.) a specially rich or open patch of tillable country. Bathurst (N.S.W.) is a good example; Maitland was intended to be, but the high land of the Government township was too far from water for the early settlers, and they made their village on the actual bank of the Hunter, regardless of possible floods—and have been flooded out many times since, costing the Government much money to reinstate and protect them. Albury (N.S.W.), Wangaratta and Seymour (V.) are at spots where the Sydney to Melbourne road crossed various streams. Toowoomba (Q.) is at the head of the pass by which the squatters of the Darling Downs brought their wool to Brisbane.

The recently started manufacturing industries of Australia have set themselves down in towns already established, so as to be close to their market; but one small village—Lithgow, in N.S.W.—is growing to townhood primarily for manufacturing reasons; its easily won coal, neighbouring iron and limestone deposits, and moist cool climate, are attracting industries of all sorts, including woollen mills, the first blast-furnace in Australia, the smelters which deal with Cobar copper, and an arsenal for the Commonwealth.

To sum up, the following table shows the distribution of the Australian townsfolk—though the word cannot be used in the English sense, for most of the included towns have only from five thousand to ten thousand people:—

Population in Thousands.

——	New South Wales.	Victoria	Queensland.	South Australia.	West Australia.	Tasmania.
Capital and port.....	539	526	132	176	82	35
Other ports	5	34	58	10	4	25
Gold towns	..	112	44	..	38	3
Coal towns	67	..	..	..	..	..
Other mining towns....	29	..	..	4	..	12
Farming centres.....	69	..	29	3	..	..
	709	672	263	193	124	75
Total State population	1,527	1,238	535	384	262	180
Percentage townsfolk to total	46	54	49	50	47	42

Note (*a*) that Newcastle is included among the coal towns, not among the ports;

(*b*) that the N.S.W. farming centres owe something to gold, and much to their greater age;

(*c*) that Ipswich (Q.), which is included among the farming centres is an important coal town also;

(*d*) that the figures, based as they are on the populations of townships with five thousand or more inhabitants, are only rough guides to the state of a country of very small towns. Compare, for instance, the results obtained from the above table with those obtained when all the N.S.W. municipalities are included:—

Percentage of Population in New South Wales centres.

——	As above.	All Municipalities.
Capital	35·2	35·2
Other ports	·3	2
Coal towns	4·4	4·4
Other mining towns	2	3
Farming centres	4·5	17
Total townsfolk	46·4	61·6
Total countryfolk	53·6	38·4

[Most of the smaller ports are really dairying centres.]

The corrected Victorian proportions are townsfolk, 59·4; countryfolk, 40·6. But if we wish to compare the "urban" and "rural" populations from a European standpoint, the figures in the first table will give us the truer idea; for it is obvious that the inhabitants of townships below four thousand at any rate, should properly be counted as rural folk.

CHAPTER VII.

FEDERATION AND THE CONSTITUTIONS

Separatist influences.

Almost from its foundation the internal conditions of Australia tended to divide it among different governing authorities. It was too large, in the first place, to be satisfactorily administered from a single centre; the urgent need of money to provide the simplest necessaries of civilized life made each isolated group of settlers jealous if their contribution to the revenue was not spent close to their own doors; the sending of convicts to some parts and not to others created antagonisms of pride between Adelaide and Melbourne, on the one hand, and Sydney, Brisbane, and Hobart, on the other. The whole tendency of local politics was to divide the coast up among small, quarrelling States, each centred on its own seaport.

Seen from London, on the other hand, the country seemed just the place for a single centralised rule. In the convict days it was imperative that there should be one supreme authority; when transportation ended, it seemed absurd that a population of two or three hundred thousand, all engaged in much the same occupations, should really want more than one legislature to look after its needs. So, although the British Government in 1850 recognized five Australian colonies and foreshadowed a sixth, it saw no reason why in a few years they should not willingly reunite for most purposes of government; it did its best to urge on them the creation of a Federal Assembly, and for a time insisted on calling the Governor of New South Wales "Governor-General of Her Majesty's Australian possessions." But the opposing influences were too strong. Victoria was too purse-proud, South Australia too democratic, Queensland—when it was born—too youthfully independent, to combine again for any purpose with the "mother-colony" of New South Wales, which in its turn looked down on them as *parvenus* and on little Tasmania as hardly yet cleansed of convictism.

From 1857 to 1870 schemes were put forth, considered sometimes, dropped always. In 1871 came a sudden breeze of desire to lower against each other the customs duties which each colony was levying independently; but that required an Act of the Imperial Parliament, and by the time it was passed the breeze had died away. Internal politics became more than ever anti-federal.

External pressure.

But, isolated though she is by nature, Australia could not perpetually remain unaffected by the world outside. China sent immigrants whom she disliked, and neighbouring islands began to fill suspiciously with French and German traders. France had seized Tahiti in 1842 and New Caledonia in 1853; Germans were occupying Samoa and settling in the islands north-east of New Guinea; Fiji, it was rumoured, might any day be annexed by the United States. This, the most immediate danger, was averted by a British annexation of the group in 1874. Another panic began in 1878, and, though Britain refused to annex New Guinea, she made commercial treaties with Tonga and Samoa, and persuaded France to neutralize the New Hebrides (*see* pp. 222-3, 758-61). In 1883 New Guinea came to the front again; a German "Colonial League" demanded its annexation, and Queensland hurriedly annexed on its own account (as it had already done in 1873) all of the island that did not belong to the Dutch. The Imperial Government, however, was unsympathetic and more anxious for Germany's goodwill than for Australia's; and some muddled diplomacy ended in Germany's getting a large share of the island and the group north of it, while Australia was put off with a fragment of what she had claimed, and a piece of advice (given by Lord Derby) that the six colonies had better federate if they wanted their demands attended to.

Parliamentary action.

Now, at an intercolonial Conference in 1881 (called to consider the Chinese question), Henry Parkes had already suggested the creation of a central authority to deal with just such matters; in answer to Lord Derby the idea was revived, and shaped into a "Federal Council," to which four of the colonies sent delegates for many years. But Parkes would have none of it; he saw that it was too restricted in its powers to be useful, and too unrepresentative (being elected by the parliaments, not by the people) to be popular, and under his influence New South Wales stood aloof. Meanwhile questions of defence cropped

up; the Colonies agreed to share the cost of hiring from the British Admiralty a small squadron especially to guard the Australian coast, and General Edwards strongly advised that similar joint action should be taken in the matter of land defences. About the same time an agreement was reached on the methods of excluding Chinese immigrants; and it was to communities thus imbued with the desire for co-operation that Henry Parkes unexpectedly appealed, on October 24, 1889, "to set about creating a great national Government for all Australia."

1887.

The answer was immediate, but incomplete. A Convention in which New Zealand, as well as all Australia, was represented drew up an elaborate constitution which was to be submitted to all the State Parliaments for approval or amendment. And straightway a new obstacle reared itself.

The rise of the Labour Party.

Jealous as the manufacturers and merchants of the several States were of each other, their feeling did not extend to their employees. The employer was a good deal bound down to the place he lived in; the employee was free to migrate from city to city, wherever the pay was best. Inland, beyond the seaport influence, this freedom was even greater, and for shearers and miners it blurred State boundaries altogether: the federal spirit spread among the labour unions long before it reached the employing classes. When the London dockers' strike of 1889 led to a similar strike on Australian wharves in 1890, and next year a strike of shearers followed that, the labour movement showed itself as an Australian, not merely a State, energy; but the impetus which it might have given to Federation was checked by two barriers. In the first place, the proposed constitution seemed to embody an Upper House of the old State type, which all radicals disliked intensely; in the second, the new labour members were more anxious to use the existing State parliaments for remedying existing grievances than to discuss a constitution which could not be realised for some years at least. Nor were other members particularly eager to help into existence a new authority which must inevitably lower their own prestige. So Henry Parkes, for almost the first time in his career, found himself unable to carry his State with him; and by the time that pressing legislation had been disposed of and Federation was in the air again, its great advocate had done with politics for ever.

The popular movement.

But he had pointed the way to success. In 1892 he told the New South Wales Parliament that not they, but the people, must originate Federation; the hint was taken by popular associations outside Parliament, and Conventions in several inland towns familiarised the voters with the new problems. The State Premiers, led by Mr. George Reid, forced on their legislatures a plan for a Convention elected directly by the people and submitting the result of its work directly to the people. This body met in 1897, and recast the constitution of 1891 so as to make it more acceptable to those advanced democrats who were by now a power throughout Australia. In 1898 three States accepted the new constitution by large majorities, and New South Wales polled a majority for it, but not a big enough one; in 1899, after a few amendments had been made, five States assented, and Western Australia came in next year. That year, too, while from all the States contingents were joining the British army engaged in the South African war, the Imperial Parliament passed its confirmatory Act, and on January 1, 1901, the Commonwealth of Australia came into actual being.

The Constitutions.

Its constitution, and those of the States it includes, can be summed up in few words. The Federal governing body consists of two Houses; a House of Representatives elected by seventy-five constituencies of approximately equal voting power, and a Senate to which each State, voting as a single electorate, sends six members. Every man or woman of full age, who has lived six months in the Commonwealth and is not the subject of a foreign power, has a vote for *both* Houses. To conciliate the smaller States, they (Western Australia and Tasmania) were allowed five members each in the lower House, though in proportion they should have had only three each.* The Representatives must be dissolved at least once in three years; the Senators sit for six years, but half of them retire every three. The Senate cannot amend money bills, but may "suggest" amendments to the other House. If the Houses disagree, and cannot be brought together, both are dissolved; if the disagreement continues, they sit together, and the vote of a clear majority decides.

To this Parliament is given full control over all matters in which Australia has to do with the world outside (imports and exports, for instance, immigration, and her relations with other

* Western Australia is now entitled to claim five by right of numbers

colonies and nations), and over matters which concern more than one State—such as defence, inter-state commerce, and posts and telegraphs—or in which variety is unnecessary and confusing—such as commercial and marriage laws in general. A definite list of these powers is part of the Constitution, and all matters not included in it belong solely to the State Legislatures. Disputes between States and the Commonwealth are settled by a High Court, which is also a Court of Appeal from all State tribunals.

Each of the States has a Legislature of two Houses, one of which is elected by the votes of all adult residents (the last State to give women the vote was Victoria where the prolonged opposition of the Council to that measure ended in November, 1908). The Councils are, as they originally were, nominated for life in New South Wales and Queensland, and elected by voters holding a certain amount of property in the other States; but the qualifying amount is much smaller than it was at first. These legislatures control the railways, the education, and the land of their State, and all matters not involving interests outside a single State. They cannot raise money by Customs duties; so the Commonwealth, which alone can, at present pays to them month by month at least three-quarters of the sum it raises, and thus helps them to get along without heavy direct taxation.

In both Commonwealth and States the real power is exercised by a Cabinet of the British type. The Crown appoints a Governor-General for the Commonwealth, and Governors for the States with powers similar to those exercised by the Crown in Great Britain. Occasionally these are important; the Government cannot impose a Prime Minister on a hostile Legislature, but when parties are evenly balanced he has some liberty of choice, and he advises Ministers who are sometimes inexperienced. He can also reserve assent to measures passed by the Legislature. His normal functions are, however, to lead society, and to be the channel of communication between the colonial and the Imperial Governments (*see also* pp. 239, 289, 290).

CHAPTER VIII.

DOMESTIC PROBLEMS.

In the last six chapters there have been set down the principal facts of Australian political history. But the chief value of history lies in its power of explaining things as they are. We should be able, after studying it, to understand how the inhabitants of any land came to it and how they came by their present modes of life and government. So now, by grouping properly the facts just learnt, we may begin to understand a little the character and doings of the Australians of to-day.

Factors in Australian history.

The three great influences which have moulded Australia are:—(*a*) the climate and physical features of the country; (*b*) the fact that it was first of all a convict settlement; (*c*) the gold-rushes. It is by virtue of these influences that the Australian differs from the Englishman, who is his nearest relative. What have the previous chapters told us on these points?

(*a*) The most habitable and attractive part of Australia is that which was furthest away from other civilised countries. Hence it remained untroubled by civilised man until a nation arose which was at once adventurous, accustomed to long voyages, and powerful beyond others on the sea. No other could have conceived, carried out, and maintained inviolate the occupation of so distant a continent. Also, if the western coast had possessed the attractions of the eastern, the Dutch would have occupied it early in the seventeenth century; even if England had in the end taken it, the resulting colony would have been half Dutch, as the Cape Colony is, and would have been under the thumb of the East India Company even

more than the Cape ever was (*see* pp. 479-85), seeing how near India is to Perth.

Configuration of the land

Now this attractive eastern half is unlike any other country in the world. It consists, roughly speaking, of (1) a long range parallel to the coast, whose watershed is from three to seven thousand feet high and from fifty to a hundred miles inland, and (2) hundreds of miles of gently sloping plain covered with hundreds of feet of loose but usually fertile soil. (In its last two hundred and twenty-five miles the New South Wales Western Railway drops only five hundred and seventeen feet). The coastal belt—foothills and valleys of the main range—gets some of its rainfall from the ocean, and its permanent water-supply from comparatively short rivers liable to sudden and heavy floods; the western slopes—foothills and plain—get all their rain from across the continent, the "cyclones" travelling either eastwards from the Indian Ocean, or south-east from the Arafura Sea; while their permanent supply comes from rivers which, directly they leave the foothills, begin either to sink in the porous soil, or to waste under a burning sun. So the settler would have his choice between the rich, easily flooded flats of the coast, the properly watered but heavily timbered and often patchy plateaux and upper valleys of the range, and the great plain areas, which are almost incredibly well-grassed in a good season, but become mere miles of baked earth and sand in a drought (*see* pp. 418-19).

Classes of settlers.

(*b*) The first civilised settlers in this land were convicts and their guards—*i.e.*, a large body of men who must be kept together under restraint, accompanied by a very small body of rulers who wanted to make the most of their spare time and cash. Moreover, it was urgently necessary to grow food, both grain and stock, at the earliest possible moment in quantities that would support the young colony. Naturally the ruling class, and the early free settlers (who were friends or relatives of the officials), managed to secure for themselves the good foothill lands in large areas, although the first Governors—King, for instance, and Bligh and Macquarie—did their best to encourage the man who would work hard on fifty or a hundred acres rather than the man who took ten thousand and grew rich on the increase of his stock. Consequently—and here the climatic influence comes in too—when population began to increase rapidly and the newcomers looked about for land

to farm, they were forced either on to poorer land in the hills, or out on to the badly-watered plains—and even there had to fight against the squatters, who were accustomed to the undisturbed use of vast areas for running their sheep. For many years these "selectors" were practically speculators, who made what they could out of their farms in good seasons, and abandoned them or sold them back to the squatter when a drought came; and many big stations to-day are made up largely of such abandoned selections.

The squatters.

We must not, of course, forget that there is a squatters' side to the question. The early settlers were pioneers. They went ahead beyond the limits of civilisation, facing drought and the enmity of the blacks, who always resented the bringing ing of cattle on to lands where they were accustomed to hunt the kangaroo. They discovered what the country was good for, and kept it going in the critical years when the English subsidies that accompanied convictism had been withdrawn and the wealth of the gold-period had not yet shown itself. Their isolated homesteads were especially open to attack from bushrangers, who were either the escaped convicts of the 'twenties who wanted revenge on their former employers, or the less murderous gangs of the gold days whose chief want was good horses. It seems hard, sometimes, that their descendants must be ousted from the estates they built up with so much daring and skill.

The land question.

So we face the first of the modern Australian problems, that of displacing without injustice from the most fertile and well-watered tracts their pastoralist owners, and replacing them with farmers cultivating areas usually of less than a thousand acres. Different States use different methods; some simply buy up the land required, fixing the price by agreement or arbitration; some, following the example of New Zealand, tax land according to its agricultural value, so that the owner of good land either splits it up into small highly-cultivated farms which recoup him in rent or sale-money for his taxation, or pays very heavily for the luxury of leaving it unused. In the one case the State becomes the landlord or the selling owner, and has to keep up a large Civil Service to administer its estate; in the other the private owner keeps the control of the land he rents and the profits of what he sells. But in most parts of Australia owners seem to prefer the first system.

The second great problem, like the first, has its roots in climate and convictism.* In long-settled countries so much has been done in bygone centuries for the inhabitants of to-day, partly by their State or county or parish, partly by the enterprise of their forefathers, that they are apt to be impatient of State interference. But the earliest white inhabitants of Australia were dependent on the State—that is, on the Governor and his distribution of public money—for everything. The ruler of the convict population was at once the producers' chief customer—as buyer of food, &c., for the prisoners—and their chief provider of labour. However much money a new settler brought with him, he must go to the Governor (or his officials) first for land, then for workmen ("assigned servants"); and much of his produce would be sold to the Government or have its price influenced by Government action. Exploration was almost entirely a Government affair; Blaxland and Hume and Cunningham were directly encouraged and rewarded by the Governor of the day, while Evans and Oxley and Sturt and Mitchell were officials. Moreover, in settlements so scattered it was impossible to make the settlers responsible for making and keeping up main roads and bridges, and unwise to give them control of the police; twice in the 'forties English statesmen suggested the establishment of district councils, but the project came to nothing. So Australia gradually became a country where everyone looked to the Government for help of all sorts. The central Government of each colony managed the colony's police and schools, made its roads and railways (*see* p. 373) and built its bridges, and was used by all who could persuade it to do anything for them. In drought-time, for instance, State railways still

The position of the State.

* Such stress has been laid on the influence of convictism that it is necessary to be very clear on one point. That influence springs, not from the fact that the convicts were criminals, but from the need of keeping them under restraint. Their personal character has been of comparatively little account in Australian history. Many were not criminals; those who were, and remained so, as a rule stayed in gaol or became outlaws. The emancipists of bad character who brought up families and so had some slight lasting influence on society were an insignificant minority, swamped a thousand times over by the great inrushes of free immigrants in Brisbane's time and Bourke's, and during the gold rushes. The idea of a "taint" or "birth-stain" is foolish beyond conception, and must have arisen from a study of novels which, dealing with life among hardened criminals in isolated gaols, seem to hint that life was the same outside them.

carry the squatter's stock at rates below cost from his dried-up paddocks to good pasture in the hills; and State Governments still supply farmers with seed-wheat on trust when their crops have failed in a bad year. In the same way, when Melbourne was growing into a manufacturing town, the Victorian Government was asked to put heavy duties on imported goods which could compete with local manufactures (*see* p. 374), and thus Protection gradually became the policy of nearly all the States before Federation, and of the Commonwealth since.

Labour parties.

Now this tendency to depend on Government aid must needs spread from the farming and manufacturing classes to their employees. If the landowner was helped by the State against the drought, if the manufacturer got protection against the importer, why should not the wage-earner claim the State's aid against an employer who cut down his wages? It was not in this form that the question first arose: the "why?" was taken for granted, and the employees began by studying *how* they could put enough pressure on the Government to make it help them. English workmen had long before found out how to put pressure on the employers, by forming trades-unions and agreeing together not to work at all unless fair wages were paid them; and, when population was concentrated enough, Australian workmen began to follow their example. There was a maritime strike in 1890, and a great strike of shearers in 1891; when the strikers took to violence, the Government of the day of course used the police and troops to restore order, and the defeated strikers declared that the State was unfairly backing the employers. If they only had enough influence in Parliament, they thought, they could prevent such unfairness on the part of any future Government; so they determined to vote only for members of Parliament of their own class, who would oppose all Ministries which did not make laws helping the working man. Thus in the State Parliaments there appeared during the nineties "Labour Parties" whose members were pledged to vote for certain laws favouring employees, and to support any Ministry that would agree to pass those laws, whatever the Ministry's policy might otherwise be. In New South Wales, where at the time a fairly even fight was going on between Free Traders and Protectionists, the new party became powerful at once, giving the Free Trade leader a majority for his policy on con-

dition that he put a tax on land, and some years later transferring their support to his opponent, who promised to pass an Act by which all trade disputes must be referred to arbitration. In Queensland before Federation the Labour men found themselves strong enough at one period to take office for a short time; while in Victoria and in South Australia they made converts among the other politicians, and helped to pass laws of the kind they wanted.

Curiously enough, they opposed Federation (*see* p.382), which has proved most valuable to them. The Councils were their great stumbling-block in the State Legislatures, being largely composed of rich employers who threw out or drastically amended Labour measures. But the Commonwealth Senate is elected by the voters who elect the Federal Lower House, and contains now a larger proportion of Labour members, so that there is no stumbling-block in Federal legislation. Moreover, those States whose laws made it difficult for the poor man to get a vote have had to alter their laws so as to correspond with the easy, all-embracing Federal law; and that, too, tells in favour of the Labour party.

State activity.

They, then, have brought into prominence the second important problem of modern Australian politics—how far the machinery of the State ought to be made actively helpful to its citizens. English philosophers of the nineteenth century—and many English statesmen—considered that the State should simply protect its members against violence, by maintaining troops and police, and by putting law-breakers under restraint. But in Australia there was never a time when the State did, even nominally, as little as that. In practice it has always helped all citizens, who could influence the Government, to overcome or to recover from unfair or unusual conditions of life; it now tries to protect all its members—land-users from drought and flood, by grants of money and grain, by making irrigation and drainage channels, and by teaching them on model farms how to use their land to the best advantage; manufacturers, by putting duties on imported goods, especially on those made by poorly paid workmen; wage-earners, by fixing, with the help of Wages Boards and Arbitration Courts, a standard of fair wages and humane conditions of employment; and consumers (that is, everybody), by forbidding producers or importers to adulterate or describe falsely the goods they have to sell. Of course these are not easy tasks. Sometimes the State

officials make mistakes; sometimes their opinion about fair wages or false descriptions is disputed by the men they are supervising. But the difficulty of deciding how far protection shall go, and how much shall be left to a citizen's own judgment or efforts, has forced many who are not employees to join or to sympathise with the Labour party's aims; barristers and clergymen are among its pledged members, and so great a number of electors vote for its candidates at Federal elections that it has become one of the great parties in Commonwealth politics.

The influence of gold.

(*c*) The influence of the gold discoveries was twofold. They brought to Australia adventurers, some of whom belonged to a revolutionary type (*see also* p. 363); for Europe had been full of revolutions only three years before, and many young democrats found it advisable to emigrate. These men, crowded together in mining camps, or startling the few large towns with their wealth and consequent influence, soon took a hold on local politics that democratized the legislatures. In the second place, they for the first time made life in one colony different from life in another. Hitherto the whole of Australia had been a pastoral country. From Brisbane to Perth everyone depended for his livelihood on selling sheep or stock, or on doing things for those who sold them. But the gold discoveries brought to Victoria, where the fields were richest and closest together, thousands of townsfolk, whose tendency was to revert to their old trades when the rush was over; while in New South Wales, where the fields were scattered and far from the coast, most of the diggers were settlers' sons and went back to the land when they had won gold enough. South Australia, itself lacking gold, took to growing wheat for Victorian diggers; Tasmania, ridding itself of the worst, as well as of the most active, elements of its population, settled down into a "Sleepy Hollow" for many years; and Queensland remained almost purely pastoral, except that on the coast-belt below as well as in the tropics men took in hand cotton and sugar cultivation. Add to this that Victorians, owing to the small size of their colony, had to take much of their quickly acquired wealth into the northern colonies for investment—land-loving Victorians, that is; those who liked trade and town-life put theirs into manufactories—and we shall see that Hargraves and his successors not only transformed Australian social conditions, but put Federation out of the

question for very many years. The Victorians, it is true, were eager for it. But their idea, fostered by their riches and their widespread interests, was federation with Melbourne as its centre; and the Sydney folk were far too proud of their "mother-colony of the Australias" to acquiesce.

The problem of unification.

So the third problem of modern Australia—how to unite in one sound body States with differing, sometimes with opposite, interests—is not wholly solved. The Commonwealth has certainly been established. But its rule, and the new conditions it has brought in, are not yet whole-heartedly welcomed. Those who administer State affairs are still sore because Federation has deprived them of some powers which their predecessors used to exercise; citizens of Sydney suspect that the Federal Government, while it stays in Melbourne, will be unduly careful of Victorian interests; the smaller States fear the overwhelming influence of the larger. On the other hand, the gold-made differences and other separating economic forces are being modified. All the States now, except South Australia, have goldfields of their own. All, under the Federal protectionist tariff, are establishing manufactures; all are striving to cover their best-watered areas with small farms and dairies. Federation was brought about largely, as was shown in the last chapter, by the unanimity of the inland population, which is practically homogeneous the whole continent over; it will be maintained and strengthened by the establishment of similar common interests along the coast-belt and in the cities, so that no Federal law or method of administration can be attacked as favouring one State above another.

State and Federal Finance.

The Constitution itself, however, provided two excuses for friction. It jumbled together the finances of the Commonwealth and the States by ordering the Federal Treasurer to pay over to the States all the Customs and excise revenue which he does not spend himself—three quarters of his receipts, at least, and whatever more there is to spare. The Surplus Revenue Act of 1908 increased State discontent by allocating this remainder to the Federal purposes of defence and old age pensions. This particular difficulty is most acutely felt in Western Australia. Perth is as long a journey from any possible Federal capital as is London from New York; and West Australians are naturally reluctant to entrust the

expenditure of taxes they pay for the development of their State to authorities so far removed from them and their requirements.

The Federal Democracy.

The second source of friction is more serious. The States, because of the composition of their Upper Houses, cannot easily make great alterations in their laws relating to property and employment; but both Houses of the Federal Parliament are elected by adult suffrage, and have therefore a tendency to radical reform—the Senate, indeed, has sometimes shown itself the more advanced of the two; and the merchants and employers, who still influence State politics, look with suspicion upon all Federal laws which affect themselves. Moreover, the mercantile influence, concentrated in seaports which were always jealous of each other, has been generally anti-Federal. The Federal spirit (as has been already said) was, and is, liveliest among workers not tied down to a single city, on the borders between States where men used to chafe at the artificial barriers set between them, and in the great inland plains, among whose folk State jealousies have never been understood. By these men Federation was carried against the sundering influence of the cities; and now that adult suffrage has given them power, they have no great sympathy with the complaints of those who opposed them. The employer, therefore, especially the city employer, feels that the Federal Parliament is a hostile tribunal, and would like to restrict its powers; the employee, especially the shearer and miner and farm labourer, wants to see its jurisdiction enlarged, although in Western Australia opinion is differently divided. Consequently the State Ministries, which are inclined to resent every increase of Federal power, are coming to be regarded more and more as the champions of the capitalist and employer against the Federal authorities, who are supposed to favour unduly the poor man and the employee. Such a situation is unfair to States and Commonwealth alike, and is full of risk for both; only great and tactful wisdom can set matters right, and ensure to Australia an untroubled political future.

CHAPTER IX.

EXTERNAL PROBLEMS.

The problems of which we have just been speaking are all *internal—i.e.*, they concern the relations between different bodies of Australians, and can be settled by Australians among themselves. Another set of problems, of equally vital importance, concerns the relations between Australians and the rest of the world.

White Australia.

The first, and by far the most serious, of these is, Who, from the rest of the world shall be allowed to come to and live in Australia? For it is established by custom among civilized communities that the inhabitants of a country have the right to exclude others from entering it. The word "civilized" is, of course, used in rather an arbitrary sense. China, which has a very elaborate civilization of its own, has never been allowed to exclude Europeans entirely, and Japan until lately was treated in the same way; her right to exclude foreigners is now admitted, but that only shows that the powers which call themselves "civilized" have acknowledged her as one of them. Australia is within the ring, too; and the Australian answer to the question is straightforward—only white men.

The racial objection.

This looks simple, but is not so simple as it looks. In the first place, the colour has really nothing to do with it. "White" is only a short way of saying "European." And "European" includes the descendants of the Europeans who, hundreds of years ago, colonised America. It is a racial distinction that Australians try to draw; they wish to have as fellow-citizens only those whose minds are accustomed, by the inheritance of training from many generations of ancestors, to the motives and ideas which they themselves inherit. Foolish people

(there are some in every community) talk about the "inferiority" of the "coloured" or "Asiatic" races. The sensible Australian does not talk like that. He says simply that he wants people living beside him and helping to make his laws whose ideas at bottom are of the same kind as his own. The ideas of the Japanese or Chinese or Hindus, for instance, about women are quite different from those of Englishmen; and, in Japan a man's first duty is to his parents, his wife coming a long way behind them and even his (and her) children. The European order is very different: and it is the difference that matters. Even if it could be proved conclusively that the non-European idea was the better, it would be no easier and no wiser for people holding the two ideas to live side by side.

The Economic Objection.

But, it may be said, people of these foreign races live in England, and no harm is done. That is because there are very few of them in proportion to the great mass of English folk, and because they have no influence in making the laws. In Australia it is a general principle that those who have lived in the country six months, if they are British subjects (two years, if they are not), may become electors and so have a voice in law-making; and India, China and Japan are so close and so full of people who would like to live in the Commonwealth that in a few years, if there were no restriction on immigration, a large proportion of the voters would be men holding such alien ideas as have been already mentioned. Again, to England go, as a rule, only the richer and better-educated of the Asiatic races; but to Australia would come crowds of the poorer and more slovenly, who content themselves with little food and a life that we should call unhealthy. Thus they can work for low wages; if they were let in, Australians who wanted work would have either to accept the same low wages, on which they could not live healthy lives, or to go workless.

Cheap labour.

Attempts are often made to show that this lowering of wages is the only genuine reason for Australia's objection to Asiatic immigrants. That is not true. It would be truer to say that the desire for cheap labour is the only reason why anyone wants Australia to admit Asiatics. And while a few employers still hanker after coloured immigration (more did till they found the higher-paid white labour far more satisfactory), the bulk of Australians believe that cheap labour is either bad labour or badly-paid labour; and they think it possible so to

arrange things that any one man's wages shall be high enough to provide him with sufficient nourishment of all sorts for body and mind, yet not so high that his fellows shall be stinted of what he produces. Cheap Asiatic labour would interfere with that arrangement. But while many Australians object to the Asiatic because he lowers wages, practically all object because he does not fit in to a European civilization; and it is for this reason that the Commonwealth insists on remaining a "White Australia."

Now comes in the problem—How is Australia to keep out the immigrants she does not want? Against her wish the outside world alleges two strong objections; in the first place she is very empty, and in the second place she belongs to the British Empire, which also includes India and other Asiatic possessions, and is allied with Japan.

The problem.

We have said that every civilized community has the right to exclude foreigners. But that right is something like the right of a landowner to use his land, or leave it unused, at his pleasure. In an old and long-occupied country such a right is taken for granted. In a new land, where a few years ago there were no landowners, there is always a feeling that the owner of an estate ought to use it so as to benefit the country at large (*e.g.*, by getting crops off the fertile soil, and not leaving it for sheep to graze on); and, as we saw in the last chapter, the Australian States consider themselves justified in compelling owners, either by resumption or taxation, to make fit use of their land. The world is now beginning to argue in the same way about the occupiers of new territory. Australians are conceded, for the present, the right to reserve their country for themselves and those whom they choose to admit; but it is felt that they should try to bring it into use for the world's benefit, not simply sit down on the edge, like dogs in the manger, and refuse to let anyone use it at all. The fact that they insist on keeping out certain races should make them all the more eager to induce others to settle there.

Immigration.

So Australia's first solution of her problem is the encouragement of white immigration. This she is very anxious to develop; but at once difficulties spring up. For English immigrants, whom she especially needs, Canada is a competitor much nearer home, and much better able to offer cheap land and other attractive inducements. In Canada there are great areas, never yet occupied, which belong to the Dominion Government; in

Australia most of the easily-reached good land must be bought back from private owners, and even then will belong to the separate States, not to the Commonwealth. The central Canadian Government, therefore, has only to compete with six small Australian State agencies—which are also competing with each other—and can easily outbid them. Yet, as we shall see in the next two chapters, the immigrant to Australia, when he gets there, is likely to become as prosperous as his brother who went to Canada, and perhaps more comfortable. Another great difficulty in Australia's way is the mistaken notion in many minds about her supposed restrictions on immigration. The actual laws are: (1) that labourers may not be brought out to take the place of others who are on strike; (2) that, if labourers are brought out under contract, the contract must promise them the wages current in the district to which they are going. There are no other restrictions on British labourers; and on all other British immigrants, under contract or not, and on "white" labourers coming out of their own accord, there are no restrictions at all.

The "Dictation Test."

But when some Australian States passed laws keeping out "coloured" immigrants, the British Government refused to confirm them because it would not let one part of the Empire say openly that inhabitants of another part should not enter it. So, as a compromise, it was arranged that Australia should be allowed to keep out anyone who could not write a short piece of dictation in some European language. Australians have always disliked this arrangement, feeling it a sham; for the test is never applied, and is not meant to be applied, to a white immigrant, and a "coloured" one is always so tested that he cannot help failing. Malicious people, however, have asserted that British immigrants have reason to be afraid of the test; it is quite untrue, but it has possibly prevented some British folk from coming to Australia (*see also* pp. 239, 631-2).

These difficulties make the growth of the Australian population slower than it should be. And meanwhile other nations look enviously on the huge territory which is held, three-quarters empty, by a few millions of Britons.

Defence.

We need a second solution of the problem for immediate use; the few millions must make themselves able, if possible, to ward off attempts by those nations to occupy any part of the continent. Now Australia has hitherto trusted entirely to Britain for defence. A few States bought small gunboats some years ago, which trained a few

men; and all the States have spent money on harbour fortifications and small battalions of militia and volunteers. The Federal Government took these over in 1901, and tried to make an organised Federal army out of them, but without much success. For defence by sea everything was left to the British squadron in the Pacific, whose headquarters are at Sydney. The idea at the back of this system was that Australia had no reasons of her own for fighting, and ought therefore to be defended by Britain if British policy involved the Empire in war; but the States agreed to provide themselves with forces sufficient to guard against any small raid until the British fleet could come to the rescue (*see also* pp.224-5, 241-2, 739-40).

The Naval Agreements.

At the same time, Australians did not like the feeling that they were entirely dependent on an outside force for complete defence. So in 1887 an agreement was made with the Admiralty by which Australia hired a small squadron (five cruisers and two gunboats) to guard her own coastline in time of war, when the Imperial squadron might be called away. The squadron was hired because Australia, though still too poor to build ships for herself, could manage to pay something yearly towards their cost and maintenance; but the contrivers of the plan hoped from the first that in the end Australians would be able to build and man their own squadron.

In 1903 a new agreement provided for the realisation of one of these hopes and seriously endangered the other. The hiring of a special squadron came to an end. Instead of that, Australia agreed to pay £200,000 towards the expenses of the Imperial squadron, provided it was kept at a certain strength, and the Admiralty agreed to train in four of the vessels as many Australians as they could. This arrangement will some day give Australia a large body of well-trained seamen; but it gives her no ships of her own to man with them, and so makes her merely a crew-supplier to the British fleet. At the same time it has become inconvenient to the Admiralty to keep powerful ships-of-war in Australian waters when they would be much more useful at home; and so both sides are at present bargaining for a new arrangement which will suit each better. The only certainty is that no arrangement will suit Australians which does not give them at least a small squadron of their own to guard their own coasts and employ their own sailors; for the Imperial squadron, though it may not, by the present agreement, be sent away to England, might in war-time be wanted anywhere between Madagascar and Kamtchatka.

The Problem of Land Defence.

With the British fleet to engage an enemy's battle-fleet, the local squadron to meet any small raiding squadron, and a local militia to drive back the raiders if they managed to land, the defences of Australia might seem fairly complete. But this presupposes that such an attack would be only a side-issue in a big war waged against the Empire for other reasons. Australia's real defence-problem, as has been already said, is how to ward off another nation's attempt to occupy part of the continent which is at present hardly used at all. And it is complicated by the fear that in such a case Britain might not be very willing to help. There are influential men in London who do not sympathise with the doctrine of a "White Australia." If another nation were to occupy a strip of the almost deserted northern and north-western coastline, would the British people, who have to pay heavily for their wars, willingly engage in war and send their fleet to battle merely to keep Australia white? Of course, there would be war if the other nation tried to annex territory; but suppose it simply sent men there, said that they were willing to become British subjects, and claimed that they must be allowed to live peaceably on the land they were occupying? That may be improbable, but Australians have to consider the idea. Their answer is that, in the first place, it becomes all the more necessary to have the beginnings of a fleet of their own; and, in the second place, an army of their own is just as urgently needed. Now Britain, with a population of forty-two millions, has paid heavily to keep up an army of 280,000. On those lines Australia would only be able to get an army of 30,000 men at most, to defend three million square miles of country. It is therefore proposed that, instead of employing a few men to do army work for the rest—which has been the English plan—Australians should henceforth be themselves their own army, by submitting to regular training between the ages of twelve and twenty-six and keeping themselves fit to march, to obey orders and to shoot straight for the following fifteen years or so. Under such a scheme, when it was in full working order, there would be always about a sixth of the whole population—the men between twenty and forty—ready to fight at very short notice in defence of the country, without calling on Britain for aid.

Australia and the Empire.

Take now the second objection to a White Australia—that Australians have as fellow-subjects in the Empire the Indian peoples, and as its allies the Japanese, and yet exclude both allies and

fellow-subjects from the Commonwealth. This raises the most difficult question that British statesmen have to consider. What do we mean by the "unity of the Empire?"

Imperial Unity.

There is a great deal of nominal unity. Every part of it acknowledges the rule of King Edward, who is directly represented in each part by a Governor, or Governor-General, or Viceroy. And these representatives have, even in the self-governing parts, the nominal power of vetoing, or reserving for further consideration by the authorities at home, all bills passed by the legislature in their section of the Empire. In practice that means very little. Governors have instructions to reserve bills on certain subjects; but, when the freely elected parliament of a self-governing colony has decided on a law, it is hazardous for a body of men in London, who are in no way responsible to the colony, to say the law shall not be so. So the British Government rarely runs the risk, and each of the greater colonies is as a rule absolutely undisturbed in its law-making. When a bill has to be vetoed, the home authorities take great trouble to show the colonial Government what evil effects on the Empire as a whole its passing would have; and the latter either yields to the argument, or submits unwillingly because a quarrel with the mother-country would be far worse than the loss of the bill. Sometimes a compromise is possible, as we have seen in dealing with the "dictation test"; though, as in that case, neither side gets much satisfaction out of the compromise.

Exclusion of British Subjects.

Now "White Australia" means that Australia is determined to exclude all the coloured races of India and Further India, of Africa and America, whether or no they are within the British Empire and so fellow-subjects of the King. But if England were to make laws forbidding Scots or Irishmen to become residents of London, there could be no "United Kingdom." What, then, if Bengalis and Kaffirs can be excluded from Australia, do we mean by the "unity of the Empire"? Some politicians say "The British Government should exercise its power of vetoing the colonies' exclusion laws." But if it did, what would happen? Australians may compromise about the method, but will not compromise about the fact of exclusion; and it is the one subject on which they would rather quarrel with the mother-country than give in. They believe, too, that in South Africa—in Natal and the Transvaal, at any rate—and in western Canada (in all white colonies, that is, to which Asiatic

labour can be brought quickly and easily) the bulk of the British population agrees with them; and it is becoming clear that, if the Empire is to be kept together, it must, in this matter at least, be kept together on their terms.

But we are getting outside the problems of Australia. How to balance colonial against British influence in deciding the Empire's policy is a task for the wisest heads the Empire can find. Yet we may remember that it was a future Prime Minister of Australia who, twenty-one years ago, told the Conference of 1887:—

> "We hope that, from this time forward, colonial policy may be considered Imperial policy; that colonial interests will be considered and felt to be Imperial interests; that they will be carefully studied, and that, when once they are understood, they will be most determinedly upheld."

And it was the same statesman, Mr. Deakin, who at the last Conference strongly advocated an "Imperial Secretariat," that is, a body of men from the different self-governing colonies, each knowing his own colony well and in touch with its Government, who could explain to the British Government at any time of need exactly what his fellow-citizens knew or thought about the matter in hand (*see* pp. 769-76).

We have dealt with the problems of immigration and defence in connection with "White Australia." They would, of course, exist if there were no such doctrine; but because of it, they are much more urgent and much more difficult to solve. It would be quite easy, for instance, to fill northern Queensland and the Northern Territory with coloured labourers; it is much more difficult to fill those regions with white workers—though it must be said that, except along the comparatively narrow coastbelt, their climate is much less tropical than their position on the map would indicate. Except during the short rainy season, life within the ranges is very much like life anywhere else in the Australian interior; and, now that a Federal law has forbidden the employment of Kanaka (South Sea Islands) labourers on the Queensland sugar-plantations, it is being discovered that a good deal of their work can be done by machinery, and the rest is not so terrible for white men who live, work and eat sensibly.

The Western Pacific.

Another external problem which Australia has to settle concerns her relations with the neighbouring islands in the Pacific. Seventy years ago Britain might have had them all for the asking;

indeed, in several cases, their inhabitants asked her to annex, and were refused. Then France and Germany and the United States came colony-hunting, and group after group of the islands was taken. This worried Australians for two reasons. In the first place, if France or Germany, say, were at war with Britain, they could launch an attack against Australia much more easily from a well-provisioned and fortified harbour in one of the groups belonging to them than from their more distant possessions in Asia or Africa; so a sound defence scheme became of more immediate importance. In the second place, France took to populating her nearest island, New Caledonia, with her convicted criminals, who again and again escaped to Australia and gave trouble there. It was from the conferences held to discuss these difficulties that the idea of Federation became popular. In the end, the islands have been divided among the various nations on the express condition that convicted criminals shall not be sent to them; so that part of the problem is settled for good. The one group still unannexed has been put under the supervision of Britain and France jointly, on such terms as ensure equal rights and duties, as far as possible, to citizens of both nations. And though Australians would naturally have preferred to see all the near groups under the British flag, their only real remaining worry is the exposure to attack from foreign harbours close at hand.

The New Hebrides.

Of the relations between the Commonwealth and British groups only two things need be said: that the trade between them is somewhat hampered by Australia's protective duties, since the islands grow by Kanaka labour many things that Australia is trying to grow by white; and that groups like the Solomons and New Hebrides, whose only link with the outer world is the steamer-traffic between them and Australia, are administered from the quite disconnected Fiji group, instead of from their trade-centre, Sydney (*see* pp. 222-3, 760-1). If their administrator lived in Australia, in touch with the Government of the Commonwealth on whose shipping companies they depend for trade, it would be easier to prevent friction and to consolidate the Empire in the Pacific.

Papua.

To one of the islands—or part of one—Australia stands in the relation of owner. Her newly-acquired colony of Papua is that south-eastern piece of New Guinea which Lord Derby was persuaded to save from annexation by Germany; this was done at Australia's request, and the three eastern States contri-

buted to the expenses of government. It was natural that when Australia became a single Commonwealth the territory should be handed over to the Federal Government directly it was ready to take the responsibility. Under direct British rule the administration's one object was to preserve peace among the natives, and between them and the few white immigrants. The Australian administrators are attempting to make the land more useful by introducing new crops and better methods of tillage, taking lessons in the business from the rulers of British Malaya; but the natives are as well looked after as ever, and no one is allowed to bargain with them for land or to disturb the arrangements already made for their welfare.

Questions of federation and preferential trade.

Of the one important external problem that has not yet been mentioned we can say little, since it has unfortunately been mixed up with party politics in Great Britain. Australians, like the citizens of all the self-governing colonies, have for many years discussed how to bind the fabric of the Empire more closely together. And the general conclusion they have reached seems to be that (*a*) the political connection cannot at present be made closer, because the self-governing colonies are not prepared to sacrifice any governing power until they have proof that the central authorities understand them better; (*b*) a connection for defence purposes is also impossible, because the use of army and navy must naturally be controlled by the power that pays for them, and so the colonies would always be outvoted by Britain (*see* pp. 224-5, 240-1)—whose rulers, as aforesaid, the colonies do not altogether trust; (*c*) the commercial bond can be tightened, by arrangements which would allow each part of the Empire to trade with other parts more profitably than with outsiders. In pursuance of this policy Canada and Australia let in British manufactures at lower duties than are charged on other goods of the same sort; also Australia and South Africa give each other "preference" on certain products, and Australia is bargaining with New Zealand and Canada for similar preferences. But the fiscal policy of Britain has, since 1846, been to let in the goods of any nation or colony untaxed, except a few articles, such as alcoholic liquors and tobacco which are only taxed for revenue purposes; and the British people has not yet made up its mind to alter this policy. Until this is done, and a tax is put on certain foreign imports, preference to the colonies is, of course, impossible.

CHAPTER X.

INDUSTRIES AND PRODUCTION.

Rows of figures are dry reading; but this chapter needs some as a text, and we must consider the meaning of the following tables:—

PRODUCE OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

	Amount Produced Annually.	Proportion Exported. Per Cent.	Value of Exports in £100,000.
Wool	...	Nearly all.	201
Wheat	66 million bush.	45	58
Oats	13 „ „	...	...
Maize	9 „ „	Hardly any.	...
Butter	147 „ lbs.	45	27
Wine	6 „ galls.	14	1
Frozen Meat	...	...	16
Gold	3,616,050 oz.	87	133½
Silver-lead	£3,037,000 worth	Nearly all.	29
Copper	2,978,000 „	76	23
Coal	2,436,000 „	35	8½
Tin	1,109,000 „	Nearly all.	10½
Timber	419,000,000 supfl. ft.	35	9½
Horses	...	...	3
Fruit	...	...	2¾
Hides & Skins	...	...	14½

TOTAL ANNUAL VALUE OF AUSTRALIAN EXPORTS (in million £.)

Pastoral	24
Mineral	22
Agricultural	7
Farmyard and Dairying	3
Forest	1
Manufactures	1
	58

[All these figures are averages obtained from the statistics of the years 1904-6, those for 1907 not being available. Wheat-export figures include flour.]

If some of these figures look small, we must remember that they represent the work of only four million people—not as many as there are in London (*see* p. 421). It is not the actual figures, however, but their proportions of which we need take note just now. For they indicate the sources of Australian wealth, and the industries in which Australians are for the most part engaged.

Wool-growing.

Wool comes first in value, as in time. From the days when Macarthur established his merino flock at Camden Park, sheep have been Australia's stand-by. Given grass and water, the sheep does the rest, roughly speaking; it goes to and fro on its own legs, costing nothing for freight; it does not escape to the bush and run wild, like cattle or horses; its increase is fairly rapid, and its wool gives a yearly income quite apart from the actual carcase value. Also the Australian climate improves wool in many ways; good as Spanish merino wool always was, in Australia it has become longer, softer, and more elastic, and the weight of fleeces has been considerably increased by the care and skill of breeders. In years when such a thing was much needed, wool gave Australia an exportable product—something of value to send home in return for the implements and food-stuffs and clothes which had to be sent out in those days from home. For the first century of the colony's life the wool-grower was both pioneer and principal mainstay of trade; only since then, and mainly in the western State, has the miner taken his place.

The disadvantage of this comparatively simple method of acquiring wealth was that everything depended on the weather. That need not have been so, of course; it was quite open to the squatter to spend some of his profits in a good year on works for the storage of water against coming droughts. But, as we have already seen, he rarely owned the huge blocks of land on which his flocks were pastured; the necessary labour was not easily obtainable; and it was far easier, in such a sunny climate, to chance the weather and hope to make up losses, if they occurred, when the next rains fell, and the grass sprang to luxuriance again. Meanwhile money could be borrowed from the banks on not too hard terms. To this there could be but one end; as the better country was taken over for other purposes, and the profits of good years showed less and less balance over the repayments that had to be made for previous losses, station after station fell into the hands of

the banks, and squatter after squatter either disappeared or became merely manager for a bank, to be retrenched in the next drought. As long, however, as droughts were short and money easily obtained in Britain, the wool industry progressed despite changes of ownership, until in 1891 Australia held more than one hundred and six million sheep. Then began the long succession of bad seasons that culminated in the great drought of 1902; then too, began the days of "tight" money, British capitalists finding that they had lent more to Australians—both to the States and to private corporations—than was at all advisable. In 1893 the crash came, and banks and firms and individuals suffered together; there was no money to spare even for the most necessary precautions against a water-famine, and the sheep died in hundreds of thousands. By 1901 thirty-four millions were dead, as well as all the natural increase; one year later the flocks of the Commonwealth numbered only half what they were at their maximum. Yet, so great is the natural increase directly food and water are available that in 1906 the numbers were eighty-four millions, and the value of the exported wool had gone up from £12,740,172 in the drought year, 1902, to £22,638,031 in 1906.

Never again will fortunes be made as easily from wool as they were in the days before 1851. There is keener competition for good land, and the squatter is being driven far inland to areas on which only eight or ten inches of rain fall in a year. But for the man with money and expert knowledge woolgrowing is a sounder investment than ever. On what is left of the stations that used to border the inland rivers, as they emerged from the foothills of the main range, irrigation makes it possible to rear far more sheep at far less risk than on the huge blocks of older days. And even in the dry interior, if a man will but spend money on conserving what rain he gets in the sudden infrequent storms, the thrusting of the railways inland and the soon-to-be-undertaken locking of the Darling and other rivers of the plains give him cheaper and quicker transit to market for his wool. The happy-go-lucky days of chance-earned fortunes are gone; but the industry is being more surely established on the only basis possible—hard work scientifically directed to a definite end.

Gold-mining.

Next to wool comes gold. If wool has been Australia's staple industry, gold has been its most successful advertisement. The story of its discovery in payable quantities has already been told.

Since then Australia has yielded nearly £500,000,000 worth of the metal, Victoria contributing more than half the quantity. The real value of this gold has been, not the money it is worth, but the immigration it has attracted; in Victoria itself, for instance, during the years 1904-6 the average yield was :—

Wool	£3,542,120	out of an average total product-value of £24,327,799.
Gold	3,235,422	
Wheat	3,198,716	

If we could reckon up the amounts lost in gold-mining, the actual profits of the industry would be small; but it was gold that brought to Victoria its population, and with it the power to produce from less than one-thirtieth of the Commonwealth's area more than a quarter of its product.

Since 1898 the Western Australian fields, which had then been known for about eleven years, have topped the Victorian gold-yield yearly, and now more than double it; in 1906 they produced £7,600,000 worth out of the total Commonwealth yield of £14,600,000. In the end they may be of some such use to Western Australia as the eastern fields were to Victoria; but their position handicaps them—Ballarat and Bendigo are surrounded by tillable lands, but Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie are several hundred miles away from the farmland of their State. In Queensland Gympie and Mount Morgan and Charters Towers have attracted immigrants from oversea, but not one of these three goldfields is alluvial, and it it doubtful how far they have helped to increase the agricultural population of the State. South Australia alone has had no direct benefit from gold; but the indirect benefits already touched on (*see* pp. 365, 391) were of great value.

Alluvial gold-mining has another good quality—it is a poor man's industry. This was well shown in New South Wales in 1894, after the crash of 1893, when mines requiring capital to work them had to shut down or restrict operations, so that the yield of silver, lead, tin and other minerals fell off by at least a third—and the gold-yield, stimulated by the rush of unemployed to the diggings, nearly doubled itself.

Wheat-growing.

After wool and gold we notice a great falling off in the export figures. That is because the bulk of these two products is exported, while of other products (except some minerals) a great deal is retained for local consumption. Out of sixty-six million bushels of wheat, for instance, not thirty million bushels were exported, and only sixty-six million lbs. of butter out of one

hundred and forty-seven million; so that the Commonwealth's grain-crops and dairy-products are not so unimportant, compared to its wool and gold, as the figures would seem to show. And when we remember that wheat-growing and dairy-farming on a large scale began quite recently in Australian history, we shall understand that they may yet become as wealth-producing as the older occupations.

Wheat-growing was for many years the specialty of Victoria and South Australia, which supplied, as far as they could, the deficiencies of the other States. Thus in 1891 these two States produced twenty million bushels out of Australia's total of twenty-five million. Ten years later they were still harvesting twenty million, but the total yield for the Commonwealth was more than thirty-eight million; and now New South Wales and Victoria contribute about one-third each to the total, South Australia giving about a quarter. In Queensland, the farmers believe dairying and other crops to be more profitable than wheat; while the size of Tasmania and the lack of settlement in Western Australia make the yield in these States small in comparison (*see* p. 420).

Compared with the amount of wheat the world manages to consume yearly, Australia's figures look small; in 1903, the best year she has had, she exported one twenty-fifth of the world's supply. But her trade in grain is only beginning. As happens in all new countries, growers have taken as little trouble as possible, trusting to the natural fertility of the virgin soil. Since the various Governments established model farms in suitable districts, at which scientific systems of farming are tested and taught, it has been found possible to increase considerably the yield from a given acreage—at Bathurst (New South Wales), for instance, in a year when only sixteen and a-half inches of rain fell, the Government farm grew (on a commercial scale) twenty-four bushels of wheat to the acre, while neighbouring farmers on far better soil won only five; and similar results have been obtained on the State farm at Rome in Queensland. When once this lesson is learnt, in wheat-growing as in wool-growing, the Commonwealth will take its place as one of the greatest agricultural countries of the world.

Dairying.

Dairying as an exporting industry began about the same time as wheat-growing. In 1891 barely four million lbs. of butter were sent to England; next year the quantity was doubled; in

1906 the export was seventy-five million lbs. This is the staple industry of the whole east coast, until we reach the tropics; indeed, one of its most striking developments is the steady replacement of cane fields and even wheat by dairy-farms in northern New South Wales and southern Queensland. The whole progress has been made possible by the factory system, under which a group of farmers sends milk to a centrally-placed factory, where butter can be produced of uniform quality in great quantities, and forwarded easily to the refrigerating chambers of the steamer that carries it to London. Along the north coast of New South Wales, for instance, factories situated on the river banks load butter into the freezing chambers of coastal boats, which in their turn discharge their cargo straight into the freezing chambers of the big mail-boats as they lie at the wharf in Sydney harbour.

Frozen meat.

Another of the group of industries which sprang up in the early nineties is the trade in frozen meat. In the old days, squatters who found their runs overstocked with sheep early in a dry season had but two alternatives—to let the surplus die, or to boil them down for tallow. In 1882 New Zealand graziers tried the experiment of exporting frozen carcases to England; New Zealand, however, had large flocks of crossbred sheep, more nearly of the size to which the English consumer is accustomed than were the small merino sheep of Australia. So the Australian trade, which began to assume importance in 1892, has never caught up that of New Zealand, although a large number of Shropshire and Lincoln rams have been imported for the special purpose of encouraging farmers in the highland districts to keep flocks of crossbreds. Until this habit spreads widely (as, with the beginnings of closer settlement, there are signs that it will), Australia's meat-export trade disposes mainly of surplus stock—as is shown by the fact that in the drought year, 1902, nearly £1,700,000 worth of frozen meat went home, while the next year's exports, when graziers were looking everywhere for stock to utilize their freshly springing pastures, dwindled by a third.

The export of frozen beef, mostly from Queensland, is particularly affected in this way; in 1901-2 more than £2,200,000 worth went to England; in 1905-6 less than £900,000 worth, though the number of cattle had increased by about fifteen per cent.

Among the smaller primary industries four may be particularly noted. Horses fit for the saddle and for light harness thrive better in Australia, perhaps, than anywhere else in the world, and great trouble has been taken for many years to improve the breed. India has always been a sure market, the Australian horse being there known as a "Waler," because New South Wales is the chief horse-breeding State; but South Africa absorbed many during the Boer War, Japan has recently taken to buying largely, and Germany is beginning to buy. This is one of the older industries, which grew rapidly till 1891 and has since then remained almost stationary, with a slight increase in the last two years; the three eastern States hold eighty per cent. of it, but the uplands of the Northern Territory may yet rival their best horse-breeding country.

Horse-breeding.

Sugar is Queensland's substitute for the wheat of the southern States (p. 371). The industry suffered for a long time from the State's varying policy as regards Pacific islands labour; and even when the Federal Parliament gave four years' notice of its abolition, many cane-growers still hoped to get the decision annulled. The area under cultivation, however, has increased steadily since 1902 from a hundred and five to a hundred and fifty thousand acres, yielding respectively eight hundred and twenty-five and nineteen hundred and fifty thousand tons of cane. The increase has been almost wholly in Queensland, old plantations in New South Wales being turned into dairy farms as fast as new sugar plantations were formed. There are three well-marked zones of sugar-land: the tropical zone lies between lat. 16° and lat. 19°, the sub-tropical stretches from 19° to 26°, and the cool zone comes as far south as 31°. In the last there has never been any difficulty about labour—white men, with a few Hindus and aborigines, have done all the work. The sub-tropical belt, which includes the important districts of Childers, Bundaberg and Mackay, used to employ white and coloured labour in almost equal proportions. In the north, on the Herbert and Johnstone Rivers and the lands round Cairns and Port Douglas, nine-tenths of the work used to be done by coloured labourers, and the problem of filling their places is more difficult; but it has already been found that men who live and work steadily, altering their habits and hours of labour to

Sugar-growing.

suit the climate, produce both better and quicker results than coloured labour did. On the rich, volcanic soils of the coast ranges large areas of land suitable for general farming can be selected; and on these the extra plantation hands required will doubtless establish homes and cultivate the soil between the crushing seasons. A considerable population, partly connected with the mining and timber industries, is already settled there. So it seems probable that the northern canefields will be supplied with labour just as the far inland stations are supplied with shearers.

Cane-growers have yet much to learn from scientific experts. The irrigation of canefields has only just begun; and a great deal of drudgery, for which white labour is not very suitable, can be saved by the adoption of recently invented machinery. Australia grows almost enough sugar for its own consumption but a good deal grown by cheap labour is imported for refining, and the export trade is handicapped, since Fiji and Java, growing their cane with cheap black labour, underbid Australian sugar in the world's markets.

Fruit-growing.

Orchards and vineyards are still few and far between, considering how well they flourish on the slopes of the main range, and along the river banks wherever irrigation is practised. Tasmania has devoted itself to apple growing with such success that during apple harvest the mail steamers go out of their usual course to Hobart to fetch away the crop. One or two irrigation settlements on the lower Murray help to supply the Commonwealth with dried fruit—sultanas, apricots, peaches and currants—and much land fit for this use can be found on the eastern edge of the great plains. The cold-climate fruits (apples, cherries, raspberries and gooseberries) do well on the higher parts of the range extending into Queensland, especia ly round Stanthorpe, while fifty to eighty miles away on the coast-belt oranges flourish near Sydney and pine-apples and bananas further north. Queensland orchards all along the Eastern sea-board supply tropical and sub-tropical fruits; and the Queensland banana crop, coming mainly from the coast north of Townsville, is practically a Chinese perquisite.

Since Australia has to import a great part of the fruit she consumes, it may seem strange that more settlers do not turn their attention to orchard work. In practice, however, there are two disadvantages: as compared with the lazier forms of wheat-growing at present in vogue it demands more and

steadier labour, and keeps the grower waiting longer for his return. Most small holdings in the Commonwealth are still owned by men with very little capital and hardly any scientific training for their work; they need a crop to sell the first year, and they set about getting it by the old rule-of-thumb methods. As the cultivator's position and education are improved, fruit-growing will take its proper place as a great Australian industry.

Wine-growing.

Vineyards date from 1828, when the first slips from European vines were set out in the valley of the Hunter. Later on the Murray valley was found also suitable, and South Australia took to employing her German immigrants in wine-growing. Now Tasmania is the only State without vineyards, but the Hunter and Murray valleys, and the hill-slopes behind and north of Adelaide in South Australia, are still the centres of production. South Australia has the lion's share of the export trade, the other wines going mostly in local consumption. As in nearly all the other primary industries, Australian success in wine-growing is handicapped by want of expert knowledge, and needs only that to become more marked and permanent.

Forestry.

Australian timber is at present the cause of much disputing. The hardwoods of Western Australia (jarrah and karri) supply a third of the Commonwealth's product, and the bulk of its export; but along the eastern ranges occur "vine-scrubs" or jungle containing soft-woods of great commercial value, which unfortunately occupy just such patches of rich volcanic soil as are needed for agricultural settlement. And the settler, if he acquires a block of this land, will not wait to cut and market the standing timber; he fells it, burns it off, and is in a fever till a crop is in the ground. Thus Australia loses much natural wealth, which might be saved but for the States' hunger for population and the people's hunger for land. If this hunger can be satisfied elsewhere—say, by resuming larger areas of land already cleared, instead of throwing open the still untouched forests—Australia's softwoods may become as well-known and as profitable as her hardwoods are.

Minerals: Coal.

Of the minerals, other than gold, a short notice must suffice. Coal is at present a New South Wales product in the main, dug from seams which underlie all the State's eastern watershed between Port Stephens and Bateman's Bay. The actual mining districts

are Newcastle and Maitland, in the Hunter valley; Lithgow, in the range north-west of Sydney; and North Illawarra, twenty-five to fifty miles south of Sydney. Coal is also being mined directly beneath Port Jackson, at a depth of three thousand feet. In Victoria large deposits of "brown coal" and lignite occur, and a few seams of black coal in southern Gippsland, similar to those which are being worked on the Clarence River (New South Wales) and at Ipswich (Queensland). New South Wales is responsible for eighty-eight per cent. of the Commonwealth's coal supply and Queensland, which possesses large coalfields still unworked, for seven per cent.

Silver, Lead, Copper, Tin.

Silver and lead come chiefly from the "mother-State," out of the famous Broken Hill district; but the west coast of Tasmania and the inland slopes of the range behind Cairns in North Queensland are also noticeably productive. The same districts in the two States last mentioned yield much copper, which is everywhere associated with gold as lead is with silver. There is also a copper patch round Cobar, far out in the great plain of New South Wales; but the State which has benefited most from its copper mines is South Australia, which has practically no other metal deposit, and which has produced more than sixty per cent. of Australia's total copper output. Tin is Tasmanian, too; but Queensland (from the backlands of Cairns), northern New South Wales (from the north-western slopes of the main range), and Western Australia materially help the output.

Iron.

Iron, though it is only now being smelted for manufacture, has long been known to exist in extensive deposits in every State but Victoria. Those easily workable are found on the north coast of Tasmania, and on both sides of the main range in New South Wales, near Mittagong and Orange. Lithgow is the first centre of Australia's iron manufactures, and because of it is to be the Commonwealth's first Arsenal.

Other forms of the Commonwealth's mineral wealth are the zinc ores of Broken Hill; the tungsten ores (scheelite and wolfram) of northern New South Wales and north Queensland; the salt deposits of Lake Fowler on Yorke Peninsula (South Australia); the kerosene shale beds in the ranges north-west of Lithgow; and the opal deposits at White Cliffs, west of the Darling, at Lightning Ridge, in the basin of the Namoi, and at Fermoy and Opalton in western Queensland, where some

Opals.

of the finest opal in the world is found. Many other minerals occur widely throughout Australia, but, except the sapphires and some other precious stones in Queensland, have not yet been worked on a commercially important scale (*see* pp. 418-19).

Manufactures.

The manufacturing industries of the Commonwealth are still in their infancy. Roughly speaking, before Federation it was found more profitable to employ labour on the production of raw material for export, and to import manufactures in return, than to work up Australian material on the spot. Victoria, however, encouraged local manufacturers by a protective tariff, and four of the other States slowly followed her example, leaving New South Wales alone as a free-trade State. This difference of policy hampered Federation a good deal; but as soon as Australia began to feel herself a nation, it was seen that mere monetary profit was less important than the power to supply her own wants without depending on imports from twelve thousand miles away. The Commonwealth's first tariff, therefore, was avowedly protective, and the revision of it just completed (1908) emphasizes its protective character. For many years, however—perhaps always, for the reason given in connection with sugar-making (pp. 410-11)—few Australian manufactures (unless we include in that description flour and tallow) will be exported; and employment will be, as it is, found chiefly in working up for local use local raw material of clothes, food, and furniture.

CHAPTER XI.

THE AUSTRALIANS AND THEIR PLACE IN THE EMPIRE.

Let us now sketch a picture of the "all-British" continent as it exists to-day. Figures will help us again—not that they need be learnt, but because (as was said in the last chapter), they give an easily-grasped idea of the way in which Australians occupy themselves, and the value of their work. Let us therefore study the following tables:—

Employment.	Proportion of Workers Employed. Per Cent.	Value of Product. Per Cent.
Pastoral Industries.....	4	22
Agriculture	17	23
Dairy-farming, &c.....	3	8
Mining	7	20
Forestry and Fisheries	1	3
Manufactures	16	24
Trading and Finance	13	...
Professions	7	...
Domestic Service	12	...
Transport & Communication	8	...
Minor Industries	12	...

TABLES OF COMPARATIVE STATISTICS.

OCCUPATIONS.

	U.K. Per Cent.	France. Per Cent.	Germany Per Cent.	U.S. Per Cent.	Aus. Per Cent.
Agriculture (incl. pastoral and dairying)	17½	51	42	26	25
Manufacturing	52	24	23	12	16
Commerce	8	...	8	...	13

Note the overlarge proportion, in Australia, of commercial men to producers.

We note first of all, in order to understand clearly what these figures mean, that the "workers" are rather less than half the total population, the rest of it being classed by statisticians as "dependents" on the actual breadwinners. About two-thirds of Australian men and boys, and one-fifth of the women and girls, are classed as workers—about two per cent. of the workers being children under fifteen, most of whom were helping their fathers on farms and dairies. It must also be remembered that "manufactures" include such work as saw-milling, butter-making, chaff-cutting and printing newspapers.

We shall see from the first table how valuable pastoral and mining industries are to a young, thinly settled country; with comparatively few employees they yield disproportionately large results. But for that very reason they are less helpful when a country has got its start and needs more population. Then it is agriculture and manufacturing that must be stimulated, because they employ a much larger number of workers. That is why the States now take such trouble to bring in agricultural immigrants, and the Federal Parliament uses the tariff to encourage manufacturers.

No leisured class.

We shall see also that there is practically no leisured class in Australia, a most important fact. About one-third of the male population is under fifteen years of age; that is also the proportion of non-workers to workers among the males. The few men too old to work may be balanced against the few children who are counted as workers. And it is interesting to note that out of every hundred workers ten are employers, sixty-seven employees, and the remaining twenty-three work on their own account or help their relatives.

The Central Plains.

The geographical features of Australia have already been outlined (pp. 329-30). The Great Central Plains we must picture as almost wholly given up at present to sheep and cattle; but with this exception, soon to become an important one, that wherever permanent water can be guaranteed there agriculture, either in the form of orchards or of wheat-fields, will oust the live-stock directly it is assured of cheap carriage to a good market. And the permanent water is there, if only people will trouble to bore for it. For along the edge of the tableland, where it slopes off into the plains, a stratum of extremely porous sandstone crops out in a belt

Artesian Belt.

sometimes five, sometimes nearly seventy miles wide; from every stream that flows across this belt much of its water soaks away as if into a sponge; and the water-laden rock, dropping sharply from its outcrop beneath harder shales and limestones, presently spreads itself out flat under the whole extent of the westward plains. Within this "artesian area" we may put down a bore anywhere and find water rushing to the surface, sometimes from four thousand feet down, sometimes from only twelve hundred or so—warm water, often, and sometimes charged with mineral properties, but generally good water that will grow any crop the climate allows. Unfortunately the artesian area is not co-extensive with the plains. But it does cover the greater portion of them: if we draw a line through Moree (New South Wales) to Warren and Nyngan, and then round by the Bogan and Darling to and along lat. 31° and 30° till we are well past Lake Eyre—the whole plain-country north of that line is artesian right to the Gulf of Carpentaria, except that the dry area of the Northern Territory takes a large bite out of western Queensland. Within the artesian area New South Wales has about three hundred bores, with a flow of over one hundred and sixty million gallons a day; Queensland has at least six hundred, giving four hundred million gallons; in South Australia fifteen of the most successful bores yield seven million. So the average yield seems to be from four hundred and fifty thousand to six hundred and fifty thousand gallons a day—not enough to set a river going, but enough to establish gardens and orchards and to water great flocks and herds, without counting on any rainfall at all.

Mining Centres.

Here and there out of the great level stretch rise low hills that have been stiffened against the general smoothing-down by the impregnation of their rock-stuff with mineral deposits. In most cases silica or iron is the hardening agent; but the exceptions are of immense value. At Broken Hill the stiffening is ore of silver and lead; at Cobar (New South Wales) and Cloncurry (Queensland), copper ores; at White Cliffs (New South Wales), and a dozen or so places in Queensland, the silica takes the valuable form of opal. But the rule is, no hills, no minerals; and the mass of the plain-country must be sheep-country for ever, patched with small areas of intensive cultivation round the artesian bores.

The Eastern Tableland.

In the Eastern Highlands or tableland we must distinguish between its eastern, or coastal gullies, worn deep under high cliff-sided, flat-topped spurs, and its western slopes, whose rivers run more gently through valleys and upland plains of a more European type. Along the coastal belt, both in the lower gullies and wherever the rushing rivers have room to spread their alluvium between the spur-ends and the sea, is the land of dairies and of cane-fields, according to climate. In the higher gullies and on the spurs, especially where they are capped by some volcanic deposit (*e.g.*, the Dorrigo in New South Wales, and the Atherton and Evelyn plateaux in northern Queensland), grows the valuable timber. Minerals are scarce in these parts, except coal, which is almost purely a coastal product; yet there are a few rich goldfields, round Araluen in southern New South Wales and Hillgrove in northern, and especially in Queensland (*see* pp. 406-7).

The western slopes of the Eastern Tableland.

But the western slopes are the cream of the continent. Their lower border is the great wheat-belt—in southern Queensland it extends almost to the summit of the plateau; their upper valleys are full of small farms, and ought soon to be full of orchards; and everywhere they are highly mineralized. From Melbourne to Mudgee gold is found in almost every gully; all the famous early diggings, except Ballarat—which is only just south of the watershed—are on these inland slopes, Bendigo, the Ovens, Lambing Flat and the Turon. Copper is mined south of Bathurst, and silver has been mined north of it; iron is found all through that district in huge deposits, waiting for the establishment of the industries that shall make the mining of it profitable; on the edge of the plains, beyond Parkes, there is platinum. Further north, from Armidale in New South Wales to Warwick in Queensland, tin ores lie thick in all the western gullies, with silver, aluminium and diamonds to help on the districts' prosperity (*see* p. 413).

The extremities of the Eastern Highlands.

Perhaps the most wonderful of all are the tableland's two ends—Tasmania and the ranges behind Cairns. There we have tin and copper and silver-lead all profusely jumbled up together, with gold-fields handy; the northern end boasts wolfram and molybdenite also as commercial products of value, and there is hardly a metal, even the rarest, which cannot be found

somewhere in the Chillagoe district. Indeed, it would be hard to find anywhere in the world a more valuable strip of country —if only there were direct communication with the great world-markets—than the tableland for about fifty miles on each side of lat. 17°. At its coastal foot are the cane-fields of Cairns and Geraldton; bananas and cotton and coffee flourish above and behind them; fields and plantations both have been hewn out of the noble forest-belt which for one hundred miles runs parallel with the coast, and climbs almost from the seashore to and over the range-top three thousand feet above. Its higher levels are the Atherton and Evelyn scrubs, already mentioned, rich volcanic areas in a climate well fitted for white men's working. Beyond them stretch comparatively barren slopes and gullies, crammed with the mineral wealth we have just described, and the pastoral country to north and west and south-west is, so to speak, littered with gold. In 1906 about four thousand miners took from that strip of tableland more than a million pounds worth of mineral, chiefly with the most simple and primitive appliances.

Their south-eastern spur.

To complete the picture, two regions—the south-eastern spur of the Eastern Tableland and the Western Tableland—have yet to be described. The country between Port Phillip and St. Vincent's Gulf (p. 330) seems to be a much-worn-down spur of the eastern plateau, and its products are distributed in much the same way. On the coastal slopes dairying is in favour, orchards and vineyards occupy the upper inland valleys, and the wheat-growers are spreading over the whole basin of the lower Murray wherever they can get enough water. Victoria has a patch of forest on the Otway Ranges, quite unconnected with the main highlands. The minerals (*see* pp. 407, 413-14) occur in or near the low ranges which represent the core of the vanished tableland.

The Western Tableland.

The low western tableland comprises nearly half Australia; yet very little can be added to the description already given (p. 329). The vast interior—bounded, roughly speaking, by lats. 18° and 31° and longs. 121° and 135°—is a plateau with neither river-system nor mountain-system, partially barren desert, and mainly useless except where rich gold-fields occur along a north and south line of granitic upheaval passing from Esperance Bay through Kalgoorlie to Nullagine on the upper De Grey. This is bounded by a belt of good pastoral

country, watered by fine rivers, not far from which passes another line of granitic upheaval through Southern Cross to Cue and the upper Ashburton. Along the outer edge of this belt of pastoral country, and throughout the narrow and less fertile coastal plain, artesian water can also be obtained. Apart from the pastoral and mining industries, only two districts of this huge region are of any importance—the broad tropical peninsula that ends off the Northern Territory, and the ridged south-western corner of the continent.

The Northern Territory.

The first, long neglected because the poorest and thriftiest of the States had it in charge, is still very little known; its coast is fitted for the usual class of tropical products, its uplands breed good cattle and horses, not to mention buffalo. As for minerals, it has **most** that Chillagoe has (p. 419); but Chinese prospecting **has** eaten away the surface patches, and no systematic search has yet been made to prove their existence in commercial quantity.

The Perth-Albany corner.

The other district was for many years all there was of Western Australia. It consists of the Darling Range and its foothills, bordering the coast from Geraldton (not to be confused with Geraldton, Queensland) to Albany. On the range south of Perth is carried on a third of Australia's timber industry; coal and tin are mined in the southernmost valleys; the wheatlands are east and north of Perth. Elsewhere, among the valleys by which streams from the inland plateau penetrate the range, orchards and dairy-farms nestle; but the greater part of Western Australia's agricultural produce is consumed within the State. Its possibilities are, however, great. Droughts are there unknown; it has a regular rainfall of more than 20 in. over an area double the total area of Victoria, and a rainfall of between 10 in. and 20 in. over an area equal to Victoria and New South Wales combined. Its average yield of wheat per acre is second only to that of Queensland and is subject to but slight vicissitudes; it is now exported to Europe as well as to the Eastern States of Australia. Farming now extends almost to the borders of the goldfields; more timber is exported than from any other Australian State, and dairying and fruit-growing are being rapidly developed. The importance attached to its agriculture is illustrated by the fact that it has just erected at a cost of £350,000 a rabbit-proof fence over two thousand miles long.

Nevertheless, Eastern Australia remains the most important factor in the continent. Its principal needs are scientific tillage, an adequate storage of the water, which in reality abounds over or under almost its whole area, and a sufficient market for its wares. As long as the great markets of the world cluster round the North Atlantic, the handicap of distance will be heavy, and Australia must depend on its own population for consuming all produce that it cannot grow cheaply or well enough to defy the competition of countries nearer the market-centre; if, therefore, it wants to increase its products (*see* p. 404), immigrants must be had at all costs to people it more densely. Some writers, however, anticipate a day when the Pacific, not the Atlantic, will be the inhabited world's centre of gravity. The prospect would not be contemplated with much equanimity by Britain or by Europe or even by white races generally; for such a transference of gravity would enormously increase the influence of the Asiatic in the politics of the world. The facts that man must live on land, that there is much more land in the Atlantic than in the Pacific hemisphere, and that communities are developing as fast along the shores of the Atlantic as along those of the Pacific, render the contingency distant if not improbable. But in view of it, it is well to know that we have only scratched the skin of Australia's wealth, and that the Empire has there, stored away against emergencies, huge resources.

The future of the Pacific.

As far as figures are concerned, Australia has more sheep than any other country, and twenty per cent. of the world's flocks. One-fifth of the world's annual gold-yield comes from it, but only six per cent. of the silver, five per cent. of the copper and tin, and not quite nine per cent. of the lead. The figures may look small, but they represent the produce of about $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the world's population, and the Australian's individual productivity is illustrated by this table of *external* trade per head:—

Its production.

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
United Kingdom	£11 19 0	£8 12 0	£20 11 0
Germany	6 9 5	5 1 0	11 10 5
United States	2 5 6	4 8 0	7 13 6
Australia	10 3 0	15 1 0	25 4 0

Australia's place within the Empire is, of course, more important. It produces forty per cent. of the wool, ten per

cent. of the wheat, seventeen and a-half per cent. of the gold, six per cent. of the apples, five per cent. of the butter, and nearly five per cent. of the wine, imported into the United Kingdom. Sydney has a more valuable shipping trade than any British port except London, Liverpool, and Hull; Glasgow comes next, then Melbourne, then Southampton, though the actual tonnage of vessels engaged in the foreign trade cleared and entered at the ports of the Empire gives a somewhat different result. Australia stands high in another way also; her States, municipalities, and public Trusts have borrowed nearly £258,000,000, mostly from British capitalists —every Australian, that is, owes about £63 on the public account or about two and a quarter times the amount owed by every Briton, and interest on that amount has to be provided out of his pocket either by taxation or in railway fares and water rates. The British debt of twelve hundred and fifty-eight millions or so is made up of seven hundred and forty millions for war expenditure incurred during the past (in creating those conditions which alone made colonial development possible), about forty-nine millions for permanent public works (military and other) managed by the State, and four hundred and sixty-nine millions for works carried on by municipalities and other public authorities. The Australian two hundred and fifty-eight millions have gone almost entirely in the construction of public works—railways, waterworks, harbours, roads, schools, a few forts, and so forth—of which the bulk are now paying or beginning to pay for themselves, just as railways in England pay dividends to their shareholders. Putting this in another form, each inhabitant of the United Kingdom owes, on public account, £17 for expenditure on wars, and £11. 12s. for public works, perhaps a half of which pay some interest on their cost. So that he provides by taxation for the interest on £22. 16s. The Australian owes, on public account, £63 for public works, of which seventeen-twentieths produce revenue to meet the interest on their cost. Thus he provides by taxation for the interest on about £10, and gets the rest of the interest from payments for railway travelling, water, harbour dues, &c., which in Britain he would be making to private companies.

Its debt.

So, while Great Britain supplies Australia with capital at cheaper rates than it could be obtained elsewhere and is the best market for Australian exports, Australia not only helps

to furnish the Englishman with wool for his clothes, gold for his trading and butter for his meals, but gives him also a sure investment for his spare cash. And yet the chief importance of the Commonwealth to the Empire has still to be explained.

Its ideals and legislation.

For wool and gold, commerce and manufactures, are not the end and aim of our existence; they are just aids, necessary or useful, to a healthy and a happy life. Of health and happiness different races have different ideals, as we saw when talking of the reason why Australia excludes Asiatics; and the history of each race is really the story of its widening ideals and its attempts to realise them. Thus all through the history of England the nation was struggling towards greater freedom—freedom from the tyranny of feudal overlords, then freedom from a single ruler's despotism, then freedom from the overpowering influence of a few great landowners—until thirty or forty years ago the ideal had come to be that every Briton should be as little as possible trammelled by any laws except those which forbade him to injure another man physically, and those which bade him pay a little towards the maintenance of the public service. Across the Atlantic the United States, another community, mainly British in race, carried out the individualistic idea more thoroughly, and its own people are a little frightened about the result. Almost complete freedom from law made by the community at large has turned out to mean almost complete subjection to orders given by a certain number of the richest and cleverest men in the community; which, whether it is beneficial or not, is not freedom at all.

Australians have watched this experiment with a great deal of interest. Their own conditions of life are similar enough to make it possible that the same fate would befall them. It was, however, found impossible, almost from the beginning, to build the necessary railways in the American or English fashion, by private enterprise; and the central Government in each Australian State was compelled to take over that work. Starting from that, Australia has gradually but deliberately launched out on an experiment of exactly the opposite kind. That they may not have to obey the orders of leaders whom they did not choose—however wise those leaders may be—Australians prefer to bind themselves more closely by public law, even in matters which other British communities have left untouched by legislation. An Australian may not buy his goods freely from anywhere in the world; if he buys certain goods from

manufacturers outside Australia, he pays a fine in the shape of an import duty; if he buys from foreigners rather than from British manufacturers, he pays a heavier fine. In most States he may not pay his workmen the wages he likes, even if he can get them to agree; he must pay what a judge, or a committee of employers and workmen, thinks a fair rate of wages on which the workman can live with comfort. If he owns land, and leaves it unused or used only for grazing when it is fit for tillage, his State Government can make him sell it at its value, and may then split it up among men who will use it better. In each case the law is intended to make things better for the community at large, even though it interferes with the individual's wishes. This does not sound like freedom. But, in the first place, freedom is not an end any more than wool-growing is; it is an aid to happy life, and there may be better aids. And, in the second place, we cannot have absolute freedom: and it may be safer to obey laws that we can help to make than orders which we have nothing to do with giving.

At any rate, Australia, like New Zealand, is making this experiment (*see* pp. 462-8). And on the results in Australia, when they have been tested by time, much of the Empire's future welfare may depend. If it turns out that under the Australian system more people are really free and happy than under the American or even the British, every man in the world with British ideals will owe Australia a great debt for her courage; if it is found that public laws after all cramp the individual as much as private compulsion, Australians will have warned their fellow-citizens of the Empire off a dangerous course. At present their pursuit of health and happiness has everything in its favour; there is no set form of society, such as cannot be disturbed without dangerous upheavals; the soil is fertile, the climate is so equable that people can sleep out of doors all the year round in all but a very small portion of the continent. And they are experimenting carefully and deliberately, in the belief that a clever man is better employed making laws for his fellows than making a fortune for himself; that a citizen owes certain personal duties to the State, besides the mere duty of paying other people to do things for it; and that a man is happiest himself, and most useful to his country, when he is allowed, and has been trained, to do the work for which he is naturally fitted, under pleasant and healthy conditions and without fear that other men's greater riches or cunning may rob him of his due reward.

III.

THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.

Area.

New Zealand, like the British Islands, is an archipelago. It consists of two large and several smaller islands. The two largest are the North Island and the South Island (or the Middle Island as it is officially termed), separated from each other by Cook Strait. The existence of this strait is of great importance as facilitating communications, *e.g.*, between Napier and Nelson, Wellington and Christchurch; but for it these sea voyages would be many times longer than they are. The two islands together contain ninety-nine per cent. of the land of New Zealand. The North Island has an area of 44,468 square miles, the South Island an area of 58,525 square miles, and Stewart Island, separated from South Island by Foveaux Strait, an area of 665 square miles. The length of these three islands is about eleven hundred miles, or nearly twice that of Great Britain. The breadth varies from forty-six to two hundred and fifty miles, and no place is more than seventy-five miles from the sea.

The smaller islands of the group are the Auckland, Campbell, Chatham, Antipodes and Bounty Islands. The small Kermadec Islands (five miles square), though outside the limits of the archipelago, and the Cook Islands (150 square miles), some two thousand miles distant from Auckland are politically included in New Zealand, whose total area is thus 104,751 square miles, or some seventeen thousand square miles less than that of Great Britain and Ireland.

The North Island.

New Zealand is extremely mountainous, the plains being few and small relatively to the size of the country. A continuous mountain chain runs for two hundred miles through the east of the North Island and for five hundred and twenty miles through the South Island. A great part of the North Island is volcanic; and on its west coast the extinct volcano of Mount Egmont (8,260 ft.), with its snow-covered cone of perfect symmetry, forms a great circular protrusion. The north of the island consists of a long, narrow, irregular and much indented peninsula, which runs for over three hundred and fifty miles north-west from the mountain core. This peninsula is almost cut in two by Manukau Harbour on the west and Hauraki Gulf on the east. On the narrow isthmus which joins the two halves of the peninsula is built Auckland, the largest town of New Zealand, among extinct volcanoes. In the volcanic districts of the centre are numerous picturesque lakes, such as Rotorua and Tarawera. The volcanoes of this region are now quiescent, but in 1886 a violent eruption destroyed the famous pink and white sinter terraces and greatly altered the topography of the district. Farther south is Lake Taupo, a large regular expanse of water drained to the south by the Waikato, the chief river of New Zealand. South of this lake rise the active volcanic cones of Tongariro (7,515 ft.) and Ruapehu (9,008 ft.), separated from Mount Egmont by the broad Wanganui valley. Through the lowland formed by this chain of lakes and rivers runs the railway line from Auckland, skirting the base of Tongariro and Ruapehu, to Wellington, the capital. Wellington is built on Port Nicholson, one of the bays formed at the southern end of the North Island by the submerged valleys between the ranges of the eastern mountain system. These ranges slope down to the high east coast which is broken by Hawke's Bay, and by Poverty Bay. On the rolling grassy land of Hawke's Bay is situated Napier, and on Poverty Bay lies Gisborne.

The South Island.

In the South Island the mountain system is both broader and higher. The parallel ranges in the north form peninsulas on the south side of Cook Strait. The valleys between have been drowned, and form the picturesque sounds, on which are built Picton, at the head of Queen Charlotte Sound, Nelson, at the head of the wide Tasman Bay, and Blenheim, at the mouth of the Wairau

river. It is towards the north that the mountain system of South Island attains its greatest height in Mt. Franklin (10,000 ft.) and Mt. Hochstetter (11,200 ft.). Of the rivers rising in this mountain system the Buller and the Grey, which flow to the west coast through rich mineral regions, are the most important. Westport, at the mouth of the Buller, Greymouth, at the mouth of the Grey, and Hokitika are the chief towns in the west. They are cut off from the plains and ports of the eastern coast by the long line of the Southern Alps, which is everywhere difficult to cross. The Otira gorge affords a difficult route from this western region to the Waimakariri river and the Canterbury plains, which form the largest lowland of New Zealand and lie at the eastern base of the Southern Alps; they are bounded on the south by a volcanic mass which makes the Otago peninsula, and are broken on the north by the similar formation of Banks peninsula. In the northern half of this lowland region is Christchurch, with Lyttelton as its port, and in the southern Timaru and Oamaru. Still farther south, beyond a spur of the Southern Alps is another lowland, in which are situated Dunedin and Port Chalmers, on the harbour of Otago. Christchurch, Lyttelton, Timaru, and Oamaru, are the chief outlets for the produce of the Canterbury plains, which rise gradually in the west to the majestic Southern Alps. These mountains, which run southwards from the Otira Gorge and culminate in Aorangi (Mount Cook; 12,350 ft.), contain many glaciers, of which the largest, the Tasman Glacier, is eighteen miles long and from three to four miles wide. On the west side several of these glaciers descend to the level of 600 ft. above the sea. They are the remains of the once vast icefields which excavated a series of long, narrow, deep, steep-sided, picturesque valley lakes, resembling those of the Scottish Highlands and those at the northern and southern bases of the European Alps. Among these lakes are Wanaka and Wakatipu, drained by the Clutha, and Te Anau, drained by the Waiau.

The Canterbury Plains.

Glaciers and Lakes.

The same ice sheet greatly deepened the western valleys of the Southern Alps, which open to the coast. In the south these have been filled by the sea, forming a magnificent series of fiords, which are only rivalled by those of Norway, British Columbia and Southern Chile. These fiords further resemble each other in

The fiords.

being situated on west coasts in the track of prevailing westerly storm winds which bring rain at all seasons, but especially in winter.

Climate. New Zealand lies between latitudes 34½°S. and 47½°S., that is, almost in those of Japan and Italy in the northern hemisphere. To both of these countries it has a certain structural resemblance, a long mountain system being in each case flanked by younger volcanic rocks. The climate of New Zealand resembles that of Italy rather than that of Japan, but is more equable and moister, as New Zealand is exposed to the influences of a wide ocean on every side. The north of the North Island has a typical Mediterranean climate with long summers and wet winters. Outside this area, the greater part of New Zealand has a climate resembling, but much clearer than, that of Western Europe, between the north of Portugal and the south of Ireland.

Wind and rain. Lying in the track of the westerly storms it receives rain at all seasons. These westerly storm winds are stronger in the southern hemisphere than in the northern, owing to the difference in the relative distribution of land and water. Very heavy rains fall on the western slopes of the Southern Alps, which deflect the winds upwards into higher and colder regions of the atmosphere, and cause much of the moisture to fall as rain. The descending winds on the lee side of the mountains are consequently dry. They become warmed by compression as they descend, like those known as foehn winds in Switzerland and as Chinook winds in the North American prairies (*see* p. 248). In New Zealand they are called "north-westers." They blow most strongly during November and December, and often injure the ripening grain before it is reaped in January and February.

The wet windward slopes of the Southern Alps are densely forested, as in the corresponding region of British Columbia. Cattle graze in the high mountain meadows above the tree line. A great contrast is presented by the grassy or cultivated plains of the leeward side. In these the rainfall is under 30 in. and cereals do well. In the North Island, where the mountain system is in the east and is narrower, lower and less continuous, the distribution of the rainfall is more uniform. The greater part of the North Island receives over 40 in. of rain, except in the districts which form the hinterland of Wanganui and Hawke's Bay.

New Zealand appears to have been originally covered by a dense forest bush of evergreen timber; and even in the now treeless plains of Otago traces of forest trees are found. But this forest has been undergoing a process of destruction for a long period. Forest fires have helped to destroy it and, at a later period, large areas have been cleared for settlement. Recently, however, large forest reserves have been created by the Government for the preservation of native timber, and the settlers themselves have planted a number of Australian gums and pines. The existing forests of New Zealand have a dense undergrowth of shrubs and ferns, the tree ferns growing to a height of 30 ft. or 40 ft. and forming a beautiful feature. In the North Island the noblest forest tree is the kauri pine, which yields a liquid resin; this solidifies with exposure or age, and the large areas in the north, which were once covered with this pine, are valuable for the gum embedded in the ground where the trees have fallen and rotted away. Another vegetable product of importance is phormium, or New Zealand hemp; it is chiefly used in making binder twine, the export of which rose between 1896 and 1906 from £33,000 to £776,000.

Vegetation

Sheep farming and agriculture.

The treeless dry Canterbury Plains make a fine sheep country. The animals are bred both for wool and mutton. The mutton is frozen and exported in special refrigerating chambers. Agriculture is gradually developing, and the export of dairy produce, butter and cheese is now worth some £2,000,000 a year. The favourable conditions of climate and soil give a very high yield per acre for the cereal crop (wheat, oats, barley), New Zealand being superior in this respect to any other part of the southern hemisphere. In the North Island subtropical fruits and crops can be raised.

Mineral Wealth.

The mineral wealth of New Zealand is great. Gold is found in the sands of the Clutha river and other rivers of the south of the South Island, from which it is obtained by dredging. It is mined in the north-west of South Island, round Hokitika, Greymouth, and Westport. Excellent coal is abundant in the same region and coal mining is now one of New Zealand's largest industries. Gold also occurs in the basins of the river flowing to the Firth of Thames in North Island; but these alluvial deposits are not so important as the quartz mining in the goldfields of Coromandel county and especially Waihi.

CHAPTER II.

MAORIS AND EARLY SETTLERS.

The Maoris.

The early history of New Zealand is shrouded in mystery. Some writers have contended that there was an aboriginal race, of whom nothing is known except that they hunted the moa, but who are now absolutely extinct, unless, indeed, the Morioris of the Chatham Islands are descended from them. Others believe that the Maoris were themselves the moa hunters, and that the Morioris are a branch of the same race. Innumerable theories, most of them fantastic, have been propounded as to their origin, but it is certain that the Maoris belong to the great Polynesian family; colour, language, traditions and customs are practically identical; but beyond that nothing can be said with certainty.

Their settlement in New Zealand.

Their own traditions, as far as they go, are perfectly clear. They tell us how their ancestors lived in a place called Hawaiki. Driven thence by civil war, they took refuge in their canoes and steered towards the rising of the Southern Cross, in search of an island of which they had heard which abounded in the precious greenstone (pounamu); for the maoris value greenstone as Europeans do gold. They landed at various points in the north part of New Zealand, drew up their canoes on the beach, let loose their dogs, and planted the seeds they had brought with them. From the parties that came in the several canoes were descended the various tribes which peopled the country. The genealogical sticks, carved for the chiefs by the tohungas or priests show that the immigration took place at least fourteen generations ago.

Unfortunately this goes but a little way towards clearing up the mystery. Some writers have attempted to identify Hawaiki with Hawaii, others with Savaii, but the natives of Hawaii have a similar legend of how they came from Hawaii

and called their new home after their old one; and the natives of Savaii tell much the same story; in other words, they are all various forms of one legend. The utmost that can be said is that they may have stopped at some island on the way, but even if that could be identified, we have no evidence that amounts to proof as to their original starting point. Nor can anything more definite be decided as to the time. Various dates between B.C. 2000 and A.D. 1450 have been suggested, the latter being probably more nearly correct.

Maori Civilisation.

Nearly all the Maoris settled in the North Island; comparatively few penetrated further south. The state of Maoriland in some respects reminds us of Germany as described by Tacitus. The fortified *pas* bear some resemblance to the raths with which travellers in Ireland are familiar, although of course they contained no place for keeping cattle. Each tribe was independent, and tribal wars were incessant. Cultivation was rude in the extreme, fern root, rats, birds and shellfish being the ordinary food. Metals were unknown; but the art of carving in wood was carried out with marvellous skill and ingenuity. Weapons and ornaments were made from the native greenstone, sometimes merely chipped into shape, but more often beautifully polished. Stone adzes were fastened to sticks as handles, the fibres of the native flax being used to tie them fast. Great canoes were hollowed out of the trunks of trees by burning and cutting, and then elaborately carved. The glory of each tribe was its whare-puni, or meeting house, with panels fantastically carved, representing the ancestors and genii of the house. The native dress was composed of flax mats, beautifully woven, sometimes ornamented with feathers, sometimes with dog-skin.

Religion.

Their mythology bore some resemblance to that of ancient Greece. There were families of gods and giants, and every object in nature had its presiding spirit. There was Ra, the god of day and light; and Po, of night and death; Maui, whose strength had drawn up the North Island from the bottom of the sea (whence it was called "Te Ika a Maui," that is, "The Fish of Maui"), but who had vainly striven to win immortality for man by a struggle with the goddess of death; and there were gods of every wind. The most powerful deity was Tu, the lord of strength and war, who was worshipped in various aspects, like the Egyptian sun god. Idolatry was hardly known; but prayer—at least, in the form of incantations—was offered by the tohunga at every solemn moment of life.

Children were baptised in the name of Tu. The Maoris professed a belief in a life after death, the soul being sometimes spoken of as passing northwards to its old home in Hawaiki. The great institution of their religion was *tapu* (or taboo); perhaps *sanctity* is the nearest English equivalent to it. To violate tapu was the most heinous of crimes. A newly-born child was tapu until it was baptised. Chiefs were so sacred that the houses where they slept, the food they touched, even articles of property they laid claim to, were tapu. Witchcraft, the evil eye and such-like superstitions were as universal amongst the Maoris as amongst other uneducated races, the power of the tohungas being strengthened by what may have been ventriloquism.

One of the duties of the tohunga was to tattoo the young people. Girls were tattooed only on the lips; boys all over the face. The instrument used was a small stone adze; and blue paint, made out of the pulverised charcoal of the veronica, sometimes mixed with the ashes of the aweto (or vegetable caterpillar) was rubbed into the wound.

Customs and Laws.

The slightest insult was enough to light the spark of war, and when once it was kindled it was kept alive by *utu*, or family vengeance. Fighting was considered the profession of a gentleman, weaving and cultivation being left to slaves and women. But the native character was not without beauty. Even their communistic manner of life had its advantages. Hospitality was universal, and the greatest reproach to a man was to call him a miser. Like most primitive tongues, the Maori language was first put into writing by the missionaries. Many of the Maori names of places are merely descriptions of some natural object, and should be written as compound words—thus, Wai-tangi, "weeping water," is a name common to many waterfalls.

The intricacies of native law concerning the tenure of land were most perplexing. All land belonged to tribes, or to branches of tribes; the actual possession by one individual did not prevent the chief personally, and all the other members of the tribe collectively, from having rights over it. The right to the tribal estate depended on an infinite variety of circumstances—occupation, descent, conquest (where one tribe actually seized and held as their own the land which had belonged to another), intermarriages and other causes arising out of the peculiarities of native custom. The failure to realize this has been the cause of many of the conflicts between the natives and the European settlers.

The Arrival of the Europeans.

It has been said that both French and Spanish navigators visited New Zealand in the sixteenth century, and in a Dutch atlas published before 1638 an indistinct line is marked "Zelandia Nova"; but the first European who can be proved to have seen the country was Tasman (*see also* p. 339). He arrived from Tasmania in 1642, and sailed up the west coast to the North West Cape, which he named Maria Van Diemen. His chart is in many respects remarkably correct; but he never discovered the strait that separates the two islands, and fancied that the country which he saw was part of a southern continent, to which the name of "Staaten Land" had been given; he, therefore, marked it "Staaten Land." When the error was corrected, it was again called New Zealand.

Captain Cook.

Nothing further was heard of the country until the arrival of Captain Cook. That intrepid explorer paid five visits to New Zealand. He circumnavigated the islands and made careful surveys; many mountains, headlands and inlets still bear the names he gave. He first landed at Tauranga, on the east coast of the North Island, on October 8, 1769; on January 30, 1770, he hoisted the flag of Great Britain on a hill overlooking the sound which he named after Queen Charlotte. According to the maxims of international law then in vogue, this gave to England an inchoate right to the ownership of the newly-discovered country, which, however, could not become complete without actual occupation. During his visits several unfortunate encounters with the natives took place, with regard to which he cannot be held free from blame; but he conferred some lasting benefits on New Zealand, as he left behind him pigs, potatoes and other valuable plants.

Before Captain Cook's first visit was over, the French explorer, De Surville, had landed in the north; he was followed by Du Fresne and others. But the visits of the French navigators have left no permanent mark; with few exceptions the names they gave to various spots are forgotten.

Early Settlers.

After that time many other ships arrived, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century several Europeans had settled in New Zealand. Their numbers rapidly increased. Whaling and sealing stations were established in the south, and a trade sprang up with the rising settlements of Australia. The stone age of New Zealand was over; the natives were bartering their timber, flax and potatoes for axes, muskets, cotton and spirits, the white men who had settled amongst them frequently acting as agents for their

adopted countrymen. It must be admitted that the influence of the European visitors was not for good. All writers confess that their treatment of the natives forms a dark page in history; nor can much be said for the character of those early settlers.

Missionaries. Soon, however, there was another and a nobler immigration. To Samuel Marsden, a New South Wales chaplain, belongs the honour of having been the pioneer of missions in New Zealand. The first Christian service was held on Christmas Day, 1814; the Wesleyan mission was founded eight years later, and the Roman Catholics commenced their labours in 1838. Thus two streams of influence were brought to bear upon the natives. Arduous though the work of the missionaries was, their untiring devotion bore fruit. Cannibalism and slavery were abolished, agriculture was improved and education introduced. Many Maoris professed Christianity, and amongst the eye-witnesses who have borne testimony to the good work done by the missionaries was Charles Darwin.

On the other hand, the natives, armed with muskets and inflamed with drink, had their worst passions aroused; the tribal quarrels which had been comparatively harmless in former times, became wars of extermination. As immigration increased, moreover, lawlessness grew more rampant. Kororareka, on the Bay of Islands, which had by 1825 grown into a town, was a veritable Alsatia of the Pacific. A few efforts were made by the authorities in England and Australia to introduce some sort of law and order; the Governor of New South Wales appointed magistrates at Kororareka, and imperial statutes were passed giving the Australian courts jurisdiction over British subjects in New Zealand. But such measures were ineffectual, and New Zealand remained without a government.

Lawlessness.

In 1831, an adventurous Frenchman, Baron de Thierry, took the title of "King of New Zealand," and attempted to set up his court at Hokianga. Though his project failed, it was not without some important results. A French man-of-war arrived about the same time; and some of the missionaries, seeing the possibility of French annexation, advised the chiefs to sign a petition to King William the Fourth, praying for the establishment of a British Protectorate. Though this was not actually granted, it led to the appointment of a British Resident at the Bay of Islands in 1833. He conceived the idea of federating the Maoris into a Native State, under the title of "The United Tribes of New Zealand," with a flag, a

Parliament and a constitution; but the scheme was a failure.

Meanwhile other causes were at work, hastening matters to a crisis. For some time the minds of people both in England and France had been directed towards colonisation. As early as 1825 a company had been formed in London, and in the following year a party of emigrants was sent out; but they were not pleased with the country to which they had come, and all but four left. After a loss of £20,000 the company was dissolved.

Edward Gibbon Wakefield.

One of the most prominent of those who took part in the emigration movement in England was Edward Gibbon Wakefield. He disapproved of the haphazard way in which emigration had up to that time been conducted, and desired to substitute for it an ordered system of colonisation. He urged that a colony should not be composed of chance elements, but should reproduce the gradations of English society in due proportion; and that land, instead of being freely granted in large tracts, should be sold in small lots at a sufficient price, part of the purchase money being applied to the promotion of emigration and the improvement of means of communication in the colony. This latter view was earnestly put forward by the Colonisation Society, which was formed in England in 1830, and was partially adopted in some of the Australian settlements soon afterwards (*see* p. 353).

The New Zealand Land Company.

In 1837 Wakefield and some others founded the New Zealand Association, with the object of colonising the country. This speedily collapsed, but in its place rose the New Zealand Land Company. Its scheme of action was to buy land from the Maoris and sell it in England to intending settlers, the price to be sufficient to pay the passage of emigrant labourers, to provide churches, schools and roads, and to give a fair profit to the shareholders. The Government and the missionaries, who feared that it would give rise to native troubles, opposed the project. Wakefield, however, resolved to act without Government aid, and sent out his brother, Col. Wakefield, as agent, who at once commenced bargaining with some of the chiefs, and afterwards claimed that he had purchased millions of acres for some muskets, rolls of calico and other articles of trade, the value of which was estimated at some £9,000. The company, without waiting to hear whether their agent had succeeded or failed, despatched a large party of emigrants, who arrived at Port Nicholson, in Cook Straits, on January 22, 1840.

French Rivalry. During this time the French had not been inactive. The Nanto-Bordelaise Company was founded about the same time as the New Zealand Association. In 1838, Langlois, the captain of a French whaler, purchased some land at Akaroa in the South Island from the natives, returned to France, and sold it to the Nanto-Bordelaise Company. At the instigation of Baron de Thierry, the French Government signed a convention with the company, which was thenceforth to be known as "La Compagnie Française de la Nouvelle Zélande." The Roman Catholic bishop and priests, who arrived in New Zealand the same year, were Frenchmen, and French annexation had become more than a possibility.

Another influence was also at work. Adventurers in Australia claimed to have made enormous purchases of land in New Zealand. Sir G. Gipps, the Governor of New South Wales, foresaw the troubles which these claims might cause, and on his advice the Queen issued a Proclamation in 1839, stating that she would not recognise as valid any titles not derived from, or confirmed by, herself. Indeed, if all these claims had been enforced, the whole country would have been insufficient to meet them; and as there was no authority to appeal to, bloodshed would probably have been the result of the attempt.

Annexation by Great Britain. This state of things led the missionaries to see that the best hope for the country was annexation by England. More than that, it forced the hands of the British Government. Capt. Hobson, R.N., was sent out as consul with a commission to annex New Zealand, and to assume the office of Lieutenant-Governor, under the superior authority of the Governor of New South Wales. He landed at Kororareka on January 29, 1840. The English missionaries urged the native chiefs to assent to the annexation, and at their instigation the Treaty of Waitangi was executed on February 6. The effect of this treaty, which was signed by nearly all the great chiefs, was that (i) the New Zealand chiefs ceded to the Queen full sovereignty over the islands (ii) Great Britain guaranteed to the chiefs "full, exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession. But the chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate, at such prices as may be agreed upon

between the respective proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf." (iii) Great Britain granted the natives all the rights and privileges of British subjects. On May 21, the Queen's sovereignty was proclaimed by virtue of the Treaty, and in the following month formal possession was taken both of the South Island and of Stewart Island.

The last of the French attempts.

The English Government were only just in time. In July two French vessels arrived at the Bay of Islands, with instructions to annex the whole country. They were clearly too late to do anything in the North Island; but Hobson, seeing that trouble might arise with regard to the South, promptly despatched a vessel to Akaroa to complete the British title by actual occupation. When the French arrived there, on August 15, they found that the British flag had been hoisted five days previously, and a Court of Petty Sessions had been established. Thus ended the attempt to make New Zealand a dependency of France. Most of the French settlers returned at once to Europe. The French claims at Akaroa were ultimately bought up by the New Zealand Company. On May 3, 1841, a fresh Patent was signed by Her Majesty, creating New Zealand a separate colony, with Capt. Hobson as its Governor.

CHAPTER III.

THE CROWN COLONY, 1840-1852.

Governor Hobson.

The history of New Zealand is as diversified as that of Switzerland. Each settlement, like each Swiss canton, has had its own characteristics and its own life. It is only possible here to narrate some of the more important events which affected the Colony as a whole, and to glance in passing at those which were of merely local interest.

New Zealand was of necessity at first a purely Crown Colony, with no representative element in its constitution. The Governor was assisted by a Legislative Council, composed of six nominated members, of whom three (the Colonial Secretary, Attorney-General and Treasurer) formed the executive. In the letters patent the North Island was called New Ulster, the South New Munster, and Stewart Island New Leinster—names which never attained popularity and were soon disused.

In 1841 the Chief Justice (Sir Wm. Martin) and the Attorney-General (Mr. Swainson) arrived. They were not only men of character and intellect, but also learned lawyers; and during the first session of the Legislative Council an admirable series of ordinances was passed, adapting English law to the requirements of a young colony. Amongst other beneficial changes, many of the archaic intricacies of English conveyancing were swept away. The next year Dr. Selwyn, who had been appointed Bishop of New Zealand by letters patent, landed. He was the first and last to hold the title, for the power of the Crown to appoint a bishop by letters patent ceased as soon as the Colony became possessed of a Legislature; and the Anglican Church, free to manage its own affairs, divided the Colony into several dioceses.

His Difficulties.

Governor Hobson remained but a short time at Kororareka (or Russell, as it was afterwards named), and soon fixed his seat of government on the Hauraki Gulf, where Auckland now stands. During his brief term of office, he was beset with difficulties on every side. The Imperial Government did not supply him with funds sufficient to carry on the ordinary functions of government, still less to purchase from the natives land on which to place colonists. The two local sources of revenue—customs and land sales—brought in little; and the Government was on the verge of bankruptcy. But all his other troubles were outweighed by a weary struggle with reference to the land question, into which he was forced by the New Zealand Company. He was determined to carry out the spirit of the Queen's proclamation of 1839 and the Treaty of Waitangi. The Legislative Council passed an ordinance declaring that in future purchases no title could be recognised until approved by the Government, but that the Government Commissioners might, if they saw good reason, ratify purchases previously made. For this purpose the Secretary of State (Lord Stanley) agreed to send out a Commissioner, Mr. Spain. Although his investigations were necessarily laborious, the natives generally waited for his decision, and abode by it when given. The Company, on the other hand, vehemently denounced the "mischievous Treaty of Waitangi," which, they said, could not be treated as anything more than a praiseworthy device for amusing and pacifying savages for the moment. They objected to being called upon to prove that the natives understood the contracts they were alleged to have made, or that the vendors had, according to native customary law, a right to sell. They attempted to make fresh purchases without the consent of the Government; sent men to make surveys of land, which the natives protested they had not sold, without waiting for Spain's award; and despatched shiploads of emigrants to take possession of land which they believed they had purchased before they started, but found on their arrival still occupied by the native proprietors. The Port Nicholson Settlement, which was moved to the lower end of the harbour and named Wellington, rapidly grew into a town; in 1841 a settlement was formed at Taranaki, chiefly by emigrants from Devon, and hence called New Plymouth; and in the following February Nelson, the third of the principal settlements founded by the Company, was established in the north of the South Island.

The Land Question.

Acting-Governor Shortland.

In September, 1842, Governor Hobson died. Shortland, the Colonial Secretary, administered the government until the arrival of Capt. FitzRoy in November, 1843. During his administration occurred the first outbreak of actual hostilities between the settlers and the natives. The Company claimed that their purchase of Nelson included the Wairau, a rich district seventy miles distant. The native chiefs, Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, maintained that it did not, but as usual expressed themselves willing to await Spain's investigation and abide by his award, and urged that, until that should have been made, no survey should be undertaken. Nevertheless, the Company sent forty men to complete the survey. The natives removed the surveyors' tents and valuables from the land they claimed as their own, and burnt a reed hut which the surveyors had erected. The magistrate at Nelson immediately issued a warrant for the arrest of the chiefs on a charge of arson, and went with a party of fifty armed men to execute it. A shot was fired—accidentally, it is said—by one of the magistrate's followers, whereupon the firing became general, amongst the victims being a daughter of Rauparaha. The Maori loss was five killed and eight wounded; on the English side twenty-two were killed and five wounded, nine of those slain having been killed after being taken prisoners, according to the Maori custom of "utu," or vengeance for the death of a chief's daughter.

Governor FitzRoy.

Governor FitzRoy was a gallant sailor and an honourable gentleman, who proved his ability by his career both before and after his term of office in New Zealand. But as Governor of New Zealand he was placed in circumstances which made success well-nigh impossible. The settlers at Wellington and Nelson, enraged by the recent events at the Wairau, demanded the punishment of the instigators of the massacre; FitzRoy, believing that the English had been the wrongdoers at first, and realising that a general native rising might result in the annihilation of the settlements (which only numbered about twelve thousand persons all told, scattered from Kororareka to Akaroa), refused to take action, thereby making all the settlers on Cook Straits his enemies.

At New Plymouth the Company claimed to have purchased seventy thousand acres from the natives. Spain reduced this to sixty thousand. FitzRoy, after making careful inquiries, revised the commissioner's award, and cut down the claim to less than four thousand. This decision had the unfortunate

result of making the New Plymouth settlement impossible, for the land thus granted was insufficient for its maintenance.

But in the North matters were still worse. At Kororareka actual war (not, however, connected with the land question) broke out. The natives, commencing by cutting down the British flagstaff, ended by burning the town; the settlers with difficulty escaped to Auckland. Troops and guns were brought from Australia, but for a time their efforts at capturing the native *pas* were ineffectual. The fears which the natives not unreasonably entertained that the British Government intended to set aside the treaty and to seize all their lands, were rapidly uniting them against the settlers.

Financial troubles were also pressing. The Governor attempted to relieve the pecuniary embarrassment of the settlers by abolishing Customs duties and imposing a property and income tax instead; but, finding that impossible, he was obliged to revert to Customs duties. At another time, yielding to popular demand, he consented to waive the pre-emptive right of the Crown on land sales at Auckland, and to allow private persons to purchase direct from the natives, on payment of a duty of ten shillings an acre; and then, as the intending purchasers were still unsatisfied, he reduced the duty to a penny. The bills which Shortland had drawn on the Imperial Treasury had been dishonoured, nor could money be raised by loan. The Governor, unable to pay salaries, passed an ordinance authorising the issue of debentures. This was disallowed by the Home Government, and FitzRoy was soon afterwards recalled.

Sir George Grey's first Term.

Few men have played so prominent a part in British Colonial history as Sir George Grey. Besides the work which he performed in South Africa and Australia, he twice filled the office of Governor of New Zealand, and afterwards became Superintendent of a province, a prominent politician, and Premier of the Colony. He possessed not only great ability but also a charm of manner which captivated all whom he came across. More than that, he had the gift of sympathy, which enabled him to enter into the spirit of other races than his own. Maori chiefs were always happy in reciting to him their old romantic legends, many of which he translated into English, in language almost as poetic as the original. The one great blot on his character was a lack of straightforwardness which at times led him into courses which his most ardent admirers can hardly justify.

His Success. Having been appointed to succeed Governor FitzRoy, Sir George (then Capt.) Grey arrived at Auckland in November, 1845. His position from the first was easier than that of his predecessor. He had about one thousand troops to support him; he was authorised to draw on the Imperial Treasury for the necessary funds, and instructed to pacify the feelings of the natives by giving them public assurance that the conditions of the Treaty of Waitangi would be scrupulously fulfilled. He lost no time in paying the debentures issued by FitzRoy, forbidding the purchase of land from the natives by private persons, and prohibiting the sale of firearms to the natives. The war in the North was speedily ended. Disturbances which had broken out near Wellington were also quelled. Land purchase went on steadily and peacefully, amongst the tracts which Sir George Grey acquired being the district of the Wairau (which Spain had decided had never been purchased) and some of the land near New Plymouth which FitzRoy had given back to the natives.

Disputes about the Treaty of Waitangi. Meanwhile, ever since the Treaty of Waitangi, opinion in the Imperial Parliament with reference to New Zealand had been divided. One party (which included Lord Derby and Mr. Gladstone) maintained that as far as England was concerned there was not a more strictly and rigorously binding treaty than that of Waitangi; the other, of which Lord Grey was the leader, considered that the savage inhabitants of New Zealand had themselves no right of property in land which they did not occupy, and that "what had been called the Treaty of Waitangi" should be disregarded. In 1846, Lord Grey having become Secretary of State, sent out new instructions to Sir George Grey directing him to seize all lands claimed by the natives except patches of potato ground and other spots of which they were in actual occupation. This despatch called forth a vehement protest from the Chief Justice, the Bishop and those who had taken part in persuading the chiefs to sign the treaty; and it was afterwards revoked.

The question of a Constitution. Lord Grey also secured the passing of an Act establishing a Constitution for the Colony. According to his plan there were to be two Provinces—New Ulster (the northern half of the North Island) and New Munster (the rest of the Colony), each with its House of Representatives, Legislative Council and Lieutenant-Governor; and besides these, a General

Assembly of two Houses and a Governor-in-Chief to manage the affairs of the whole Colony. This scheme was too elaborate for the immediate requirements of the country, and another Act was passed postponing its operation for six years; but it was evident that the time was approaching when a radical change must be made in the form of government. There had always been a difficulty in governing Wellington and Nelson from Auckland. FitzRoy had endeavoured to meet this by appointing a Superintendent of the Southern Settlements. But now the whole aspect of affairs was altered; the South Island was being occupied.

South Island.

It will always be a subject of wonder why the New Zealand Company commenced their operations in the North and not in the South Island, which appears much more suited for pioneer settlement. The open grass country was ready for pasture, and could be tilled without the labour of clearing the forest; the Maori population was so sparse that a native difficulty could hardly arise. In fact, it would be difficult to find a spot in the world where the Wakefield system would have had a better chance of being carried out in its entirety. Yet for many years the whole South Island, with the exception of a strip adjoining Cook Straits, remained void, the only occupants, besides, perhaps, a couple of hundred Maoris and about fifty Frenchmen at Akaroa, being a few scattered farmers, whalefishers and sailors. Soon after the disruption of the Established Church of Scotland, however, a society was formed, called "The Lay Association for Promoting the Settlement of a Scotch Colony in Otago, New Zealand," and four hundred thousand acres were purchased by the New Zealand Company from the natives, the Government waiving its right of pre-emption. In 1847 matters were so far arranged that a public meeting was held at Glasgow at which the details of the scheme were explained. It was announced that one hundred and forty-four thousand six hundred acres had been surveyed and divided into two thousand four hundred properties, each property to consist of sixty and a quarter acres, of which one-quarter acre was to be in the proposed city, ten acres in the suburbs and fifty in the country. The price of each property was to be £120. 10s.; of this amount three-eighths were to be devoted to the expenses of immigration, two-eighths to surveys and roads, two-eighths to the New Zealand Company, and one-eighth to religious and educational purposes. Two hundred properties were to be open for selection by intending pur-

Its Colonization by Scottish Settlers.

chasers, one hundred were assigned as a municipal estate, one hundred as a religious and educational endowment, and two hundred to the New Zealand Company. On March 23, 1848, the "John Wiclif" arrived with Capt. Cargill (the official agent) and ninety immigrants; they were followed on April 15th by the "Philip Lang" with the Rev. Dr. Burns (a nephew of the poet) and two hundred and thirty-six others. The city was called Dunedin, and Scottish names were reproduced throughout the district. Although the proposed plan had to be much modified, and time has wrought many changes, the Provincial District to this day retains many of its original characteristics, and the people of Dunedin are justly proud of their beautiful city.

The Canterbury Association.

The Church of England soon followed the example of the Free Kirk. "The Canterbury Association," in which the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Lyttelton and other prominent churchmen took an active part, was formed with the object of founding a settlement in which the predominant influence should be Anglican. In 1849 the Association purchased from the New Zealand Company about two millions five hundred thousand acres, which included the remaining claims of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company. According to the scheme, rural lands, in sections of not less than fifty acres, were to be sold at £3 per acre; of this, ten shillings was to go to the cost of forming the settlement and paying for the land, £1 to the Religious and Educational Fund, £1 to the Immigration Fund and the remaining ten shillings to roads, bridges, &c. The price of a half acre allotment in the city was to be £24. These sums were all paid by the first settlers. It was a fundamental idea of the settlement that it should not consist merely of labourers but should also include men of superior education. The district was appropriately named Canterbury, the city Christchurch and the port Lyttelton. Here, as in Otago, it was found impossible to carry out the original idea without many changes, but the carefully laid-out city, with parks and gardens, cathedral and well-endowed educational institutions, still bears witness to the zeal and wisdom of the founders of the settlement.

In 1850 four ships bearing eight hundred "Canterbury Pilgrims" started from England; the first of these arrived on December 16th, and the others soon after. The Canterbury settlement progressed rapidly; within two years the population had increased to three thousand four hundred. Although the founders of both Otago and Canterbury thought more of

agriculture than pasture, it was soon found that the open plains and mountain sides were eminently suited for sheep, especially merinos; many Australian sheep farmers came over and joined the settlements, and wool became the chief export of New Zealand.

A Constitution granted.

It was but natural that the residents in these newly-occupied districts should join the people of Wellington in demanding something in the nature of representative government. The Act which suspended the operation of Lord Grey's constitution enabled the Governor to take steps in that direction; Sir G. Grey resolved to avail himself of this power. In 1848 he passed an "Ordinance to provide for the establishment of Provincial Legislative Councils." There was to be a General Assembly, consisting of a Legislative Council nominated by the Crown, and an Assembly elected by the several provinces into which the Colony might be divided; and unicameral Provincial Councils, of which one-third should be nominated by the Crown and two-thirds elected. Sir G. Grey immediately nominated five councillors for the Province of New Munster.

The new system, however, did not give general satisfaction. One cause of friction was that the Provincial Councils were not empowered to legislate on matters affecting Crown Lands. In 1853 Sir G. Grey issued regulations fixing the price of land at ten shillings an acre. This was contrary to the spirit of the Wakefield system, on which the southern settlements were founded. At the time it was considered a "liberal" measure, but so strangely has feeling altered that it has been one of the "liberal" cries in later years to break up the large estates which Sir G. Grey's regulations brought into existence.

Earthquakes.

In 1848 a shock of earthquake vibrated from Taranaki to the north of the South Island. It had always been known that New Zealand was liable to such visitations; but this was so severe that nervous people at Wellington began to think of abandoning the settlement. Another, the effects of which were even more disastrous, occurred in 1855, and for many years after that no one at Wellington ventured to erect brick buildings; the town was entirely constructed of wood. Gradually, however, as the misfortunes of former years were forgotten, it came to be thought that the danger of fire was more practical than the remote contingency of an earthquake; hence brick and concrete are now generally employed in large buildings, though most dwelling-houses are still built of wood. Earthquakes,

however, have done serious damage in other parts of the country; the spire of Christchurch Cathedral has twice been thrown down and lesser buildings have suffered.

End of the Company.

The New Zealand Company, which had become hopelessly insolvent, surrendered its charter in 1850, and was wound up. Its debt to the Imperial Government was extinguished by Act of Parliament; and the Colony purchased its lien on the colonial lands for £200,000.

CHAPTER IV.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, WAR AND PROGRESS, 1852-1867.

The Constitution Act.

The year 1852 marks an epoch in the history of New Zealand. The six years during which Lord Grey's constitution was suspended having elapsed, the Imperial Parliament, at the instigation of the Colonial Secretary, Sir John Pakington, passed a new Constitution Act. By this Act the Colony was divided into six provinces (Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury and Otago), each with a superintendent and council elected by the people; and the government of the whole Colony was vested in a Governor nominated by the Crown, and a Parliament. This consisted of a Legislative Council nominated by the Governor and holding their seats for life, and a House of Representatives, composed of thirty-seven members elected every five years. All adult males who were British subjects and had resided for a certain time, and who were possessed of a freehold worth £50 a year, or a leasehold of the annual rental of £10 a year, were entitled to become voters both for the House of Representatives and the Provincial Councils.

Defects in the Constitution: Provincialism.

It may be doubted whether a constitution better suited to the requirements of the time could have been devised. Yet it contained two elements of weakness. In the first place, it was almost inevitable that a struggle should arise between the Central and the Provincial Governments, and that ultimately either the Central Government should oust the Provincial, or the provinces should become independent States bound together only by a Federal bond. At first the latter seemed more probable. The power of dealing with Crown lands, which by the Constitution Act had been reserved to the Central Government, was soon wrested from it by the

provinces. As there were no railways or telegraphs, and communication with Auckland (the seat of Government) was difficult, people looked all the more to their own local legislative body. The history and circumstances of the various provinces were so different that each regarded interference in its affairs with jealousy. In one respect, however, Provincialism wrought its own destruction. As new settlements grew up, they broke away from the existing provinces and formed fresh ones. Thus the province of Hawke's Bay was carved out of Wellington, Marlborough out of Nelson, Southland out of Otago, and Westland out of Canterbury. This constant sub-division destroyed the idea for which the early Provincialists had laboured.

Native Affairs. The second element of weakness was the position of native affairs. All Maoris possessing the necessary qualifications might claim to be registered as voters; but as hardly any did possess them the whole native race was practically unrepresented, although at this time they formed the large majority of the population and paid about half the taxes. To meet this difficulty native affairs were left under the control of the Governor personally. Such a system—though not unparalleled elsewhere—would require a man of consummate tact to work successfully. It would have been hard indeed for a Governor to act on the advice of his ministers with reference to other matters and to take a course opposed to them in one of the most important political questions with which he had to deal.

End of Sir G. Grey's First Term. The Constitution Act was proclaimed on January 17, 1853. Soon afterwards, Sir G. Grey issued regulations defining the boundaries of the provinces and providing for the conduct of elections; and the Provincial Councils at once came into existence. On the last day of that year Sir G. Grey left New Zealand having been appointed Governor of Cape Colony. All classes of the community presented him with farewell addresess of a most cordial character Under his administration the solvency of the Colony had been restored, peace, had been maintained, and the European population had more than doubled.

The Parliament of New Zealand. During the two years following, whilst Colonel Wynyard was administering the Government, the Constitution Act was slowly and painfully being got into working order. The Parliament met at Auckland on May 24, 1854. The change

from the old system, which involved the removal of the councillors appointed by the Crown and the substitution of a Parliamentary Ministry, gave rise to many disputes. At first it was not even clearly understood whether the Act granted Responsible Government or merely representative institutions. There was another difficulty which arises in all Colonial Legislatures. Although the Constitution may be as close a copy of the English system as circumstances will permit, the absence of clear dividing lines makes party Government much more difficult. Local jealousies and personal feeling often take the place of more important questions, and divide members into temporary groups. Hence Ministries are short-lived, and so-called coalitions are perpetually being formed; politicians who are at one time bitterly opposed to each other will soon afterwards work harmoniously together as members of a new Cabinet. These features were present in a marked degree in the early days of the New Zealand Parliament (*compare* p. 370). Amongst the prominent politicians of that time may be mentioned J. E. FitzGerald (Superintendent of Canterbury and first Premier of the Colony), Sir William Fox, Sir Edward Stafford, Sir Charles Clifford (the first Speaker of the House of Representatives), and Sir F. Weld (afterwards Governor of several other colonies). Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who had come to reside at Wellington, was also a member of the first Parliament.

Maori Developments.

It was an ill day for the native race when Sir G. Grey left New Zealand. Even those who attempted to carry out his policy lacked that power of sympathy which was one of the chief causes of its success. They made, it is true, occasional presents of money and goods which pauperised rather than benefited the recipients of their bounty; but they did not seek to elevate the natives or draw them within the influence of British law. Education was neglected, magistrates were not appointed. The best class of Maoris saw with alarm the deterioration of their race. In defiance of law, but without any restraint, many Europeans debauched the natives by selling them spirits; others, who had formed alliances with native women which had been regarded as marriages, shamelessly deserted their wives and half-caste children. Whilst the European population was rapidly growing the number of the natives was stationary, if not decreasing. The wise ordinance of Sir G. Grey forbidding the sale of firearms was first evaded and then revoked; tribal disputes again broke out in which the Government declined to interfere. At last

the natives resolved to draw closer together and, imitating the Israelites in the time of Samuel, to cement their union by electing a king. Their choice fell on a celebrated chief, Te Whero Whero, who in 1857 was hailed as "Potatau, the King." It cannot fairly be said that this was at the time an act of rebellion; it was rather the expression of a desire to establish in native districts a settled government resembling that which the Europeans possessed elsewhere. Nevertheless, after war had broken out, it formed a rallying point for the natives, and thus drew many into the struggle who might otherwise have held aloof. The northern tribes, however, never joined in the movement.

Whero Whero.

The new Governor, Col. Gore Browne, arrived in September, 1855. For some time he endeavoured to keep the control of native affairs in his own hands, and even proposed to establish a council to assist him, which should be responsible to him and not to Parliament; but the difficulty of such a course was apparent, and native affairs fell more and more under the control of the Ministers. The land question was again prominent. Although the natives had already sold millions of acres at prices varying from tenpence to half-a-farthing an acre, the settlers, especially at New Plymouth, were constantly clamouring for more land. In 1859 the Governor went to New Plymouth, and asked the natives whether they would consent to sell a piece of land at Waitara, to the north of New Plymouth. One of them, a man named Teira, offered to do so; the chief, Te Rangitake, protested that the land was not Teira's, but was held according to native custom by tribal tenure, and that he, as chief of the tribe, would not consent to the sale. Though the Governor had shortly before stated that the immediate consequence of an attempt to acquire Maori lands without previously satisfying the native claims would be a universal outbreak, yet he now resolved to disregard Te Rangitake's protest, and buy the land from Teira alone. In this course he acted with the cordial approval of the Ministry. Sir Wm. Martin, Bishop Selwyn, and others in vain urged that there should be a legal inquiry as to the ownership of the land. The Governor paid a deposit of money to Teira, proclaimed martial law, sent surveyors on to the land under military protection, and when the natives attempted to resist wrote to England and Australia for fresh troops. So commenced the Taranaki wars which, with occasional intermissions, dragged on until 1870.

Governor Gore Browne.

Outbreak of the Taranaki Wars.

The opposing forces.

The English forces, which consisted of regulars, bluejackets and Colonial militia, were vastly superior in numbers, and possessed artillery and rifles of the newest pattern. The natives had but a small number of their former foes, the Waikato (now united to them by the King movement), to assist them, and were armed only with old-fashioned muskets.* Yet for a time the progress of the English was slow. The brown-skinned natives, clad in flax mats, could glide unobserved through forests which were almost impassable to a British regiment. Their *pas* were cleverly constructed. The English frequently spent vast labour and some loss of life in their efforts to sap and storm them, only to find at last that the enemy had quietly slipped out at the rear and left them the barren glory of capturing a deserted *pa*. There were, however, some weak points in the Maori tactics which were to the advantage of the English. The *pas* seldom contained adequate stores of provisions or water, and opportunities of cutting off the enemy's supplies were frequently neglected; nor were the Maoris good marksmen.

For some time the English forces were commanded by General Pratt; in 1861 General Cameron took his place. Governor Browne, believing that disaffection was spreading through the whole native population, wrote home begging that more troops might be sent, so as to subdue the Maoris once and for all. The Duke of Newcastle, the last to hold the joint Secretaryship for War and the Colonies, observing that the Imperial Government had already despatched 9,000 men and advanced about half a million of money, became alarmed, recalled Governor Browne and sent Sir George Grey back to New Zealand to help the Colony out of its difficulties.

Sir George Grey's second term.

Sir George Grey resumed office on October 3, 1861. For a time it seemed not improbable that his efforts might bring about a lasting peace. He attempted to revert to his former policy by dividing the native part of the country into districts, presided over by native magistrates, who, with the assistance of local councils, might enact laws which, when approved by the Governor, would be binding. He investigated the Waitara purchase; found that Teira had not even a possessory title, since Te Rangitake, besides his authority as chief, was in actual occupation of part of the land Teira pur-

* At no time during the wars in New Zealand were there more than 2,000 Maoris under arms, though in the Waikato campaign there were 10,000 Imperial troops in the Colony, and about an equal number of the local forces.

ported to sell; and announced his intention to give back the land to its owners.* Unfortunately, however, owing partly to delays for which Sir George Grey was not responsible, and partly to the fact that another piece of land (Tataraimaika) to which the natives also laid claim had just been seized and occupied by soldiers, this act of justice came too late.

The second Taranaki War.

The second Taranaki War broke out in 1863. Nor was this all; the same year saw the commencement of war in Waikato. Sir George Grey thinking that an outbreak was possible, prepared for it by employing soldiers to make a road from Auckland into the Waikato district. It is difficult now to say whether this course was wise or not; it certainly made the natives regard his peaceful overtures with suspicion.

Defeat of the Waikato Maoris.

On July 9th, Sir George Grey called on all the natives residing near Auckland either to surrender their arms and swear allegiance to the Queen, or to retire beyond the Maungatawhiri River (a tributary of the Waikato). On the 12th, General Cameron crossed the Maungatawhiri with a force of three hundred and eighty men, and commenced building a redoubt. This was the Rubicon, and was regarded by the natives as a declaration of war. The country was open and the hastily-constructed and ill-provided *pas* ought to have offered but slight obstacles to British artillery and skilful tactics. Yet the war dragged on wearily. It was not until November that the Rangiriri Pa was taken by a force of twelve hundred men, and Ngaruawahia, which had been the headquarters of King Tawhiao (who had lately succeeded his father Potatau) was occupied by British troops.

At the end of March, 1864, General Cameron heard that the natives were preparing to make a stand at Orakau, three miles from Te Awamutu. The *pa* stood on a long rolling mound. Northwards, the land sloped down to a patch of forest; to the south rose an irregular ridge. On this spot the natives, under their leader Rewi, hastily constructed rifle-pits and defences. General Carey resolved to make an attack with a force of thirteen hundred men. The defending party, including women and children, cannot have amounted to more than one-third of that number. Yet, in spite of these fearful odds, with no better defences than flax

* It may here be mentioned that this unfortunate piece of land was confiscated after the second Taranaki War; and that evidence given before the Land Court in 1866 elicited the fact that, apart from other considerations, Te Rangitake's hereditary claim to it was better than Teira's.

and fern and their hand weapons, did the natives through two terrible days and nights—supported by nothing but a few gourds and raw potatoes, and without a drop of water—drive back one after another the assaults of the attacking party. By the end of that time, however, the sappers had done their work. Strong reinforcements arrived. A breach was made, and cannon brought up so as to bear directly on the native force. Then the General, struck with admiration at the gallantry of the little defending party, called on them to surrender, under a solemn promise that their lives should be spared. To this Rewi replied: "Ka whawhai tonu, ake, ake, ake!" ("We will fight to the end for ever, for ever, for ever!") Once more the General urged them at least to save the lives of the women and children by sending them into the English camp. But the old warrior merely answered: "Maori women fight like Maori men." Carey then ordered an assault. Attack after attack was driven back by the wearied and famishing Maoris; and only when their ammunition was almost spent did they commence their final retreat. Somehow or other a body of the natives did force their way out, and, under a terrible and galling fire from the English troops, reach the swamp below, and thus escape down the river, taking with them a number of their women and children.

This practically brought the war to an end, as far as the Waikato was concerned. By virtue of an Act passed by the Colonial Parliament, nearly twelve hundred thousand acres of native land were confiscated. Some of this was afterwards restored; on the rest were formed settlements of soldiers and others.

The Tauranga Operations.

But the war had by this time spread into the Poverty Bay district, where the natives had been assisting their Waikato friends. On April 21st General Cameron transferred his headquarters to Tauranga and resolved to attack a strongly fortified *pa* in the neighbourhood. The native defences, which consisted of a palisaded redoubt guarded by an entrenched line of rifle-pits, had been erected on a narrow ridge of high ground between two swamps, which formed a kind of gateway or passage between two tracts of land, and has, therefore, been called the Gate Pa. The English force, consisting of about seventeen hundred regulars, besides seamen and marines, attacked the spot at daylight on April 29th. The *pa* cannot have contained more than two hundred natives. After a time a breach was made, and a storming party led up to it from the front. All firing having ceased, they

imagined that the *pa* had been deserted; but when they came close to the fortifications, a tremendous fire was suddenly poured forth upon them. A panic seized the English troops. Their officers (who stood firm) tried in vain to rally them. They turned and fled, leaving a score of their comrades dead or wounded behind them. During the night the Maoris stealthily escaped, creeping away in small bodies. This incident, however, formed but a temporary check to the English advance. In the following month the fortified *pa* of Teranga fell, in which the natives lost one hundred and forty-five killed and wounded. The remnant then sued for peace, and more land was confiscated.

Hauhauism.

Shortly before this a movement had commenced among the Maoris which was destined to lead to lamentable results. A prophet arose and preached a new religion in which a few traces of Christianity and a few more of Mormonism were blended with wild and barbarous fanaticism. It was at first called "Pai Marire," but became better known as Hauhauism from the shouts which accompanied the savage orgies of its votaries. Tribe after tribe renounced Christianity and adopted the new faith. Bishop Selwyn and the missionaries, whose influence had been much weakened by the war, looked on in helpless sorrow. Some tribes, indeed, stood firm, notably those in the far north and in the neighbourhood of Wellington; but during the campaign in the east (which followed that in Waikato) nearly all the natives who were opposed to the English were Hauhaus. On the west coast, also, the war dragged on, until in 1866 General Chute marched with a strong force from the south through the forest to the east of Mount Egmont up to New Plymouth, and thence round the coast to Wanganui, destroying all the Maori cultivations and *pas* on the way. Though some natives managed to escape their power was broken; the second Taranaki War was brought to an end, and another large tract of land was confiscated.

Divided Authority.

Meanwhile fresh complications had arisen. The views of Sir George Grey and the Ministers were frequently at variance. The difficulty of divided authority became more pressing whilst actual war, conducted by Imperial troops, was going on. Sir George Grey was anxious that the Ministry, who possessed the power, should also bear the responsibility. That, however, could only remove the difficulty to one point farther; for, as Mr. Cardwell, when Secretary of State, re-

marked in a despatch, it was anomalous that if New Zealand was to be regarded as an independent country with the right of conducting its affairs according to its own judgment, it should also have a governor, a general and an army furnished by England. The Premier, Sir F. Weld, proposed the bold course of requesting that the English troops should be withdrawn and the war conducted by Colonial forces aided by native allies. This, which was called the "self-reliant policy," was ultimately adopted.

But this was not the only trouble. The Governor's relations were even more strained with the generals in command than with the Ministry. The exact constitutional position of an imperial officer conducting a campaign in a colony presided over by a governor and commander-in-chief is hard to define; nor had General Cameron been so successful as to defy opposition. The Governor reported to the Colonial Office, now distinct from the War Office to which the General sent his complaints. In this weary dispute the Ministry generally sided with the Governor. In 1865 General Cameron resigned and left the Colony. General Chute was appointed in his place, but matters were not improved, and the angry correspondence continued.

Mining. It is pleasant to turn from the sad tale of war to the brighter aspects of Colonial history. During Sir George Grey's second administration the country had undergone a transformation. It had long been known that gold existed in many parts of both islands. As early as 1852 diggers had been at work at Coromandel and other spots in the North; soon afterwards discoveries were made at Nelson, which were more successful; and in 1858 a rich deposit was found at Lindis, in Otago, which led to a burst of temporary prosperity followed by much disappointment. But these were unimportant compared with the great discoveries which were soon to take place. In 1861 a man named Gabriel Read, digging with a common knife at Tuapeka, near the present town of Lawrence, in Otago, extracted £25 worth of gold in a single day. The news spread like wildfire. Goldseekers from all parts of the world rushed to New Zealand. The European population of the Colony at the end of 1860 was estimated at eighty-four thousand; three years later that number had been doubled, and the output from Otago alone amounted to the value of £2,000,000. Nor was this all. In 1865 another rich field was opened on the West Coast, the export from which soon equalled that from Otago; and, not long after, auriferous reefs and valuable deposits were

found in the Province of Auckland. Railways began to be constructed and trade developed. Thus, whilst the general Government was, owing to the unhappy war, getting into deeper financial difficulties (so much so that in 1867 the Treasurer reported that the expenditure exceeded the income by £1,000 a day), individual prosperity increased rapidly. In one respect New Zealand has been singularly fortunate in its mineral discoveries. It has frequently happened elsewhere that mines have been found in districts where there is nothing else to make life attractive; hence, when they are exhausted, the country is deserted. The mines in New Zealand are in a healthy climate, amidst beautiful scenery, near to fertile land well suited for agriculture and pasture. When the rush is over and most of the miners drift away, some remain as settlers and add to the permanent prosperity of the country. The mining is varied, the precious metal being found sometimes close to the surface, sometimes in the beds of rivers, but more often in deep alluvial deposits or in quartz reefs, where the operations are of a more permanent character. Life on the goldfields was rough and rude, but it was not marked with any lawless outbursts such as have too often disgraced the history of mining elsewhere. Indeed, it may be said that the only serious disturbance which occurred was the Hokitika riot of 1867, which arose from a dispute between the Irish and English miners about a Fenian demonstration (*compare* pp. 109, 276).

Legislation. Meanwhile, the constitutional life of the Colony had been developing, and important changes had taken place. By the Constitution Act, as has been already explained, the number of members of the Legislative Council was unlimited. By the Governor's instructions, however, he was forbidden to nominate more than a certain number. These instructions were revoked; hence it became possible for the Ministry of the day at any time to alter the majority in the Council by advising the Governor to make new appointments. In 1865 the seat of Government was moved from Auckland to Wellington. This caused some ill-feeling in the northern city; it was even suggested that Auckland should be made into a separate colony; but the agitation died out, and Auckland, though no longer the official capital, is now the largest city in New Zealand.

Transference of the Capital.

The Land Court. Some important Acts relating to native affairs must also be mentioned. In 1862 a permanent Land Court was established in which the judges

were empowered to investigate all claims to ownership, according to native customary law, and to see that they were satisfied, before issuing a Crown grant. Since then, the Crown's right of pre-emption has been dormant. Excellent in principle though this Act was, it cannot be said that its operation fulfilled the hopes of its framers; the investigations were necessarily prolonged, and too often it happened that the crowd of natives who had been brought together by a sitting of the Land Court frittered away the purchase money before the sale was completed. Another Act passed during this period was the Native Rights Act, by which the position of natives as British subjects was made clear; and by an Act which came into operation in 1868 four native members, elected on a special franchise, were added to the House of Representatives. Since then, some Maoris have been nominated to the Upper House; others have been appointed members of the Executive Council.

Native Rights.

CHAPTER V.

THE PUBLIC WORKS POLICY, 1868-1886.

End of Grey's second Term.

A Colonial Governor's term of office does not usually extend beyond six years. It is, therefore, not strictly correct to say, as some have done, that Sir George Grey was recalled. He was not reappointed, and on February 5, 1868, Sir George Bowen assumed office in his stead. But no subsequent Governor has ever filled Sir George Grey's place in the history of the Colony; and henceforward, interest centres rather in the Parliamentary Buildings than in Government House.

Renewal of the War.

The war, which seemed to have ended, broke out afresh in 1868 both in the east and in the west. Nearly all the Imperial troops having left New Zealand, it was conducted by Colonial forces (commanded by Sir G. Whitmore and Col. McDonnell) and native allies led by two chiefs, Kemp and Ropata. In the west the natives were gradually driven inland, and at length the Hauhau chief Titokowaru fled to the mountains, where it was not thought necessary to pursue him. In the east, however, the disturbances were more serious. In 1865 a chief named Te Kooti had been arrested on suspicion, and, with a number of others, banished to the Chatham Islands, where they were kept as prisoners. In 1868 Te Kooti seized a schooner, and the whole party (one hundred and sixty-three men, sixty-four women and seventy-one children) escaped, landed at Poverty Bay and made their way into the interior. Thence Te Kooti returned to the coast, fell upon a village and massacred thirty-four Europeans and thirty-seven natives. A strong force was sent after them. Te Kooti, driven from one post to another, took refuge at Ngatapa, which was almost impregnable as a fortress, but ill supplied with food or water. However, after hard fighting, the outer line of entrenchments was taken, and the defending party, worn out with hunger and thirst, determined to evacuate the fortress, letting themselves down the

cliff by ropes. They were pursued, and many of them captured; the prisoners were brought back, stripped and shot, and their bodies hurled over the precipice. But Te Kooti escaped. For more than two years he was hotly pursued through the wilds of the Uriwera mountains, but never captured. At last, an almost solitary fugitive, he took refuge in Tawhiao's country, where he was no further molested. Many years afterwards he received a pardon.

King Tawhiao.

King Tawhiao took no part in these wars, but remained quiet in his own territory. His policy was to form a boundary line beyond which no European might pass or land be sold, but never to commit any act of hostility against the Crown. The Government were discreet enough to respect the boundary, and for several years the "King Country" remained an almost unknown tract. Tawhiao abandoned his policy of seclusion in 1883, when the natives of the King Country offered to sell land for settlement on condition that no spirituous liquors were sold in the district. An amnesty was proclaimed, the Governor was hospitably received in Kawhia, and Tawhiao himself visited England.

Reforms of 1870-2.

The year 1870 was for several reasons a period of great importance to New Zealand. The war was brought to an end and the last regiment of Imperial troops left the Colony Parliament was unusually active. Amongst the politicians of the period may be mentioned Sir Donald Maclean, who proved himself to be a Native Minister of remarkable talent and discretion, Sir F. Whitaker, Sir J. Hall, Sir H. Atkinson and Sir Julius Vogel. Bills were passed for the foundation of a university, for voting by ballot, for the establishment of a Government insurance office, and for the registration of title to land according to what has been called the "Torrens" system (*see* p. 371). Two years later a public trustee was appointed. The great advantage of having trust estates managed by a permanent responsible official has been gradually more and more realised, until the value of the property held by the public trustee now exceeds £4,000,000, and the plan was adopted in England in 1907.

The "Public Works" Policy.

But these measures were, for the time at least, thrown into the shade by the far greater change which was called the "Public Works Policy." In 1870 the general and provincial debt of the Colony amounted to about £7,000,000, some of which had been expended in objects which fairly

come under the term colonisation. Sir J. Vogel then proposed to borrow £10,000,000, and force on the progress of the Colony by a vast scheme of public works and assisted immigration. The idea was hailed with acclamation. An epoch of extraordinary prosperity commenced. The anxiety of war was over, borrowed money was being expended freely, the prices for New Zealand's principal exports—wool and wheat—continued high in the London market. All that farmers had to do was to take up land, till it, and in a year or two find that the profit from their crops more than paid for the fee simple of their holdings. Although the export of gold fell off, it was compensated for by the increase in wool; and minor exports, such as flax and gum, developed even more rapidly. The revenue of 1873 was more than double that of 1871. Immigration prospered. A society was formed in London, under the direction of the Duke of Manchester, called the "Emigrants' and Colonists' Aid Corporation," which is said to have been the only association of the sort whose labours have ended satisfactorily to both shareholders and colonists. They purchased one hundred thousand acres of rich forest land in the province of Wellington, on which they established a special settlement. Several parties of Scandinavians also came out and formed villages, which have since grown into flourishing towns, surrounded by thickly-populated farming districts.

Abolition of the Provincial System.

One result of the Public Works Policy was the abolition of the Provincial system. The immediate cause was a difficulty about the disposal of the Crown Lands. It was part of Sir Julius Vogel's scheme that the railways should be paid for by the increased value of the adjoining lands; but while the lands belonged to the Provinces that was impossible. Even apart from this, it is doubtful whether the Provincial system could have lasted much longer. As communication improved, and settlement extended, the advantage of a centralised Government became apparent. However, the Provincialists did not give in without a struggle. Sir George Grey, who was then living in retirement on an island in the Hauraki Gulf, re-entered political life, as Superintendent of the Province of Auckland and member of the House of Representatives. His eloquence, and the earnestness of the Otago members, delayed for a time the passing of the Bill, but at length it was carried during the session of 1876. At the same time provision was made for local government by the establishment of County Councils.

Free, Compulsory, and Secular Education.

In 1877 a uniform system of education for the whole Colony was inaugurated—free, compulsory and secular. Occasional efforts have since been made to introduce the reading of the Bible into the Government schools, or to subsidise denominational institutions, but they have never succeeded, and the existing system satisfies the large majority of every section of the community with the sole exception of the members of the Roman Catholic Church. They are so zealous for the religious training of their children that, though obliged to contribute to the secular schools, they maintain schools of their own in all the chief centres of population

Economic Depression.

By 1879 the tide of prosperity turned. The prices of Colonial products began to fall rapidly, and the value of land went down in proportion. Men who had bought farms during the years of prosperity, borrowing part of the purchase money, found that their land was barely worth the mortgage. By an unfortunate coincidence, other events occurring just then in distant parts of the world, such as the failure of the Glasgow Bank, had serious effects in New Zealand. Besides that, many of the large Government undertakings were completed; work became scarce; navvies, brought out to make the railways, joined the ranks of the unemployed. The Government, having to pay interest on the £13,000,000 which had been borrowed under the Public Works policy, were obliged to resort to severe retrenchment, even reducing the salaries of all civil servants by ten per cent. Yet this period of depression was not an unmixed evil. It led people to turn their attention to new fields of enterprise, of which the natural richness of the country afforded many. The coal mines began to be worked more energetically. The export of frozen mutton, which was ere long to develop into an important industry, was inaugurated. Direct steam communication with England was commenced. New manufactures sprang up. At an exhibition which was held at Wellington in 1884, visitors from beyond sea looked with astonishment at the quality and variety of the Colonial products, and began to wonder whether the tales they had heard of financial depression could be true after all.

Remedial measures.

CHAPTER VI.

PARTIES AND POLITICS, 1886-1908.

State Activity. It is inevitable that in a country like New Zealand the sphere of Government should be more extended than in England. In an old country, where there are a vast number of wealthy, experienced and philanthropic individuals, more can be left to private effort than in a colony where capital is limited, population scanty, and a leisured class does not exist (*compare* pp. 301-2, 388, 416, 423-4). Moreover, where the Government is the one great landowner the duty of developing their own estate naturally devolves upon them, and the influence of this fact is far-reaching. Legislation, too, is much more active in a Colony than in the Mother Country. The Imperial Parliament, overburdened with other duties, is wont to put aside measures which in New Zealand are brought forward, discussed and passed without difficulty. For instance, proposals for a criminal code have been made in England for about half a century, but the matter gets no further; in New Zealand an admirable code has been in force for many years.

Party Names. It is to be regretted that the terms Conservative and Liberal have been introduced into New Zealand politics. So far as they have any meaning, it is so different from that which is understood in England that they are often purely misleading. A party which carries secular education, triennial Parliaments and manhood suffrage may be called Conservative; Protection and the exclusion of aliens may be considered Liberal measures (*see* p. 302).

During the first thirty-five years of the New Zealand Parliament, there were no fewer than twenty-five Governments, none of which lasted four years. Yet writers speak of the time between 1870 and 1890 as "the period of the Continuous Ministry." The explanation of this apparent paradox

lies in the fact that the changes were caused rather by personal and temporary considerations than by the competition of fixed principles. Indeed it may almost be said that the only real changes of Government during the twenty years were when Sir George Grey assumed office in 1877 and relinquished it in 1879, and when Sir R. Stout and Sir J. Vogel came into power in 1884 and resigned in 1887. The year 1891, however, may be taken as marking a turning point. Mr. Ballance became Premier with a large majority, and after his death in 1893 his policy was continued by Mr. Seddon, whose remarkable ability and energy carried all before him until his death in 1906. Although the germ of many recent enactments may be traced in measures passed before 1891, it is nevertheless true that from that year dates New Zealand's legislative activity in the direction which has been called "Radical," "Socialistic" or "Progressive." The leading features of this policy may be classified under the headings of Constitutional Changes, Taxation, Land Laws, Labour, Old Age Pensions, Local Option, and Social affairs.

Ballance and Seddon.

Constitutional changes.

The Constitution has several times been modified. In 1879 triennial Parliaments and manhood suffrage were established; but as the property qualification for voters also remained, it was still possible for a man to have more than one vote. This was finally abolished in 1896. The franchise was conferred on women in 1893.* The number of Members of the House of Representatives has been fixed at 80, of whom 76 are Europeans; each electoral district returns one member. The numbers of the Legislative Council are still unlimited; but by an Act of 1891 Councillors are appointed for seven years only. Members of the Council receive a salary of £200 a year; Members of the House of Representatives, £300.

Taxation.

The incidence of taxation has formed as bitter a subject of controversy in New Zealand as elsewhere. Previous to 1892 there was a "Property tax"—that is to say, a tax of one penny in the pound was levied on all property, with an exemption up to £500. This had the advantage of simplicity, but taxpayers complained, on the one hand, that the more they improved their land the more they were taxed, even although the

* It may here be mentioned that the addition of the female vote has not caused any appreciable change in the strength of political parties. The number of male voters exceeds that of female; the proportion of those on the rolls who actually vote is about the same in both sexes.

improvements had not begun to be remunerative, and, on the other, that whilst farmers were heavily burdened, professional men, whose incomes might be larger, were let off almost free. At the same time there was a popular cry for a progressive tax "in order to burst up large estates," and for a penalty on absenteeism. To meet these complaints the property tax was abolished in 1891 and land and income taxes substituted. By the present law an ordinary land tax is levied on all land, taken at its unimproved value, and a graduated tax, commencing at one-sixteenth of a penny in the pound on estates amounting to £5,000 in value and increasing up to threepence on those amounting to £210,000, with an additional fifty per cent. on all persons who have been absent from New Zealand for a year, and an income tax of sixpence in the pound on incomes between £300 and £1,000, and one shilling on those exceeding that sum.

Land Laws.

With regard to land legislation, it must be remembered that the aspects of the question which have come prominently forward in New Zealand are totally different from those which are commonly discussed in the Mother Country. The laws of landlord and tenant are much the same in New Zealand as in England, but they are comparatively unimportant, as there is very little private letting of rural land; owners usually occupy their own holdings. The discussion which has arisen has usually been as to the way in which Crown lands should be alienated and closer settlement promoted. One result of Sir George Grey's policy was that large estates, maintaining a scanty population, came into existence. There are some who are of opinion that large holdings were the most suitable at a certain stage of the Colony's development, and that, when settlement progressed, they would probably have been gradually subdivided, as occasion required; but land reformers such as Mr. Ballance, Mr. Seddon, and notably Sir J. Mackenzie, were resolved to hasten the process by resuming the larger estates, and to prevent the creation of similar ones in land subsequently alienated. Under the

The "Land for Settlement Acts."

"Land for Settlement Acts," land which the Government consider is required for closer settlement may be acquired in much the same way as land may be taken for a railway in England—that is, by voluntary treaty with the owner, if possible; if not, by compulsion, the price being fixed by arbitration. Liberal allowance is made to the dispossessed owner to retain his homestead and what would in England be con-

sidered a good-sized holding, amounting to one thousand acres of first-class land and a larger area if the land is of inferior quality. It is only fair to add that in nearly every case the Government have found the owners willing and even anxious to sell. About a million acres have thus been acquired. The land so purchased is then let by the Government for a term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years in small farms at a rental estimated at about five per cent. on the value. As there is no provision for revaluation, this is, in fact, much the same as an old English quit rent.

Crown Lands.

As to the Crown lands still unalienated, there had for some years been a growing feeling in favour of granting leases rather than parting with the freehold. At one time a middle course was adopted, by letting land for ever, subject to periodical revaluations, the lessee being allowed to purchase the freehold on certain conditions. Since 1892, however, Crown lands have usually been let on the same terms as those repurchased, the farms varying in size from six hundred and forty to two thousand acres according to the quality of the land. The Acts also provide for sales of the freehold for cash, and for leases with a purchasing clause, in special cases. A system of village settlements has also been tried —fortunately not on the communistic principle which has been tried and failed in other parts of the Empire, but in separate holdings. This has met with some success, but has not been so popular as the framers of the scheme expected.

The State Bank.

A further benefit has been conferred on the farming class by the establishment of a State Bank through which settlers can borrow money, on the security of their holdings, at the nominal rate of six per cent., of which £5 is really interest and £1 goes towards a sinking fund, so that the whole debt is wiped out in thirty-six and a half years.

Labour Legislation.

Under the general heading of "Labour Laws" may be classed such matters as regulations for the inspection of factories, the hours of labour, the employment of women and children and the compensation of workmen for accidents; but the most interesting branch is the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, which has attracted so much attention as at any rate a bold attempt to put an end to the terrible evils of strikes. The establishment of Government Courts to arbitrate in trade disputes had been tried in other countries, but had never met with much success, one or other of the parties

to the quarrel usually declining to submit their case to the Court. Mr. W. P. Reeves, who was at that time a Minister in Mr. Seddon's Government, conceived the idea of arming the Court with compulsory powers, so that either side might compel the other to come before it, and its award might be enforced like a judgment of the Supreme Court. The measure introduced by him came into force in 1895; since then it has frequently been amended. By the present law either employers or workmen may form themselves into "industrial unions," which may be registered and thereby become, in fact, corporations capable of suing and being sued. Any registered union of workmen, or any trade union, may enter into an agreement with an employers' union, or with an employer, as to "any matter affecting an industrial matter" (for instance, as to scale of wages, hours of labour, or the number of apprentices allowable), and the agreement will become binding for three years. Should they fail to form an agreement, either party may take the other before a Board of Conciliation (of which there are now six, for different parts of the Colony) and the award of the Board becomes binding for at least three years, and for such further time until the Board, having re-heard the case, decides to alter it. There is, however, a further right of appeal to the Arbitration Court, which is composed of a Judge of the Supreme Court sitting with assessors. The powers of these Courts are drastic: disobedience to their awards may be punished with fine or imprisonment. They may even order an employer to reinstate a dismissed workman, or in future to give a preference to members of a trade union. In a word, although they cannot prevent an employer from closing his business and going away, they may prohibit him from conducting it on any lines except those which they approve.

Compulsory Arbitration.

Those who favour the measure point with triumph to the fact that it has become increasingly popular; that large numbers of cases are brought before the Boards and the Court, and that there has been no strike or lock-out since it became law. On the other hand, it is urged that the act has been in operation during a period of great prosperity, and nearly all the decisions have been in favour of the men, whereas it still has to stand the test of times of adversity and unpopular decisions; and that at any rate a longer time must elapse before it can be pronounced an assured success. It has also been said that the number of cases which have been decided includes

Its working.

some trivial disputes which would have been speedily settled and forgotten if there had not been the temptation to take the other side into Court. Besides this, the old Liberal school of thought, which objects on principle to the continual interference of Government in private affairs, has not wholly died out, even in New Zealand.

Old Age Pensions.

The system of Old Age Pensions was established in 1898, and since then has been considerably extended. Every person of the age of sixty-five who has resided in the Colony for twenty-five years, who has not been in prison for more than five years of that period or for more than four months during the last twelve years of it, who has not deserted his wife (or her husband, as the case may be), and has, in the opinion of the magistrate, lived a sober and reputable life, is entitled to a pension if his other income does not exceed £60 and his accumulated property does not exceed £260. If his income from other sources does not exceed £34 a year, and if his accumulated property does not exceed £50, he receives a pension of £26 a year; but for every £1 of income he possesses over £34 a year, and for every £10 of accumulated property over £50, the pension is reduced by £1.

The main objections brought forward to the scheme are (1) that where there are sons and daughters well able to pay for the support of their aged parents the burden should fall on them rather than on strangers; (2) that it discourages thrift, as a man will not lay by if he knows that the result will merely be to reduce his pension; and (3) that the charge, which already exceeds £250,000 a year, will steadily increase until it becomes too serious a strain on the finances of the Colony. To these objections some bold theorists openly answer that thrift is a bad thing, as it is better for the country that money should be put in circulation than hoarded; others, who do not go so far, urge that in the majority of cases it will rather encourage thrift, for a man will realise that if he lays by an income of £34 for himself he will, with the assistance of his pension, be able to spend his declining years in comfort; that it is not fair to class the whole sum as increased expenditure, as it will, in many cases, reduce other forms of charitable aid; and that it is not likely to increase very far beyond its present figure—or, at any rate, not so as to be beyond the capabilities of the growing wealth of the country.

Another interesting piece of recent legislation has been the establishment of local option as to the sale of liquor.

Under the Act of 1893 a poll is taken triennially, the time for taking it and the area of the licensing district (except in the case of cities, where the whole city forms one district) being the same as for Parliamentary elections. The voters then decide whether the existing number of licences shall be continued or be reduced, or whether the sale of liquor shall be prohibited altogether. An absolute majority of votes is sufficient to carry continuation or reduction; a majority of three-fifths is necessary to carry prohibition. If no such majority is obtained matters go on as before. In 1905 prohibition was carried in three out of the sixty-eight districts, in 1908 in six more, and it is a remarkable fact that even in 1905 more votes were given for prohibition than for either continuance or reduction. It seems quite possible that ere many years have elapsed prohibition may be carried throughout a large part of the country.

Local Option and Prohibition.

Important legislation has also been effected concerning social affairs. As long ago as 1881 an Act was passed legalising the adoption of children. Adoption cannot, of course, affect the succession to a title, or a settled estate; but for other purposes the adopted child ceases in the eye of the law to belong to its natural parents, and becomes the offspring of the adopting ones. It is universally admitted that this act has been beneficial. Marriage with a deceased wife's sister became legal in 1880, and the logical corollary—marriage with a deceased husband's brother—in 1900. The causes for divorce have been widely extended, and petitions for dissolution of marriage are rapidly on the increase. New Zealand has also followed some of the Continental nations in allowing *legitimatio per subsequens matrimonium.*

Other Social Legislation.

The other events of the last twenty years may be passed over rapidly. It has been a period of unbroken peace and unchecked development. All possibility of native troubles has passed away; a new generation has grown up to whom the story of the war is a vague tradition. Mahutu, son of Tawhiao, has been a Minister of the Crown, and has sat in the Legislative Council; Hone Heke, whose grandfather pulled down the British flag at Kororareka, is a member of the House of Representatives. Railways are being made through the King Country, and the Governor of the Colony was cordially welcomed by the Uriwera tribe when he made a tour through their district. The Maoris live in a state of material prosperity,

New Zealand to-day.

but no friend and admirer of the race can look on their present condition with complete satisfaction. For many years the sales of native land went on rapidly, the vendors too often, in a generous, thriftless way, squandering the money as soon as they obtained it. At last, in 1900, when only about five million acres were left, the Government took the matter in hand, forebade the further alienation of the freehold, and provided for the leasing of the remaining lands through native committees. But this has not removed the difficulty. The idleness encouraged by wealth brings evils of its own; drink and disease have played havoc among the Maoris. There is, however, a brighter side to the native question. The recent census returns show that their numbers are now on the increase. Hauhauism has disappeared; temperance and a desire for a more healthy life seem to be gaining ground. Education extends rapidly, and more than six thousand native children are attending schools, while some are at superior colleges preparing for the University. One may hope, therefore, that at least a proportion will pass safely through the dangerous process of civilisation, and permanently take the place in society for which the abilities and high qualities of the race so eminently fit them.

Present condition and prospects of the Maoris.

Meanwhile, the decline of the Maoris has made New Zealand the most purely British in blood of all the colonies. The proportion of foreign immigrants is slight, and even the Irish have not migrated to New Zealand in great numbers. The population which in 1886 amounted to five hundred and ninety thousand (omitting Maoris), is now nearly nine hundred and fifty thousand. The increase is due partly to immigration, partly to natural causes. But here, as elsewhere, the birth rate fell rapidly until the last few years.

Growth of population.

This filling up of the country has naturally produced a movement for expansion; and New Zealand has twice extended its borders; first in 1887 by the addition of the Kermadec Islands (a small group six hundred miles to the north of the Colony), and secondly in 1901 by the annexation of the Cook and other tropical islands containing an area of about two hundred and eighty square miles. These tropical dependencies are governed through resident Commissioners; but there is a Federal Council of the Cook Islands which legislates for the whole group except Niue, which has a resident Commissioner and a

Expansion of New Zealand.

Council of its own. The chief island and seat of government is Rarotonga.

New Zealand and the Empire.

Development and expansion have quickened New Zealand's sense of responsibility for her own defence. The somewhat absurd scare about Russia's designs on Australasia in 1884-5 seems first to have suggested protective measures against possible external enemies; and New Zealand, besides its contribution to the Imperial Navy, has a flotilla of torpedo boats, while the Calliope Dock, which is capable of taking two warships, is subsidised by the Imperial Government. The South African war of 1899-1902 caused an outburst of patriotism throughout New Zealand; and ten contingents were despatched to aid the mother country in her hour of need. In 1901 the Prince and Princess of Wales visited the Colony, and were welcomed everywhere with cordial loyalty. In 1907 the Colony was, by letters patent, raised to the dignity and style of a Dominion of the Crown; and in October, 1908, New Zealand's yearly contribution to the Imperial Navy was increased, without the Australian stipulations (p. 398), from forty to a hundred thousand pounds.

With regard to its fiscal policy New Zealand has rather drifted into, than deliberately adopted, a protective tariff, the import duties never being so high as in those countries which are strictly called Protectionist. By an act of 1903, additional duties are levied on various articles not being the produce or manufacture of some part of the British Dominions.

Economic progress.

The progress of New Zealand as well as the occupations of its people can be gathered from the following table of exports for 1896 and 1906 respectively, the reader bearing in mind that it, of course, takes no note of the large number of factories, the products of which are consumed in the Colony:—

Wool.	Gold.	Frozen meat.	Butter.	Cheese.	Kauri-gum.	Total exports of N.Z. produce.	Imports.
£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
4,391,848	1,041,428	1,251,993	281,716	130,166	431,323	9,177,336	7,137,320
6,765,655	2,270,904	2,877,031	1,560,235	341,002	522,486	17,840,346	15,211,403

During the same period the amount of land in cultivation has risen from eleven to over fourteen million acres, the receipts of the Government railways from £1,286,158 to £2,624,600,

and savings banks deposits from five to eleven millions. Almost as remarkable has been the development in recent years of New Zealand's educational facilities. In December, 1906, there were eighteen hundred and forty-seven public primary schools and three hundred and eight private schools besides a hundred village schools for Maoris. Higher education is provided by means of twenty-six endowed colleges and grammar schools, and at the apex of the system is the University of New Zealand. Like the Commonwealth of Australia (*see* pp. 423-4) the Dominion of New Zealand is making experiments, social, economic, and political, which, whether by way of warning or example, cannot fail to be of increasing interest and importance to the mother country.

IV.

SOUTH AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.

Area.

The name South Africa may be used in different senses. In the wider political sense it includes the country from the south coast as far north as 8°S., where a break occurs in the continuity of British territory. From a physical point of view the Congo-Zambesi divide (about 12°S.) is the appropriate northern limit. In the narrower sense South Africa excludes all the lands north of the Zambesi. In the following pages the term is to be understood in its wider political sense.

South of the Congo-Zambesi divide there are about two million square miles of land, of which over one million and fifty thousand square miles are British territory. In the south this territory stretches across the continent from the west to the east coast. In the centre and north it is hemmed in by the possessions of Portugal in the east, German East Africa and the Congo state (Belgian) in the north, and Angola (Portuguese) and German South-west Africa in the west. The eastern boundary closely coincides with the edge of the higher ground, but includes Lake Nyasa and the Shire river. The western boundary is drawn through a desert in the south and through comparatively little known open woodlands in the north.

Configuration.

South Africa is a tableland of which a considerable part is more than 4,000 ft. above sea level. These elevated regions, which are the healthiest parts, are separated from each other by river basins or desert areas, some of which reach

3,000 ft. in elevation. The Zambesi divides the higher parts of Northern Rhodesia from the higher parts of Southern Rhodesia. The latter are separated by the Limpopo from the High Veld, which extends almost continuously through the south-east and south of the continent, where it is locally known as the Upper Great Karroo. Bechuanaland, which is considerably lower, connects the High Veld with the higher lands of Damaraland and Namaqualand, which are mainly German.

Mountain Ranges. Throughout this area there is an abrupt and difficult rise from the coastal plains, which are narrow in the west but wider in the east, north of Delagoa Bay. In the south-east, however, the edge of the high plateau comes close to the coast, and the rise is rapid from the lagoon-fringed coast of Natal to the lofty Drakensbergen Mountains, which rise to over 10,000 ft. In the extreme south two mountain ranges, the Zwartebergen and the Langebergen, run parallel to the coast and form lofty parapets. The former is bounded by a coastal plain in the south. Between the Zwartebergen and the foot of the escarpment of the High Veld is the Great Karroo. Between the Zwartebergen and the Langebergen is the Little Karroo, drained by the Gauritz and its tributaries. North of the eastern continuation of the Langebergen system (known as the Outeniquas mountains), is the Long Kloof, drained by the Komannassie river. In the south-west these east and west ranges are intersected by others which run north and south. This gives the topography of this part of South Africa a very complicated character.

The Veld. On the tableland the rocks are lying almost horizontally. Through these horizontal strata the rivers cut deep, steep-sided valleys, which, until they are bridged, act as formidable barriers to communication. Roads have to descend a steep slope to a *drift* or ford, and must then ascend again on the opposite side up an equally steep incline. The surface of the Veld is undulating or flat, and often diversified with hills, or *kopjes*, forming tabular (*tafelkop*) or pointed pyramids (*spitskop*). The sharpness of the features depends chiefly on the rainfall of different areas. In Natal, where the rainfall is abundant, the forms are much more rounded than in the centre, where it is scanty. In the rainy regions water erosion is the chief sculpturing agency. In the centre and

west, wind action becomes more important than rain action, with the result that the hills or kopjes tend to rise sharply above fairly flat and uniform surfaces.

In the Basuto Highlands in the south-east, where the land is highest (reaching 11,000 or 12,000 ft. in the Mont aux Sources or Giant's Castle), as well as on the eastern and southern margin, a capping of hard resistant volcanic rock has prevented rapid erosion, and has contributed to the formation of a steep escarpment. The general character, therefore, of South African topography is fairly uniform. Flat-topped surfaces with steep sides everywhere predominate. The gentle rounded slopes which are familiar in wetter lands occur mainly in the east.

Climate.

The regional divisions of South Africa are largely controlled by the varied climatic conditions found in an area which extends from 34°S. on the west and 30°S. on the east to 10°S. These latitudes are similar to those of Australia and of Africa north of the Gulf of Guinea.

The tropic of Capricorn cuts South Africa into two not very unequal parts. The great elevation of the land neutralises the effect of low latitude in winter. In summer the lack of cloud and moisture allows the surface of the land to become very highly heated in spite of its elevation. The winters on the whole are colder than those of Australia, but the summers are not much less hot.

There is a great contrast in the temperature of the east and west coasts. On the east coast, with prevailing south-east winds, the temperature is fairly equable and high at all seasons. On the west coast the prevailing winds blow parallel to or off the land, causing an up-welling cold current, which brings a great volume of cold water from considerable depths of the ocean to the surface, and chills the air immediately above it. This affects the land for a few miles inland, and reduces the temperature at all seasons. Compare the figures for the following places in nearly the same latitude :—

—	Lat. S.	Height ft.	Warmest month F°	Coldest month F°	Range.	Mean annual Temp.	Rainfall inches.
Port Nolloth	29°16′	40	60·1	54·2	5·9	57·5	2·1
Kimberley...	28°43′	4040	75·8	50·2	25·5	64·8	19·
Durban	29°51′	260	76·6	64·6	12·	70·8	41·6

Rainfall.

South Africa lies in the track of the south-east trades. The rainfall consequently tends to diminish from east to west. The largest amount of rain falls in summer when the pressure over the land is low. The eastern escarpment is high and the land slopes steadily downwards to the west. The fact that the highest land is on the windward side obviously makes the rainfall very high (about 40 in.) on the eastern slopes. The rainfall diminishes so rapidly from the edge of the escarpment westwards that the centre and west are almost rainless, and form a semi-desert region (under 5 in.). The only exception to this is found in the extreme south-west corner, which is far enough south to be within the belt of stormy westerly winds in winter. This wetter region (20in. to 40 in.) does not extend far north, and only the southern coastal strip is affected. In the extreme south there is little difference between the amounts of summer and winter rainfall.

The summer rainy season is short and the total precipitation is but small. All over South Africa, therefore, the forested area is small and confined to the wettest parts.

Vegetation.

In the south the Knysna and Transkei forests are in the region which receives rain at al seasons. In the east the forest is generally open and confined to the lower lands which form the bush veld, though there are extensive forests in the Houtboschbergen towards the north-east of the Transvaal. These open woods become thicker and extend farther inland in the Zambesi basin, where the summer rainfall is considerably heavier. The high veld is everywhere dry, and forms a not very rich grass land. This becomes increasingly poor towards the west, and desert conditions prevail in the Kalahari region.

With the exception of its mineral wealth South Africa possesses no remarkable natural advantages. Its interior is difficult of access owing to the tabular configuration already described. Its rivers act rather as obstacles than as aids to communication, and its vast areas of desert and semi-desert increase the difficulties of transport. These are intensified by the prevalence of diseases which prove fatal to horses, and even in recent years, to oxen, which are the chief transport animals. Railways are the best means of conveyance, but the cost of good fuel and the scarcity of water make the running expenses heavy, while the centres of population are generally small and

Economic Conditions.

at long distances from each other. The leading exports are small in bulk and weight, and are therefore not a very remunerative freight.

South Africa was first occupied by the Dutch as a refreshment and refitting station on the route to and from the East Indies (*see* p. 479). Dutch settlement expanded from Cape Town on Table Bay across the plain to the Drakenstein (p. 481), and then along the valleys north and south of the Langebergen. White settlement grew round three natural centres: (1) the better watered south-west region with winter rains (Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Malmesbury); (2) the well-watered south-east round Algoa Bay (Port Elizabeth, East London, Grahamstown); and (3) Port Natal in the east (Durban, Pietermaritzburg). A low woodland region with a dense native population separated the two latter regions.

Influence of Geography on South African History.

The centres on the plateau all possess some obvious geographical advantage. The fertile Caledon valley formed the nucleus of the Orange River Colony. The eastern High Veld north of the Vaal River and the higher southern region which is fed with streams from the Rand formed the Transvaal. The local grouping of population has been largely determined by the location of diamonds and gold (*see* pp. 510-516). Round the diamond mines Kimberley has grown, and the gold mines of the Rand have created Johannesburg, the largest and richest city of South Africa.

As in Australia (*see* pp. 377-80), the lack of communications which isolated the various groups of settlers determined the rise of the separate states and postponed their federation. Now that the various divisions are in much closer touch with each other, the probability is that a federated or unified South Africa will be called into existence. South Africa guards the ocean route to India and Australia, and must be held by Britain at all costs. Should the Suez Canal be closed by European war the unity of the Empire would depend on the command of this ocean route, which is therefore of the highest possible strategic importance.

CHAPTER II.

THE NATIVE RACES AND CAPE COLONY UNDER DUTCH RULE.

The Bushmen.

South Africa possesses three great native races—the Bushmen, the Hottentots and the Bantu. Of these the Bushmen, or the Abatwa, as the Bantus call them, are the aborigines. In appearance they are of small stature and yellowish brown in colour, with flat noses and receding chins. Their heads are covered with little detached tufts of short black hair, and, like the ancient Britons, they paint their bodies, using soot or coloured clay. They are too remote from civilised life ever to be reclaimed from wildness, but they possess the compensating virtues of the savage—extraordinary keenness of sight, unerring instinct for the trail, and untiring energy in the chase. By the time that we begin to know the country they had already succumbed to later and stronger races. They continued to exist chiefly in the deserts and wilder parts, as they do to this day. Formerly they lived by hunting, but when the spread of colonisation drove away the game they were compelled to resort to cattle robbery, and thus inflicted heavy losses on the settlers. In reprisal they were relentlessly destroyed both by the white and the black races, and, in their turn, took their revenge by acts of dreadful cruelty. In warfare, as in hunting, they relied chiefly on poisoned arrows, which made them feared by the boldest of their enemies. Long centuries of oppression have made them irreclaimably savage, yet there are some indications that they were once more civilised. Some of them employ themselves in sculpture, and others show considerable skill in rock painting. Their language is degenerate, like themselves. It abounds in curious clicks and in deep guttural sounds.

The Hottentots.

Until the nineteenth century the Hottentots were the dominant native race in the greater part of South Africa. They were found chiefly near the sea-coast and along the course of the Orange and Vaal Rivers. Though slightly made, like the

Bushmen, they are taller and better formed. Their colour varies from yellow to olive. Their language is quite distinct in structure from that of the Bushmen: it possesses few clicks and none of the deep gutturals. When the Dutch first settled in the country the Hottentots possessed large flocks and herds and moved from place to place in search of pasture. But the character of their tribes varied very greatly. Some of them, like the Namaquas, were large and powerful; others, like those found by the Dutch near Cape Town, were extremely poor and miserable. They were a race easily reduced to servitude, not so much from lack of courage, as from want of military organisation and of capacity for war.

The Bantus. The third great native race inhabiting South Africa are the Bantus, who differ in a very striking manner from the two former. They bear evident traces of mixed descent from races dissimilar in bodily appearance and in powers of mind. They are largely and strongly made, with features varying from the Asiatic to the Negro type. In colour they are generally deep black, though some are only moderately brown. When first known they not only possessed flocks and herds, like the Hottentots, but also cultivated the soil and had some skill in metal-work. While the Bushmen know only the temporary authority of parents over their young children, and the Hottentots give only a limited obedience to their chiefs, the Bantus are under very strict rule, and possess, in addition, an elaborate system of law This organisation is useful in times of war, and they are intensely warlike, and would undoubtedly have possessed themselves of the whole of South Africa if the European races had not intervened. They came originally from the north-east, and by the middle of the seventeenth century had reached the southern coast, which they occupied westward as far as the mouth of the Kei. To this race belong such famous peoples as the Kaffirs, the Bechuanas, the Basutos, the Pondos, the Zulus and the Matabele.

European Discovery. The first European to sight the Cape of Good Hope was the Portuguese seaman Bartholomew Diaz, who was driven from the mouth of the Orange River far south by a northerly gale and regained the African coast somewhere east of Cape Agulhas. On his return voyage he rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1487, and named it the Cape of Storms. The Portuguese King, John II., however, renamed it the Cape of Good Hope, because he expected to find beyond it the road to the

Indies. Ten years later Vasco da Gama sailed round it and succeeded in reaching India. From this time the Cape became familiar as a landmark on the eastern voyage. But the Portuguese made no attempt to found a settlement on the South African coast. Their vessels, after touching at St. Helena, were accustomed to run to Mozambique, and if short of provisions or injured by tempests they had a port of refuge at Delagoa Bay. Moreover, the natives were known to be unfriendly. In 1510 Francisco d'Almeida, the Viceroy of the Indies, attempted to chastise the Hottentots at Table Bay, but was defeated and slain with sixty-five of his followers. From this time until the Dutch settlement no Europeans willingly remained long in the country.

Dutch Occupation of the Cape.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, owing to the seizure of Portugal and its colonies by Spain (1580), the Portuguese were involved in war with the English and Dutch, who began to wrest from them their eastern trade. The Dutch vessels made frequent use of Table Bay as a calling station. This was more necessary for them than for the Portuguese, for while the Portuguese route to India lay between Madagascar and the mainland, the Dutch, whose destination was usually Batavia, preferred rounding the southern end of Madagascar to navigating the dangerous Mozambique Channel. They thus had no intermediate port like Mozambique, for Mauritius, which they occupied in 1638, could not afford them the supplies they needed. In 1602 the Dutch East India Company was formed, two years after its English rival. Fifty years later the need of having supplies in readiness for their ships, and perhaps the fear of being forestalled by the English, with whom they were at war, determined them to make a permanent settlement. On April 6, 1652, the Dutch East India Company established a station at Cape Town, centred round Fort Good Hope, under the command of a ship's surgeon, Jan van Riebeck. The settlement was regarded simply as a small official outpost, and Van Riebeck, who, as its head, enjoyed the naval rank of Commander, was subordinated to the admiral of every visiting fleet. As a port of refreshment for passing ships Cape Town served admirably. Vegetables were grown in large quantities to serve as an antidote to scurvy and large numbers of oxen and sheep were obtained from the Hottentots by barter.

The Colony grew slowly, owing to the fact that it was only designed for a victualling station. At first it was occupied entirely by servants of the Company. But though it served

well the purpose of its foundation, it was found to be extremely expensive. In 1655 the directors, in order to lessen the expense, resolved to allow a few free families to settle in the neighbourhood of the fort. These settlers were to pay a land tax to the Company, to supply it with provisions on favourable terms, and to purchase from it such live stock as they required. This class of free farmers, which afterwards became known as burghers, were still subject to the government of the Company, but they were not in its employ. The first settlers of this kind received allotments of land early in 1657, and were all of them former servants. For a long time the burghers were chiefly recruited from the Company's servants, although other settlers were also at times encouraged to emigrate from Europe. In 1658 the introduction of negro slaves supplied them with the labour which the Hottentots from their lazy temperament were unfitted to give. But although this expedient lightened the difficulties of the settlers at the time, it was a bad and dangerous resource. The climate is not unfitted for white labour, and the introduction of negroes has greatly increased the difficulty of the race question.

The Earliest Settlers.

The first colonists were established at Rondebosch and at Groeneveld, on the other side of the Liesbeek. The consequence of this extension of the Colony was the first Hottentot War. The Hottentots were exceedingly discontented at finding themselves shut out from part of their former pasture-lands, and in 1659 several petty skirmishes took place. The result was indecisive, but in the following year the natives abandoned their claim to the enclosed lands and peace was concluded. In 1672 the Dutch East India Company purchased from some of the native chiefs the whole of the country from Saldanha Bay to False Bay for a small sum, and in the same year a small settlement was made at Hottentots' Holland, on the north-east shore of False Bay. In 1673 the second and last Hottentot war broke out. It was brought about by the destruction of big game by the burghers in the neighbourhood of the Berg River. This was resented by Gonnema, chief of the Cochoquas, and in July he murdered eight burghers whom he found hunting. The war lasted for four years before Gonnema in 1677 purchased peace by the payment of a small tribute. Its most serious feature was the stoppage of the supply of cattle from the Hottentot tribes beyond the Cochoquas. A large number of oxen and sheep were required at Cape Town to supply the Company's

The Hottentot Wars.

ships. Hitherto the Government had relied on trade with the natives, the burghers being encouraged to turn their attention to agriculture and raising vegetables. From this time it was felt that they must also be encouraged to breed cattle, and that in order to ensure a sufficient supply the number of settlers must be largely increased.

Development of the Colony.

In January, 1678, land was leased to two burghers at Hottentots' Holland for feeding cattle. These men were the pioneer graziers in South Africa. But the dangers and discomforts of frontier life made it difficult to extend the area of settlement. Much of the credit of establishing the Colony on a firm basis is due to Simon van der Stel, who was installed as Commander on October 12, 1679, and raised to the rank of Governor in June, 1691. He discovered the beautiful valley of Stellenbosch in his first year of office and within twelve months had settled nine Dutch families within its borders. In 1687 he named and colonised the new settlement of Drakenstein, on the Berg River. He used every effort to secure suitable colonists, and his task was made easier by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 by Louis XIV., which furnished a stream of French Protestant refugees.

Huguenot Immigrants.

Nearly two hundred landed between 1688 and 1690 and were placed at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein. These French settlers became eventually incorporated with the existing population, but none the less their introduction had important effects. From the first they showed great impatience under the paternal system of government prevalent in the Colony. They found themselves surrounded by restrictions, which, belonging to a different social system, galled them far more than the Dutch settlers, and they brought from France that dislike of the interference of the central authority and that love of provincial organisation which characterised the French Huguenots. From this time the relations between the authorities at Cape Town and the outlying burghers were never so cordial as before, and even Simon van der Stel, who had been particularly beloved by the free settlers, was much less popular during the years preceding his retirement in 1699. Matters grew worse during the rule of his son and successor, Adrian van der Stel. The burghers complained that he made use of his office to obtain improper trade advantages for himself. They complained to the supreme Council of Seventeen in 1706, and the Governor, learning this, immediately committed

Domestic Differences.

some of them to prison. This attack on their personal liberty caused a rising at Stellenbosch, and in 1707 the Company decided in favour of the burghers by depriving the Governor of office. His immediate successors pursued a policy more acceptable to the free settlers and, by the direction of the Company, showed great consideration for their needs.

Expansion.

In the meantime the growth of the Colony had begun in earnest. In 1700 the settlers ascended the second step of the great South African plateau by the colonisation of Waveren, a tract of country in the modern district of Tulbagh, watered by the upper course of the Little Berg River. From the beginning of the eighteenth century the increase of population no longer depended on immigration, but was ensured by the excess of births over deaths. Instead of immigrants fresh from civilisation, the pioneers were now inured to the wilderness and in love with its free life. They comprised the three great classes of which primitive societies are composed. The advance guard consisted of the hunters, who covered enormous tracts of country in pursuit of game, and particularly of elephants for the sake of their ivory. Then came the graziers, for from 1700, when the Council of Seventeen allowed for a time free trade with the natives, cattle-breeding became the favourite pursuit of the burghers. These occupied districts of 5,000 or 6,000 acres as cattle farms, and, after obtaining the sanction of Government, paid a yearly rent of £5, irrespective of the quality of the land. Finally there was a third class of colonists who generally followed the cattle-breeders, and, occupying farms on the same terms, built more substantial houses; besides raising cattle, they also cultivated the soil. During the first half of the eighteenth century the colonists extended in two directions, eastward and north. From Riebeck's Kasteel they passed northward beyond the Berg River, eventually reaching Elephant's River. From Waveren they descended the Breede southwards, and from Hottentots' Holland, the Zonder Einde eastwards until they reached the coast. In 1745 they crossed the Gamtoos, and by 1775 they had reached the Fish River. Northwards towards the interior their limits were less definite, but they gradually penetrated beyond the Great Karoo into the central plateau where the Nieuweld Range and the Sneeuw Bergen long fixed their boundaries. In 1778, however, Plettenberg's Beacon, not far from the modern Colesberg, marked the northern limit of the Colony.

Hunters, Graziers and Agriculturists.

Local Administration.

This great development of the Colony rendered it impossible to administer the outlying districts from Cape Town, and, in consequence, between 1682 and 1685 a system of local administration was introduced by Simon van der Stel for the district of Stellenbosch, which was afterwards extended to other districts as they were formed. It consisted of a landdrost, or high bailiff, appointed by the Governor and Council of Policy, who looked after the Company's interests and property. There was also a body of heemraden, usually five or six in number, who, together with the landdrost, formed a court for dealing with civil cases and with local administrative matters. In more important civil cases an appeal lay to the High Court of Justice at Cape Town, which contained a certain proportion of burgher councillors, two out of twelve from 1658 to 1675, three from 1675 to 1786, and after 1786 six, or one half the entire number. Neither the heemraden nor the burgher councillors were elected by the burghers, but were selected by the Governor and Council of Policy from a list chosen by their respective courts. Thus the English system of elective representation was unknown in the Colony.

The earlier progress of the Colony was considerably aided by the ravages with which a European disease afflicted the Hottentots. Two great outbreaks of small-pox in 1713 and 1755 almost annihilated the strongest and most formidable tribes, leaving only a feeble-spirited remnant and a depopulated country. The Bushmen, however, escaped the ravages of the pestilence and, as they increased rapidly in numbers, they eventually caused great trouble. But for over half-a-century the native question became unimportant. The government of Ryk Tulbagh, extending from 1751 to 1771, is regarded as the halcyon period of Dutch rule in South Africa. He won the confidence and esteem of the colonists by his upright and disinterested government. For a time there seemed perfect concord between the Company's servants and the free farmers.

The Halcyon Period of Dutch Rule.

Constitutional Difficulties.

This state of things did not continue under his successor, Van Plettenberg, who held office till 1785. Under him officials were permitted to extort bribes from the settlers and the whole of the administration became infected with favouritism and corruption. The political parties in the United Netherlands began to reproduce themselves in South Africa. So early as 1749 the Prince of Orange, after being

restored to the office of Stadtholder, or supreme magistrate, was created chief director and Governor-General of the East India Company. From that time, if not even earlier, the Company's servants at the Cape belonged to the Orange party; and when dissensions broke out anew under Van Plettenberg, the burghers generally embraced the principles of the republican party, chief among which was a strong belief in local self-government. The example of the American Revolution had a great effect upon them, and they began to give prominence to new ideas of their rights and liberties. They particularly desired to have elected representatives in the Government, and in 1781 demanded the admission of burgher members into the Council of Policy.

Troubles with the Natives.

In Van Plettenberg's time a fresh cause of discontent, which touched the frontier farmers closely, gave practical importance to their new ideas. On the north they found themselves harassed by the Bushmen, who, on the disappearance of the game, were forced to subsist by cattle-stealing. On the east they began to come into conflict with the warlike Kaffir tribes, who had long been pressing south and west. So early as 1736 a party of elephant-hunters, headed by Hermanus Hubner, had been treacherously destroyed by the Kosas, the southernmost section of the Bantus, and in 1778 the farmers near the Fish River, which bounded the eastern frontier, complained to Van Plettenberg that the same tribe were lifting their cattle. In the following year some Kosa clans crossed the Fish River into the Colony and spread over the present districts of Somerset East and Albany. They remained there for two years, when they were driven out by a commando under a border farmer, Van Jaarsveld, who thus ended the first Kaffir war with the aid of his fellow farmers and with the approval, rather than the assistance, of the Cape Town Government. In 1789 the Kosas again crossed the Fish River, and this time the Council of Policy roused the indignation of the burghers by weakly permitting them to remain in possession of the territory between the Fish and the Cowie Rivers. The consequence was that constant quarrels culminated in 1793 in the second Kaffir war. The Kosas swept the country westward from the Kowie to the Zwartkops, gathering a vast booty in cattle and putting to death several farmers by torture. Though followed by a commando as far as the Buffalo River, they secured most of the booty, and in November the

The First and Second Kaffir Wars.

Government again concluded an unsatisfactory peace by ceding to the Kosas the whole of the Zuurveld—that is, the district between the Fish River and Bushman River. A still more serious difference was caused by the tendency of Government to assign the entire blame for the rupture to the colonists, whom they accused of ill-treating the Kosas. There had certainly been individual cases of violence, but these were by no means confined to one side, nor were the farmers strong enough to be magnanimous. Underlying these and later differences was a fundamental divergence of view in regard to the character of the Kosas. While the farmers were totally lacking in sympathy with the natives, the central Government was absurdly in error in persistently ignoring the warlike and predatory nature of the Kaffir tribes.

Decline of the East India Company.

By this time other causes more generally affecting the Colony had made the East India Company unpopular. During the war of American Independence the Dutch had fought against England and, in consequence, their trade with the East had been almost annihilated. It never recovered, and, as Cape Colony was prohibited from trade with foreign nations, it suffered severe commercial distress. By 1794 the credit of the East India Company was exhausted, while gold and silver had almost disappeared from the Colony. Repeated demands for representation in the Council of Policy had met with no response, and the Government was neither able nor willing to assist the frontier districts in their difficulties with the natives. In consequence, in 1795 the burghers of Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam, districts then far larger than at present and comprising the whole of the eastern half of the Colony,

Internal Dissensions.

finally threw off the yoke of the Company, and, in imitation of the revolutionary party in the home country, displayed the tricolour in opposition to the orange cockades of the Company, and declared themselves "Nationals." Thus the decay of the East India Company and internal dissensions made the English conquest easy. But the acquisition of Cape Colony brought with it the inheritance of all those difficulties which the Netherlands East India Company had failed adequately to meet.

CHAPTER III.

CAPE COLONY UNDER BRITISH RULE.

(a) *Internal History of the Colony.*

The first Englishmen at the Cape. The first Englishman to sight the Cape of Good Hope was Sir Francis Drake, in 1580, during his voyage round the world, and he styles it "the fairest cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth." The first to land there was James Lancaster, in 1591, who remained in Table Bay for a month, on his way to the Indies. The foundation of the English East India Company in 1600 was soon followed by a keen appreciation of the dangers of allowing a rival nationality to establish a station in the neighbourhood of the Cape, on account of the command it would give of the route to India. In 1620 two sea-captains, Andrew Shilling and Humphrey Fitzherbert, desiring to forestall the Dutch, formally took possession of Table Bay and the continent adjoining in the name of King James. This action, however, was not followed up by the home government, and in 1652, during war with England, the Dutch settlement was finally made. So long as the war lasted the Dutch settlers were seriously apprehensive of an attempt at conquest, but the acquisition of St. Helena by the English Company in 1651 furnished the English with an intermediate station for India, and, by disinclining them to undertake the expense of a second, helped to secure the Cape from their attacks. From 1674 the long alliance between the two Powers, which was continued during the greater part of the eighteenth century, prevented further alarms; but when war again broke out, in 1780 Commodore Johnstone, at the head of an English squadron, was only prevented from attacking Cape Town by the presence in these seas of the French Admiral, Suffren.

The English Conquests of 1795 and 1806. In 1795 the attempt was renewed with better success by Admiral Elphinstone. A landing was effected at Simon's Town in False Bay on July 14th, and the Dutch Governor, Abraham Sluysken, capitulated on September 15th, when the military

commander of the English forces, Major-Gen. James Craig, was installed as English Governor. The two districts which had revolted from the government of the Dutch East India Company speedily submitted in consequence of the conciliatory measures of the English authorities—Swellendam in November, 1795, and Graaff-Reinet in August, 1796. In May, 1797, Craig was succeeded by Earl Macartney, who restored civil government in place of military rule. In February, 1803, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Amiens the country was restored to the Batavian Republic. The old Dutch East India Company had disappeared and the Colony was made a direct dependency. When war broke out again, a fleet under Sir Home Popham disembarked a force of over four thousand men under Sir David Baird, which forced Cape Town to surrender on January 10, 1806, after defeating a very inferior Dutch force two days earlier at the Battle of Blueberg. The Colony was finally ceded by a convention dated August 13, 1814, which was ratified by the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

The Cape as a Crown Colony.

On first acquiring Cape Colony the English Government preserved the Dutch system of local administration unchanged. In matters affecting the Colony the power of the Governor was entirely unlimited except by the control of the Secretary for War, and the laws of the Colony were enacted in the form of proclamations issued by his authority. In 1825, however, after an attempt on the part of Lord Charles Somerset, Governor from 1814 till 1826, to suppress the freedom of the Press a Council of six was appointed to advise and assist him, consisting of the chief military and civil officers of the Colony. These were all appointed by the Crown and removable at pleasure. The laws of the Colony, instead of taking the form of proclamations, became ordinances of the Governor in Council. Finally, on the instalment of Sir Benjamin D'Urban as Governor in January, 1834, the Colony obtained the regular constitution of a Crown Colony. A Legislature was formed composed of the Governor, the military officer next in rank, the Government Secretary, the Treasurer-General, the Attorney-General and of from five to seven other members chosen for life by the Governor from among the most respectable inhabitants. In 1838 the unofficial members lost their life tenure and were ordered to hold office during the King's pleasure. There was also an Executive Council, consisting of four high officers of the Government. This form of government was retained for nearly twenty years. Its chief defect was

that it contained no provision for making known, still less for enforcing, the will of the inhabitants by means of elected representatives.

Grievances of the Dutch Farmers.

Although the English Government inherited all the difficulties that had beset the Dutch administration, yet for some years after the final occupation of Cape Colony no ill-feeling arose between them and the colonists. But before the arrival of the second English Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, the farmers in the interior had found two causes of discontent. The first was an alteration in the method of renting farms. Formerly Government had charged a uniform rate without regard to the value of the land under cultivation, at the same time reserving the right of resuming possession. The English authorities undertook to survey and value the farms and to charge a quit-rent according to their worth. Although this gave greater security of tenure, it enhanced very much the burden laid on the more valuable farms. The second grievance was the manner in which the farmers were called to account and fined for acts committed against the Hottentots. Under Lord Charles Somerset this grievance was intensified by the employment of Hottentots as police. In 1815 a farmer was killed in resisting arrest by the native police and in consequence a few of the farmers on the eastern frontier took up arms, but were easily repressed. The execution of five of the leaders at Slachter's Nek on March 9,1816, was an act of mistaken severity, which did indeed produce temporary quiet, but at the price of lasting resentment.

British Settlers and Institutions introduced.

Until 1820 there were few British settlers in South Africa. In the years 1820 and 1821 nearly four thousand were placed in the frontier district of Albany. The settlers consisted of a majority of Englishmen, with some Scots and Irish, and a few Welsh. Although the emigrants, many of whom were skilled workmen, did not at first prove very successful as farmers, eventually they settled down—chiefly round Grahamstown. Henceforth the white population of Cape Colony was no longer composed only of Dutch and Germans, and the advent of English colonists was soon followed by the adoption of English local administration. In 1827 the Dutch landdrosts and heemraden, who had charge of matters of justice and finance, were superseded by resident magistrates, justices of the peace, and civil commissioners. In the same year Dutch was definitely superseded by English as the sole official language, and remained superseded until

1882, when the two tongues were placed on an equality in Parliament, the law courts and the public offices.

The Slavery Question.

These changes in administration, though almost unavoidable, were not received with much favour by the bulk of the colonists. Another cause of discontent was found a few years later in the manner in which slavery was abolished in the Colony. Slaves had been introduced during the Dutch period. The native Hottentots were so averse from labour that it was unprofitable to force them to undertake it. In consequence, slaves were imported, chiefly from Madagascar and Malaya. But the temperate climate of the Cape rendered it possible for Europeans to act as labourers, and slaves were, therefore, only inferior substitutes for these. In 1806 the English Government prohibited further importation. From this period onwards there were constant projects for gradual emancipation, which were hampered by the necessity of obtaining the approval of the home government. Most of the slave-owners were in favour of the eventual abolition of slavery. But in August, 1833, the English Parliament decreed that slavery should cease in Cape Colony on December 1, 1834. Much distress was caused by the suddenness of the emancipation and by the inadequacy of the compensation grant, which only amounted to about one-third the computed value of the slaves. The increase of vagrants was also felt to be a considerable hardship, and one which it was found impossible to redress by law owing to the serious differences between various sections of the community as to the best method of proceeding.

The Great Trek.

An even more serious cause of irritation to the population of the eastern part of the Colony was the attitude of the English at home in persistently regarding the Kaffirs as a peaceful race injured by the aggressions of their white neighbours, and particularly by the conduct of Lord Glenelg, the Secretary for War, after the sixth Kaffir war (1834-5), in compelling the retrocession to the Kaffirs of the new province, Queen Adelaide, between the Keiskama and the Kei, and in permitting the Kaffirs to settle close to the frontier (*see* p. 494). The settlers complained that they were infested by armed bands of blacks, plundering at will the inhabitants, who feared prosecution if they should resist. In consequence, some of the bolder spirits conceived the project of emigrating beyond the bounds of English rule. There were further inducements to migration in the spectacle of vast districts depopulated and wasted by the Zulu armies.

In 1836 began the movement known as the Great Trek, which led to the establishment of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State and hastened the annexation of Natal (*see* pp. 501-2, 519, 526, 532). From this time Cape Colony ceased to be the only great European settlement in South Africa. The actual impulse was for good. It aided the development of South Africa, which otherwise would have been seriously hampered by the apprehensions of the English Home Government. But the occasion was unfortunate, for the emigrants left the Colony with bitter feelings of resentment, which were intensified by the endeavours of the English Government to prevent these movements and to hinder fresh emigrants from joining the commandos.

The Grant of Representative Government.

Indirectly the Great Trek also did good by calling the attention of statesmen in England to the government of Cape Colony itself. The colonists for many years had desired to have a voice in managing their affairs, but the home government was held back partly by the apprehension of race difficulties between the English and Dutch, partly by the differences between the colonists themselves as to the most desirable form of administration. Lord John Russell's ministry took up the matter seriously when they came into power in 1846, but owing to the delay caused by the seventh Kaffir war (p. 495) the Constitution was not finally settled until May 1, 1853. The grant of representation was probably hastened by a remarkable expression of the strength of public opinion. A few years earlier, when the Colonial Secretary, in 1849, attempted to make the Cape a penal settlement, and actually sent a shipload of convicts to Table Bay, so strong was the feeling manifested that the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, delayed the landing of the convicts until he had communicated with the Home Government, and they, in deference to the opposition, directed them to be sent on to Van Diemen's Land (*see* p. 359).

The Constitution of 1853.

The Constitution of 1853 was, therefore, intended to allow public feeling to manifest itself in a regular way. It provided for a Parliament consisting of a Legislative Council and a House of Assembly. The Legislative Council was composed of fifteen elected members, seven from the eastern and eight from the western province. It might be dissolved with the Assembly, but if not, eight of its members, four from each province, were re-elected at the end of five years, and thenceforward members retired at the end of ten years from election. They were

required to hold unmortgaged landed property to the extent of £2,000, or property of all kinds of the unencumbered value of £4,000. The House of Assembly consisted of forty-six members returned by Cape Town, which had four members, and by Grahamstown and the twenty districts, which had two each. The qualification for this Chamber and for the right of voting for members of either Council or Assembly was the possession of property of the yearly value of £25 or an annual salary of £50. The Governor might dissolve both Chambers at pleasure, or the House of Assembly alone. He was to convene Parliament at least once a year, and the debates and proceedings were to be in English. The Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer-General and the Auditor-General, who held their appointments from the Crown and were not responsible to Parliament, were to have the right of taking part in the debates in either House, but had no votes. Acts passed by both Chambers were subject to two vetoes, that of the Governor and that of the Crown, which had, however, to be exercised within two years after the Acts reached England. Moreover, the Legislature was given the power, subject to these vetoes, of making alterations in the Constitution of the Colony. This Constitution was the most liberal which up to that date had been granted to any English Colony, and it was received with great satisfaction. But although it provided for a free manifestation of the popular will, the Executive, by which that will would have to be carried out, was still entirely independent of the Legislature and was not responsible to it for any disregard of its wishes. The Legislature could not enforce the removal of ministers in whom it had no confidence, and still less fill their places with those of its choice.

Responsible Government.

A little more than eighteen years later the gift of Responsible government was added—*i.e.*, of a government in which the Executive was controlled by the electorate through their Legislature. Responsible government had been discussed as early as 1855, but it was then opposed by the English settlers in the eastern part of the Colony, because they feared that the Dutch in the older part of the Colony would control the government and hinder progress. By 1872 these differences had largely disappeared and in that year it was provided by an act passed at the Cape and assented to by an Order in Council that the Executive Council or Cabinet should be chosen from the party commanding a majority in the Legislative Assembly.

This great measure determined Cape government as it has existed uninterruptedly until the present day. In 1882 the Dutch language was permitted in Parliament. In 1892, in order to lessen the strength of the native vote, the franchise was restricted to adult male subjects who could sign their names and write down their addresses and employments and who occupied house property worth £75 or received £50 a year as wages or salary. In 1904 a Redistribution Bill effected considerable alterations in the electoral districts and tended to equalise the value of votes. At the present day the Legislative Council contains twenty-six members returned by seven electoral provinces, by Griqualand West and by British Bechuanaland; and the Assembly one hundred and seven representing the country districts and towns of the Colony. The Cabinet usually contains six or seven members, including the Premier, the Colonial Secretary and the Treasurer.

Political Parties.

There exist at the present time in Cape Colony two great political parties—the Bond and the Progressives. The Bond was formed in 1882, when the first Afrikander Bond Congress was held at Graaff-Reinet; the Progressives did not finally take shape until 1898, when they became a solid party in consequence of the reaction occasioned by President Kruger's anti-British policy. The Bond soon developed an organisation including Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, and Transvaal, but somewhat later the Bond in Cape Colony severed its connection with the two republics on account of the open hostility which they manifested towards England. This party has for its aim the development of the spirit of nationality in South Africa. It desires to secure for the country complete control at least over its internal affairs. This party, whose real head until 1898 was Mr. Hofmeyr, was in office from 1884 to 1890, when Mr. Rhodes came into power. He also enjoyed Mr. Hofmeyr's support, but as an ally, not as a member of the party, until in 1895 his complicity in Jameson's Raid broke the connection. He was succeeded as Prime Minister on his resignation in January, 1896, by Sir Gordon Sprigg, at the head of a ministry drawn from both parties. The increasing differences in South Africa drove Sir Gordon Sprigg to take up a position antagonistic to the Bond and in consequence he was defeated in the general election of August, 1898. In October he resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Philip Schreiner, who was a member of the Bond and who remained in office till 1900. The party of

Mr. Rhodes when in power attached great weight to the political and material development of South Africa, but dwelt likewise on its position as a part of the British Empire, conceiving that the only chance of effectual union was under the protection of a Power which could assist its development and protect it from aggression on the part of the Great Powers who were partitioning the rest of Africa. While in opposition between1898 and 1900 these principles were clearly developed and enumerated by the Progressive party, who took that name because they thought the Bond reactionary and not awake to the importance of rapid development.

Recent History. During the Great War (*see* pp. 505-9) the northern parts of the Colony were seriously affected and a section of the Dutch population showed considerable sympathy with the republics. In consequence the Bond became divided and a Moderate ministry came into office under Sir Gordon Sprigg in June, 1900. In the following year parliamentary government was in abeyance owing to the prevalence of martial law. At the close of the war many members of the Progressive party urged the formal suspension of the Constitution, but Mr. Chamberlain wisely refused to sanction so extreme a measure. In 1904 the Bond miscalculated its strength and drove Sir Gordon Sprigg from office. The General Election terminated in the victory of the Progressive party, and Dr. Jameson became Prime Minister. He retained office until early in 1908, when, having been defeated at the polls, he was succeeded by the Hon. J. F. X. Merriman.

Church and State. Cape Colony has no State Church, but a sum of about £4,000 is appropriated annually to the Dutch Reformed, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic bodies. In accordance with an act of 1895 this sum is being gradually reduced. The Colony contains two sees, Capetown and Grahamstown. The first Bishop of Capetown was Robert Gray, consecrated in 1847. In 1853 the diocese of Grahamstown was separated from Capetown and in 1873 that of St. John's, Kaffraria, from Capetown (*see* p. 523).

(*b*) *The Eastern Frontier and the Kaffir Wars.*

The province of British Kaffraria was formed after a long series of wars between the colonists on the eastern borders and the Kaffir branch of the Bantu race. The tribes immediately in contact with the others were the Kosas, who at the close of the eighteenth century reached as far westward as Bushman

River. The problem they presented was one of the most serious difficulties inherited by the English Government. The first and second Kaffir wars, which took place during the Dutch rule, have already been noticed together with the retrogression of the frontier from the Fish to Bushman River (p. 484).

The Kaffir Wars.

The third Kaffir war took place in 1799 and the natives overran the Zuurveld and the district of Graaff-Reinet. Peace was made in October, when, to the indignation of the farmers, large presents were made to the chiefs and they were allowed to keep their plunder. The fourth Kaffir war broke out in 1811. It was occasioned by the Kosas seeking to extend west of the Gamtoos and was ended in March, 1812, by their being driven out of the Zuurveld and across the Fish River. In 1819, in the fifth Kaffir war, Government acted with no less vigour. To put a stop to cattle-plundering they had entered into friendly relations with Gaika, the principal chief of the Kosas west of the Keiskama. In 1818 he was defeated by his uncle, Ndlambe, in the great battle of Amalinda and sought the assistance of the English Government. Troops were sent to his aid, and in revenge Ndlambe poured his forces into the Colony. They were completely defeated in an attack on Grahamstown in April, 1819, and the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, annexed the country between the Fish and Keiskama to serve as a military frontier, retaining the Fish as the boundary of the Colony proper. In addition he settled a colony of nearly four thousand English emigrants in the Zuurveld, henceforth known as the district of Albany, to act as a bulwark against the Kaffirs. The settlement was marked by the foundation of Bathurst and of Port Elizabeth.

So far the new Government had acted with vigour, but the expedient of a military frontier did not work very well. For the next fifteen years continual cattle-stealings and reprisals occurred. The Government seemed to the natives to weaken after Lord Charles Somerset left Africa in 1826. In December, 1834, the sixth Kaffir war was begun by an invasion of from twelve to fifteen thousand warriors, who killed the farmers and wasted the country as far as Sunday River. Again the English troops and the colonists, under Lieut.-Col. (afterwards Sir Harry) Smith, drove out the enemy, and the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, declared the land between the Fish and the Kei annexed under the name of Queen Adelaide Province. His idea was to interpose a buffer of friendly native tribes under English control between the colonists and the hostile Kosas.

Downing Street intervention.

At this time, however, official feeling in England was opposed to colonial extension (*see* pp. 231-3). The Whig Secretary for War, Lord Glenelg, who had little knowledge of South African affairs, came to the conclusion that the Kaffirs had not been properly treated, and in December, 1835, ordered the abandonment of the new province and the re-establishment of the boundary of the Keiskama fixed by Lord Charles Somerset in 1819. The colonial authorities were ordered to make treaties with the Kaffir chiefs as with political equals, and Capt. Andries Stockenstrom was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the eastern provinces that he might carry out the prescribed policy. Against these measures, and against the charges against the colonists sanctioned by Lord Glenelg, Sir Benjamin D'Urban steadily protested. In May, 1837, he was informed that he would be superseded, and in January, 1838, he handed over the government to Major-Gen. (afterwards Sir) George Thomas Napier.

Establishment of British Kaffraria.

Sir George Napier and his successor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, found the arrangements with the native chiefs to work very badly. Sir George Napier, indeed, later told the House of Commons that D'Urban had been perfectly right in his contentions. The farmers on the eastern frontier were exposed to continual plundering and violence, while the chiefs made no serious effort to restrain their followers or to grant redress. In March 1846, the seventh Kaffir war began. The tribes broke into the Albany and Somerset districts, swept them clear of cattle and destroyed the farms. They were soon repulsed, but to recover the cattle and reduce the tribes to submission was a longer task. In December, 1847, Gen. Sir Harry Smith, a Peninsular veteran, became Governor, and on the 17th proclaimed a new boundary line. The Colony was advanced on the east to the Keiskama and Tyumie, and the new district of British Kaffraria was formed, bounded on the west by the frontier of Cape Colony and on the north and east by the Kei River. This territory was not annexed to Cape Colony, but became a distinct dependency of the Crown, administered by the Governor of Cape Colony in his capacity of High Commissioner for South Africa, an office created in the same year to enable him to deal with affairs beyond the limits of the Colony.

The "Great Native Rebellion."

This pacification did not endure for three years. The military force in British Kaffraria was not strong enough to overawe the tribes, and too much, in consequence, was expected

from the chiefs. These were annoyed by the loss of their despotic power, while the general body of the people resented extremely the prohibition of some of their customs, and particularly the attempt to prevent the punishment of witches. On December 24, 1850, began the eighth Kaffir war, sometimes called the Great Native Rebellion, because a large number of Hottentots joined the Kaffirs. Their ravages extended eastward as far as Somerset and Uitenhage. In January, 1852, the Secretary for War, Earl Grey, recalled Sir Harry Smith. Lieut.-Gen. George Cathcart was his successor. By substituting a number of small redoubts for the elaborate forts which had hitherto guarded the frontier, and by replacing native levies and irregular forces by European mounted police, he succeeded in extinguishing the war by October, though peace was not formally concluded until February, 1853.

Annexation of Native States.

In 1857 the problem of administration was simplified by an extraordinary act of self-destruction on the part of the Kosas. Under the influence of their witch doctors they killed their cattle and destroyed their crops as the preliminary to a great war in which they were to be delivered from the white dominion. In consequence, famine almost annihilated their tribes and for a long time their power was gone. The native problem in British Kaffraria being thus simplified, the province was annexed to Cape Colony in 1865. Twelve peaceful years followed. In 1876 Fingoland, between the Kei and the Umtata, inhabited by the descendants of refugees from the armies of Chaka; the Idutywa reserve, west of the Bashee river, assigned in 1858 to friendly Kaffirs; and Griqualand East, or No-man's Land, where detachments of Griquas were settled in 1862 by Sir Philip Wodehouse, were annexed to the Colony. Two years later the ninth Kaffir war commenced with a quarrel between the Fingoes and the Galekas, a clan of Kosas, dwelling in the Transkei under Kreli. In protecting the Fingoes the Government was involved in war with the Galekas and Gaikas, another clan of Kosa Kaffirs. At the conclusion of the war the Transkei was annexed. With the incorporation of Pondoland in 1894, Cape Colony reached its present eastern frontier.

(c) *Basutoland.*

Basutoland is a rugged mountainous district, bounded by the Caledon River and the Drakensberg Mountains. The

double range of the Maluti Mountains forms its backbone, and it is drained by the upper Orange River and its tributaries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century this country was occupied by a group of Bantu tribes, who were almost entirely destroyed in the time of the great Zulu Chief, Chaka (*see* pp. 518, 524). The remnant were preserved by the valour and statesmanship of a young man named Moshesh, the son of a petty chief. He made the impregnable fortress of Thaba Bosiu the seat of his government, and averted Zulu hostility by paying court and tribute to Chaka and Dingaan. He welcomed all refugees and numbered even cannibals among his subjects. In 1831 he repulsed the Matebele from Thaba Bosiu and even gained their friendship by assisting them with provisions in their retreat. In 1833 he received the missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Society.

Moshesh.

His relations with the Boers and with the British.

The Great Trek and the appearance of the Boers north of the Orange River altered his position. In 1837 he concluded a friendly agreement with their leader, Pieter Retief, and in 1843 he made a treaty with the Cape governor, Sir George Napier, by which the extent of his territory was defined. His boundaries were the Orange River from its source to the Caledon, and a line about thirty miles west of the Caledon. But the native ideas of sovereignty were tribal rather than territorial, and in consequence Moshesh became involved in constant disputes. In 1848 Sir Harry Smith annexed the territory between the Orange and Vaal, and persuaded Moshesh to recognise England's authority. He followed up this step in 1849 by reducing the extent of Basutoland as defined by the Napier treaty, and fixing a new boundary known as the Warden line. The English in consequence became involved in disputes with Moshesh, which ended in the first Basuto war and led to the withdrawal of the British from the north of the Orange River. On June 30, 1851, a small force was worsted by the Basutos at Viervoet. A more serious engagement at Berea on December 20, 1852, was indecisive, but Moshesh immediately sought peace, judging it dangerous to provoke England too far.

Basutoland taken under British Protection.

On the abandonment by England of the territory north of the Orange in 1854 (*see* p. 528), Moshesh promptly extended his borders at the expense of neighbouring chiefs. Difficulties with the

Orange Free State on the subject of marauding and of boundaries led to war in 1858, in 1865-6, and in 1867-8. In the last war Moshesh came near destruction, when the High Commissioner for South Africa, Sir Philip Wodehouse, intervened and proclaimed his people English subjects in March, 1868. On February 12 the treaty of Aliwal North was signed between the High Commissioner and the Free State, by which the Caledon was made the western boundary of Basutoland from Kornet Spruit to its source.

Annexation and Present Condition.

In 1870 Moshesh died, and in April, 1871, Basutoland was annexed to Cape Colony and divided into four magisterial districts. Bantu law was recognised, and a hut tax imposed. In April, 1880, an attempt to disarm the inhabitants caused a revolt and led to the transfer of the country in 1884 to the Imperial Government. The territory is governed by a Resident Commissioner under the High Commissioner for South Africa, who legislates for it by proclamation. The chiefs adjudicate on cases between natives with a right of appeal to the magistrates' courts, where all cases between Europeans and natives are brought. The financial condition of Basutoland is satisfactory; the revenue for the financial year of 1907-8 was £116,529, mostly derived from the Hut Tax and Customs duties; and although the expenditure was £126,603, there is no public debt, and the Treasury has an approximate balance of £150,000, partly invested in railway works and other securities. Maseru, the seat of government, has a railway connection with the general South African railway system; and during the year 1907-8 the government expended £46,000 in public works, mainly on the improvement of roads and bridges. There are twelve thousand scholars in the various missionary schools, which received in 1907-8 an education grant of £12,000.

(*d*) *The Northern Frontier.*

Bechuanaland and Griqualand.

On the north the vague boundary existing at the close of the Dutch rule long remained unaltered. In 1847 Sir Harry Smith extended the frontier to the Orange River, which brought it into contact with the Bechuanas, the most western group of Bantu tribes, and with the Griquas, a mixed race inhabiting what is now Griqualand West, but extending eastward as far as the Caledon River. In the time of Chaka the Griquas and Bechuanas, animated by the presence of the

great missionary Robert Moffat, beat back the Mantati horde, the van of the great exodus westward from the power of the Zulus, and thus saved themselves from destruction. From the time of the Great Trek in 1836 both Griquas and Bechuanas were frequently involved in disputes with the Boers, who endeavoured to prevent white hunters and traders passing through the Bechuana lands into the interior. In 1871, after the discovery of diamonds, Griqualand West was annexed to the British Crown, and in 1880 it was incorporated in Cape Colony. In 1884 the appearance of Boer adventurers occasioned the establishment of a protectorate in Bechuanaland as far north as the 22nd parallel of latitude. In 1885 the part south of the Molopo was termed British Bechuanaland and formed into a Crown Colony, and in 1890 the protectorate was extended to the Zambesi. In 1895 the Colony was annexed to the Cape, while the whole of Northern Bechuanaland, from the Molopo to the Zambesi, still remains a protectorate.

(*e*) *Railway System of Cape Colony.*

The great period of railway development was subsequent to 1875. There now exist three systems—the Western, the Eastern and the Midland—starting from the three great ports, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London. The first railway in the Colony was commenced in 1859. It ran from Cape Town through Stellenbosch and the Paarl to Wellington, a distance of sixty-three and a-half miles, and was the property of the Cape Town Railway & Dock Company. It was continued after 1875 to Worcester and Beaufort West, reaching Kimberley in 1885. In 1890 it was extended to Vryburg and Mafeking, whence it connects with the Rhodesian Railway at Bulawayo. The Midland system starts from Port Elizabeth and runs by Cradock and Naauwpoort to Norval's Pont on the Orange River, whence it proceeds through the Orange River Colony to Johannesburg and Pretoria. The Eastern system starts from East London, crosses into the Orange Free State near Bethulie, and effects a junction with the Midland system at Springfontein. Almost the whole of these railways are owned and worked by government.

CHAPTER IV.

BOERS AND BRITONS IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1836-1908.

South Africa and the Home Government.

With the commencement of the Great Trek in 1836 the history of Cape Colony ceased to be the history of the whole of the European colony in South Africa; and it is necessary, therefore, to trace separately some of the general political and economic questions which affected South Africa as a whole before passing from the history of Cape Colony to the separate histories of its various offshoots. Not that the problems at issue changed in character at the time of the Trek. The chief questions after the Great Trek, as before, were the treatment of the native races and the relation of the colonists to the home government. This second issue is not primarily a race question. It is not properly a question of the treatment of Dutch colonists by an English Government, for, as we have seen, it existed in an acute form when the home government was still the Dutch East India Company. But since the English acquisition of Cape Colony, or rather, perhaps, since the settlement of Albany in 1820 the racial element has made the question more difficult. At times the disputes have taken a distinctly racial form, while at others the whole body of colonists have been at variance with the home authorities.

The Missionaries.

The chief responsibility for the Great Trek has frequently been laid on the missionaries. The earliest missionary in South Africa was the Moravian, George Schmidt, who settled on the Zonder Einde River in 1737. Seven years later his labours were cut short by ecclesiastical jealousy on the part of the Dutch ministers, and it was not until 1792 that the Moravians were able to resume work. Their labours were chiefly among the Hottentots, for whom they established stations at

Genadendal, at Mamre, and at Enon in Uitenhage. In 1799 the London Missionary Society commenced its labours at Bethelsdorp, the Wesleyans began in 1816, the Glasgow Missionary Society in 1821, and the Paris Evangelical Society in 1829. Many great names, including those of Robert Moffat and David Livingstone, have been numbered among the missionaries in South Africa. No class of men can compare with them in self-devotion and in loftiness of purpose; but the great defect of many was imperfect education, which prevented them taking a sufficiently judicial view of the native question. Devoting their lives without reserve to the welfare of the native races among whom they laboured, the less wise of them were too apt to take the positions of partisans not merely of the black man against the white, but even of one native chief against another. This was the more unfortunate as public opinion in England was utterly uninformed and the missionaries commanded an audience whose ears were shut to other representations. They condemned, frequently with justice, the harshness and arbitrary dealings of border farmers, but too often they ignored or condoned the bloodthirstiness and want of good faith of the predatory and warlike Kaffir tribes. Undoubtedly the low opinion held of the colonists in England was largely due to missionary representations, and no result could have been more unfortunate for colonist and native alike.

Downing Street mistakes.

Far less excusable than the attitude of the missionaries was the neglect of the Colonial Office to make itself acquainted with the real conditions in South Africa. A number of permanent officials, nominally controlled by a Secretary of State chosen chiefly with regard to his influence in the English Parliament, decided questions of the first moment on general abstract principles without modifying them to suit the actual state of affairs. They contemned and neglected the advice of their own civil and military officers who knew the country and its people, and even suffered them to be sacrificed to ignorant popular clamour without attempting their defence. We speak of the past. These conditions cannot recur, for England is now too keenly interested in her colonies to be complacent to official incompetence.

The Annexation of Natal.

When the Great Trek commenced the English Government endeavoured to hinder fresh emigrants from joining the commandos. The subsequent collisions with the Zulus in Natal and with the Matabele near the Orange River (*see* pp. 519, 526) were

believed to be the fruit of aggression on the part of the Boers, the home authorities being unaware that these two tribes were destroying the aborigines and laying the country waste. Finding it impossible to hinder the emigration, they lessened the danger of losing control of South Africa by the annexation of Natal in 1844, which rendered it possible for the trekkers to communicate with the outside world only through English territory (p. 520).

Protection of the natives.

The English Government, however, was also strongly impressed with the necessity of protecting the natives from the emigrants. A Boer raid in Pondoland was the immediate cause of the occupation of Natal, and the Governor of Cape Colony, Sir George Napier, proceeded to carry out the systematic protection of the native states bordering on Cape Colony. The Boers were still held to be British subjects, and so in September, 1842, he forbade British subjects to encroach on the native tribes. In 1843 treaties were made with the Griqua chief Adam Kok, and Moshesh, the founder of the Basuto nation, by which their territories were defined and they were promised protection. The territory of these two chiefs separated completely the new Boer settlements from Cape Colony (pp. 497, 527).

The first attempt to reunite South Africa.

In 1847 Sir Henry Pottinger, when he became Governor of Cape Colony, was also named High Commissioner for settling and adjusting the affairs of the territories in Southern Africa on the eastern and north-eastern frontier of the Colony. Thus this important office was originally created to enable the Governor of the Cape to exercise authority beyond the boundaries of the Colony. At the close of the year Pottinger was succeeded by Sir Harry Smith, who had already taken a prominent part in South African affairs during the Kaffir war of 1835. Confident of his ability to reconcile the Boers to the English Government, he extended British sovereignty in 1848 to the Vaal River. But he came too late. Events that had occurred (*see* pp. 526-7, 532) between 1835 and his return had rendered part of the Boer emigrants irreconcilable, and he was only able to enforce submission by arms. The battle of Boomplaats, in August, 1848, was a victory, but to Smith the necessity of appealing to arms was as bitter as defeat. Two years later the Great Kaffir War broke out, and in 1851, while involved in this struggle, Smith was further embarrassed by the first Basuto war (*see* pp. 495-8). If the Transvaal Boers joined with Moshesh, the Basuto chief,

the English forces in South Africa were quite inadequate to maintain authority north of the Orange River. The Colonial Secretary, Lord Grey, was dismayed and determined that Smith had been too forward in his policy of annexation. In consequence Sir Harry was recalled early in 1852. The Orange River territory desired to become a self-governing colony under the English supremacy. But this idea found no favour at home, and, in spite of the disapproval of the Cape colonist, the sovereignty of the Orange River was abandoned in February, 1854 (p. 528). So ended the first attempt to reunite South Africa.

Sir George Grey's federation scheme.

But though for the time the idea of union was abandoned, the reasons in favour of it remained equally forcible. The division made the native question infinitely more difficult by preventing the establishment of a common policy, while the control of the sea-border by the English made the Boer republics financially and economically dependent. In December, 1854, Sir George Grey became Governor of Cape Colony. He was perhaps the greatest of South African statesmen. He made two very important proposals. In the first place, he grasped clearly the importance of widening by means of fresh settlements the area occupied by white colonists, particularly in the eastern part of South Africa, where the Zulus had made the country a sparsely inhabited wilderness. But the dread of expansion prevalent in England at that time made the realisation of this idea hopeless. The districts were quickly repeopled by the prolific native races and the opportunity was permanently lost. His other conception was that of federating the existing English possessions for common action in regard to questions affecting the whole country. In addition, it might be possible to include the Orange Free State, which could hardly hold its own against the Basutos. In September, 1858, he explained his views to the Colonial Secretary, Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton. In March, 1859, he brought a federal proposal from the Orange Free State before the Cape Parliament. The Colonial Office took alarm at this proof of independence. Lord Carnarvon, the Under-Secretary, styled Grey a dangerous man, and in June he was recalled amid general colonial sympathy. But in June also, the home ministry fell. The Duke of Newcastle succeeded Lytton and reinstated Grey, after he had sailed from Cape Town, with orders to abandon his policy of federation. His work in South Africa was spoiled, but he returned amid the joy of colonists and natives alike.

Lord Carnarvon resumes the project. The project of federation was resumed in 1875 by Lord Carnarvon, who had resented Sir George Grey's independent action in 1859, but had carried out the consolidation of the Canadian Dominion in 1867. But the opportunity was lost. Public feeling in South Africa itself had been favourable in 1859. In 1872 from various causes it was indifferent or even hostile. In the Cape particularly the Ministry of Sir John Molteno preferred the idea of ruling South Africa from Cape Town by a centralised system, a project which excited opposition in other parts of South Africa. In September, 1875, James Anthony Froude arrived on a semi-official mission and by his indiscreet utterances made Carnarvon's difficulties greater. In any case the Cape, after receiving responsible government in 1872, was not inclined to endorse a scheme of government drawn up in the Colonial Office. Carnarvon persisted, and resolved, when he found Sir John Molteno's ministry hostile, to appeal to the electorate. The Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, attempted to dissuade him, but in 1877 he was replaced on the expiry of his term of office by Sir Bartle Frere.

Sir Bartle Frere. On his arrival Frere was prepared to further the project of federation, but he had no opportunity during the troubles of his administration. He found that the country was in grave peril of an attack from the Transkei Kaffirs, and that Lord Carnarvon, without consulting him, had authorised the annexation of the Transvaal (pp. 525, 535). This action brought Frere into conflict with the Zulus, who threatened the Transvaal border. Realising that a catastrophe at some time was inevitable, he boldly insisted on the abandonment of the Zulu military system and, on the tacit refusal of Cetewayo, determined on war. This step was approved in South Africa, but condemned in England, and Frere, while retained as Governor of Cape Colony, was superseded as High Commissioner by Sir Garnet Wolseley. The repudiation of Frere was not the sole work of either political party in England. In 1879 the Conservative Ministry censured him for his conduct with regard to the Zulus, while a year later their Liberal successors recalled him from South Africa. He left South Africa amid the regret of both English and Dutch. In 1879 he wrote: "Unless my countrymen are much changed they will some day do me justice. I shall not leave a name to be permanently dishonoured." It is now generally recognised that he had a juster conception of the needs of South Africa than any other Englishman of his time.

Later Attempts at federation.

The events of the next few years, which form a disastrous period in South African history are described in a subsequent chapter (*see* pp. 536-7). The heightened animosities within the country seemed to preclude all hope of concord and federation. At the same time the immense industrial development of South Africa was making for union and contributed to revive the movement towards federation. In February, 1888, a conference of delegates from Cape Colony, Natal, and the Orange Free State was held at Cape Town to discuss federation on a basis of internal free trade between the colonies and states of South Africa and of a uniform tariff on imports from other countries. Only the South African Republic held aloof. In March, 1889, a new convention of the three states met at Bloemfontein, but the Natal delegates withdrew because they did not wish to raise their low tariffs. A Customs Union Bill, however, was passed by the Cape Parliament, and the scheme embodied was shortly after accepted by the Orange Free State. The idea of commercial federation was strongly taken up by Cecil Rhodes while he was Prime Minister of Cape Colony from 1890 to 1896, and he did much to widen the political aims of the party supporting this movement and to include in it men of varying shades of opinion. In 1898 Natal entered the Customs Union.

The preliminaries of the Great War.

In the Transvaal alone the reactionary government of President Kruger set itself in determined opposition to the politico-economic movement in 1896. The Jameson Raid had rekindled old animosities and had persuaded the Transvaal and the Orange Free State that the English Government had designs on their independence. In 1897 Lord Rosmead retired and Sir Alfred Milner succeeded him as High Commissioner. In a few months he came to the conclusion that the attitude of President Kruger was full of danger to England's supremacy in South Africa and he did not hesitate to manifest his disapproval of the President's supporters within and without Cape Colony and to speak openly of the possibility of war. In 1899 the conflict between the reactionary commercial and political ideas of the Transvaal Government and the new aspirations of Rhodes and the Progressive party throughout South Africa became so sharp that the Home Government was obliged to intervene on the question of the dynamite monopoly. A little later the greater question of the position of English residents in the Transvaal was raised. The distrust of England made

negotiation difficult, and the resolution of the Orange Free State to support the Transvaal extended the dispute to the whole of South Africa. The concession of the franchise in the Transvaal to recent English settlers was the chief point at issue. On this question the conference held at Bloemfontein in June, 1899, between Sir Alfred Milner and President Kruger failed to come to an agreement. It became necessary to prepare for the eventuality of war by sending troops to the Cape. Unfortunately the arrival of troops reacted adversely on the situation. It was undoubtedly essential to garrison Cape Colony and Natal, but it was an error of judgment to place the available forces on the frontier, where, although they were not strong enough to defend the integrity of the English colonies, their presence was regarded as a threat. On October 9th the Transvaal issued an ultimatum requiring that all pending disputes should be settled by arbitration and that all troops on the borders should be instantly withdrawn. The demands were refused and on October 11th war began.

British reverses.

The English authorities were caught unready partly because the military efficiency of the Boers had been underestimated. There were strong political reasons for keeping the war out of the British territory, on account of the large Dutch population in Cape Colony and Northern Natal and on account of the possible effect on the natives. But in warfare it is folly to subordinate military to political considerations, and from a military point of view the Natal frontier was indefensible with the forces available. Sir George White, who had only five thousand men distributed between Ladysmith and Dundee, was compelled to concentrate on Ladysmith after a successful action at Talana Hill on the part of the British right. Hazarding an action at Lombard's Kop on the 29th, he was defeated and shut up in Ladysmith. On the western frontier Colonel Kekewich was shut up in Kimberley with over two thousand men, and Col. Baden-Powell in Mafeking with fifteen hundred. The determined resistance of these towns saved the situation. On the southern frontier of the Orange Free State several minor commandos threatened Cape Colony with invasion, but the greater part of the military force of the Boers was occupied in the sieges.

Magersfontein, Stormberg, Colenso and Spion Kop.

Such was the condition of affairs when Gen. Buller landed at Cape Town at the head of an army corps and took over the chief command. He divided his forces into three columns, despatching Lord Methuen with seven thousand

five hundred men to relieve Kimberley, directing Gen. Gatacre with four thousand to proceed to Queenstown to repel the Free State invaders, and sending Gen. Clery to Natal to undertake the relief of Ladysmith. Lord Methuen, after dislodging two large Boer detachments from Belmont and Enslin on November 23rd and 25th, fought a serious engagement on the 28th at the Modder River with the Boer covering force of eight thousand men under Gen. Cronje. After ten hours' hard fighting Cronje retired. On December 11th Methuen failed to force Cronje's entrenched position at Magersfontein, and was compelled to withdraw behind the Modder River, with the loss of Gen. Wauchope and over nine hundred and fifty men. Gatacre had fared no better. On December 10th he was repulsed in a night attack on Stormberg and driven back to Molteno with a loss of over seven hundred men. In the meantime the situation had become so serious in Natal that at the close of November Buller had repaired thither himself to direct operations. On December 15th he was defeated by Louis Botha in an attempt to cross the Tugela River at Colenso, losing ten guns and eleven hundred men. Six weeks later a second attempt to force the line of the Tugela failed after a disastrous action at Spion Kop on January 24th, and a third effort on February 5th was equally unsuccessful.

The turn of the tide.

In the meantime, the seriousness of the position was fully realised in England, and preparations were made for despatching larger forces to South Africa. On January 10th, 1900, Lord Roberts landed at Cape Town with Lord Kitchener as his chief of staff and with extensive reinforcements, and after three weeks spent in organising the colonial forces, improvising mounted infantry by drafting detachments from the foot regiments, and arranging an adequate transport system, commenced the movement which changed the whole face of the war. He had at his disposal a mobile force of thirty-five thousand men and one hundred guns. On February 9th he arrived at the Modder River and, entering the Orange Free State, seized the passages over the Riet and Modder Rivers, and threatened Cronje's communications with Bloemfontein. On February 15th Gen. French, who had distinguished himself in defensive operations in the neighbourhood of Colesberg, relieved Kimberley after a great cavalry march, in which he passed round the Boer position at Magersfontein.

Paardeberg.

Cronje, who had remained inactive at Magersfontein until too late, attempted a hazardous retreat across the front of the English force. He was intercepted at

Paardeberg on the Modder, and though he beat off a desperate attack by Lord Kitchener on the 18th, he was compelled to surrender on the 27th with four thousand and sixty-nine men and six guns. The news of his peril drew off most of the Boer force before Ladysmith and enabled Buller to break through the investment on February 28th, after desperate fighting. In spite of his numerous repulses and heavy losses, he preserved to the last the confidence of his troops and kept up their *morale*. On March 13th Roberts entered Bloemfontein, and on June 5th he occupied Pretoria without resistance. On May 17th Mafeking was relieved.

Relief of Ladysmith and Mafeking; and occupation of Pretoria.

In November Lord Roberts handed over the command to Lord Kitchener. It was thought with the occupation of the capitals the war would come to an end, but it was soon discovered that it had only changed its character, and that it could not be terminated except by an effective occupation of the entire country. Guerilla tactics, in which De Wet, Delarey and Louis Botha particularly distinguished themselves, proved extremely difficult to meet. At the close of 1900 it was found necessary to send thirty thousand mounted men to South Africa as reinforcements.

The War continues.

Early in 1901 Lord Kitchener concentrated his scattered garrisons in central positions, and began to collect the non-combatants in concentration camps, with a view to wasting the field of war and making subsistence impossible for the commandos. This policy was not very successful owing to the impossibility of carrying it out effectively, but, on the other hand, an invasion of Cape Colony by De Wet in February failed completely. Towards the middle of the year Lord Kitchener commenced to divide up the area by chains of blockhouses by means of which the movements of the Boers could be observed and contained. During this period the English detachments, accustoming themselves to the conditions, were increasing in a marked degree their mobility and general efficiency. Moreover, the Boer forces, having no reserves, became depleted by incessant warfare in which every reverse meant a loss which was irreparable. With the beginning of 1902, having completed the isolation of the various districts by means of chains of posts, Lord Kitchener commenced to sweep them one by one by a series of drives, employing an overwhelming force. This system finally wore down

Concentration camps and blockhouses.

End of the War.

resistance, though when hostilities ceased there were still about eighteen thousand Boers in the field. At the beginning of 1902 there were over a quarter of a million men under Kitchener's command, including a corps of five thousand surrendered burghers at Pretoria, under Gen. Vilonel, anxious to terminate the miseries of the war. Peace was finally ratified on May 31, 1902, the British Government undertaking to restore representative institutions in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony as soon as possible.

The closer union of South Africa.

At the close of 1902 Mr. Chamberlain visited South Africa in order to promote reconciliation, and during his visit urged the consideration of federation on the colonists. An Inter-Colonial Council of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies was created in 1903 to control railways and some other matters closely affecting the two colonies; and a convention of July, 1906, established the South Africa Customs Union, which includes Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange River Colony, the Transvaal, South Rhodesia, North-Western Rhodesia (Barotseland), and the Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland Protectorates. Politically, too, the movement towards amalgamation has advanced apace. As in Canada, the grant of self-government (*see pp.* 530, 539) has converted racialism into nationalism, and enabled two once hostile peoples to combine in a common ambition. Similarity of economic interests and of policy towards the natives of Africa and immigrants from Asia has created a keen desire for closer union among the various Colonies; and a conference sat first at Durban and then at Capetown in October-December, 1908, to consider the question of federation or unification. The preponderance of opinion is said to have been in favour of unification such as that which united England and Scotland in 1707. Even Natal, which might naturally have desired a Federal solution to protect its predominantly British population against Dutch control, appreciated the advantages of a unitary constitution which would avoid the expense of maintaining two sets of Legislative and Executive authorities and the difficulty of allocating powers between the Federation and its constituent states. The issue is still (December, 1908) undecided; but there is reason to hope that the immediate future will see a United South Africa taking its place in the Empire side by side with the Dominions of Canada and New Zealand and the Commonwealth of Australia.

CHAPTER V.

ECONOMIC FACTORS.

Gold.

No less important than the political issues described in the last chapter, and inextricably interwoven with them, have been the economic factors in the history of South Africa. Gold has been one of its products from very ancient times, and in the neighbourhood of Zimbabwe in Rhodesia may be seen traces of gold mining at a period of which we have no historic record. The ancient belief of the early Dutch explorers of the existence of a city named Monomotapa, of fabulous wealth, may have originated from legends of Zimbabwe. But for long the gold-bearing countries were in the possession of the warlike Bantu tribes, and the knowledge of their riches was lost. In 1845 the German geologist, Von Buch called attention to the presence of gold-bearing strata in South Africa. In December, 1867, another German traveller, Karl Mauch, reported at Pretoria that he had discovered rich and extensive goldfields in the Tati district, situated in the extreme south-west of the present province of Rhodesia. In consequence, the London and Limpopo Mining Company was formed in 1868, and in the following year its chief manager, Sir John Swinburne, reached the Tati. The mines, however, though promising, did not prove remunerative, and no great progress was made. In 1869 Thomas Baines, the traveller, discovered the Mashona goldfields in what is now Eastern Rhodesia. It is also said that gold was found in the Transvaal on the site of Johannesburg as early as 1854, but the Boers passed laws making prospecting illegal.

Early Discoveries.

The Zoutpansberg and Lydenburg Districts.

These laws were repealed in 1868 at the instance of Pretorius on account of the desperate financial condition of the State, and in the same year the Malmani goldfields were discovered in the Marico district. In the next few years Edward Button found gold in the district of Zoutpansberg—in 1869

in the Sutherland Hills, the Klein Letaba goldfield; in 1870 in the Murchison range, the Selatie goldfields; and in 1871 at Eersteling, the Marabastad goldfield. In the last year he also discovered gold in the Lydenburg district. In 1871 the first gold law was passed by the Volksraad. In 1875 gold was found in the district south of Lydenburg, which in 1882 was named de Kaap, when mining was begun in earnest. In 1885 the famous Sheba mine was discovered, and the town of Barberton sprang up with five thousand inhabitants.

The Rand Gold-mines.

In the meantime, in 1884, the discovery of gold was made in the Witwatersrand district, and shortly afterwards it was found that the beds of conglomerates or quartz pebbles, which are common in the district, were rich in gold. These gold-bearing conglomerates are the peculiarity of the Rand goldfields, and furnish an enormous supply. On July 18, 1886, the Rand goldfield was proclaimed, and before the end of the year Johannesburg was founded. From that time the Rand has been the centre of political and economic interest in South Africa, and Johannesburg has become the greatest of its cities. In 1904 it had a population of over one hundred and fifty-eight thousand of whom nearly eighty-four thousand were of European race. In 1898, the year before the great war, the output of gold was nearly £2,000,000. At the conclusion of the war, considerable difficulty was found in providing a supply of labour, owing to other employments being open to the natives. In 1904 the experiment of Chinese labour was tried, and was financially successful. It has, however, since been decided, both in England and the Transvaal, to abandon the experiment. The decisive reason was not so much dislike of the conditions under which the Chinese worked, which were capable of being made tolerable, as apprehension of the social danger of making a great industry dependent on the presence of an alien and undesirable race. Both Natal and the Transvaal have already found the problem of an Asiatic population extremely serious, and there was a general feeling in the colony that reliance on imported Asiatic labour ought to be avoided.

Chinese Labour.

Rhodesian Gold.

In addition to the mines in the Transvaal the territory of Rhodesia has developed a gold mining industry of first rate importance. In 1886 the Gold Fields of South Africa Company was formed by Cecil Rhodes and C. D. Rudd, and on October 3, 1888,

Lobengula granted the company an exclusive concession of all mining rights in his territory. During the next ten years extensive goldfields were discovered, both in Mashonaland and Matabeleland, and at the present time the work of prospecting is still enlarging the gold area. The output for 1907 amounted to 612,052 oz., valued at £2,178,886, or double the amount produced in 1904. The principal mining districts at present worked are those of Bulawayo, Gwelo, Salisbury, Umtali, Hartley, Lomagundi, Mazoe, Victoria, Gwanda, Sebakwe, and Selukwe.

Diamonds. The first diamonds discovered in South Africa were found in 1867 on the banks of the Orange River in the Hopetown district. Two years later the Star of South Africa, which weighed 83½ carats, was bought from a Hottentot. There was an immense rush of diggers to the district, and the banks of the Vaal as far as Hebron (now Windsorton), were dotted with settlements of which the largest was at Barkly West, or Klipdrift. At the close of 1870 diamonds were found between the Vaal and the Modder in Griqualand West, and the discovery caused the rise of the great mining centre, Kimberley. The four great diamond mines, Kimberley, De Beers, Dutoitspan and Bultfontein, are all in the immediate neighbourhood of the town. The territory on which most of the mines were situated

Kimberley. was contested between the South African Republic, the Orange Free State, and the Griquas (*see* pp. 499, 530, 534). The farms in the district were speedily bought by speculators, who then found themselves involved in controversies with the diggers in regard to their proprietary rights. The controversy was settled on October 17, 1871, by the award of Robert William Keate, Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, which placed nearly the whole of the diamond field in the Griqua territory. Four days later Griqualand was annexed by the English Governor, Sir Harry Barkly. In 1874 the Kimberley Mining Board was appointed, and the Government by proclamation converted the diggings into mines.

De Beers. In the earlier period it was imagined that the diamonds were a superficial deposit to be found only in the surface yellow soil, but later it was realised that they had been forced up by volcanic action, and that the blue subsoil was still richer than the surface yellow. Barnato was one of the first to under-

stand this, and his financial success was largely due to his acuteness. At an early period the claims passed into the possession of various companies, which in their turn were absorbed by the Barnato Diamond Company, founded in 1881, and the De Beers Company, formed in 1880 by associating a number of smaller companies, with which Cecil Rhodes was associated. On March 13, 1888, after a long struggle these companies agreed to amalgamate under the name of the De Beers Consolidated Mines Company, and from this time the concern has been managed as a trust, the output being limited in order to keep up prices. In 1906 the value of the diamonds exported was £9,237,000. Diamonds have also been found at Jagersfontein and other mines within the Orange Free State, and more recently in the Transvaal, in the Pretoria district, where in 1905 the product amounted to nearly £1,000,000.

Copper and Tin.

Although the presence of copper in Little Namaqualand was known to the Dutch in the seventeenth century, no serious attempt at mining was made until 1852, when operations were begun at Springbokfontein. Soon afterwards a host of prospectors and explorers poured into the country, and for three years there was a burst of wild speculation, succeeded by a period of depression in 1855. The Cape firm of Philips and King, however, developed two very profitable mines, those of Springbokfontein, and Spektakel. They subsequently transferred their property to the Cape Copper Mining Company, which in 1869 commenced the construction of a narrow gauge railway from Port Nolloth to Ookiep. The Concordia mine, developed by Prince, Collison, & Co., of Cape Town, passed subsequently to the Namaqualand Mining Company, which is still actively engaged in the district. Copper mines are also worked at Messina in the north of the Transvaal, and valuable deposits have been discovered in Northern Rhodesia on the Kafue River, and in various parts of Southern Rhodesia. Some tin mines are being successfully worked near Potgieters-Rust in the Transvaal.

Coal.

Among those products which assure the commercial prosperity of South Africa, coal is probably the most important. In Cape Colony there are collieries in the Stormberg Mountains, in the neighbourhood of Indwe and Molteno. Coal is the principal mineral at present worked in Natal, where it exists in large quantities, and is of excellent quality. In the

Transvaal coal is mined on the East Rand at Middelburg, on the border of the Orange River Colony, and at other places. In the Orange River Colony there are mines at Vierfontein near Kroonstad, at Heilbron, and at Viljoen's Drift on the Transvaal border. In Rhodesia the coal resources are very great. Large beds of coal exist in the Wankie district.

Agriculture and Farming. The resources of Cape Colony are chiefly pastoral and agricultural. The principal pastoral pursuits are the breeding of horses, cattle, sheep, goats, and ostriches. The original Cape horse is said to have been a cross between a North African barb and a Persian Arab. Frequent importations from England took place between 1815 and 1850, and the breed gradually improved. The Cape horse became well known, and for a time there was a large export trade to India. Latterly, however, the breed has deteriorated, though the Cape horse is still the best in the country. Horses are chiefly bred in the Colesberg district in Cape Colony, and also in the districts east of Winburg in the Orange River Colony.

Cattle breeding. Cattle are bred in all parts of Cape Colony and invariably thrive, though the country still feels the effects of the ravages of rinderpest of 1897-8. The chief native breeds are the Afrikander, a beast with upstanding horns; the Mashona cattle, which are small and fatten rapidly; the Angoni, still smaller with a hump well-placed on their shoulders; the Zulu cattle, small, with thick horns, and very good trekkers; and the Hottentot, big, rough, and badly shaped, with long legs and enormous horns. In addition, Shorthorns, Devons, Herefords, Dexter-Kerrys, Jerseys, Guernseys, and Frieslands have all been imported and thrive in the Cape Colony and Natal; but they gradually lose their original characteristics.

Wool growing. Sheep and goat farming are usually pursued together. The best known varieties of sheep are the Merino and the Afrikander, or fat-tailed sheep, which is the sheep of the country. The chief object is the production of wool, and in consequence in most sheep-farming districts the Merino is preferred. The best wool comes from the western province of Cape Colony, but wool-growing is also important in the Orange River Colony and Natal, and engages attention in all the colonies. The two chief breeds of goats are the Angora and Cape goats.

Ostrich farming.

Ostrich farming is an industry which originated in South Africa, though now pursued in America and Australia also. It did not come into vogue until about 1860, when the zeal of the hunters threatened to exterminate the breed. By 1865 the industry had become recognised, and in 1904 there were three hundred and fifty-eight thousand ostriches in Cape Colony. In the other South African colonies the land and climate are little adapted for carrying on the industry, but ostriches are found wild in Southern Rhodesia.

Cereals, Vegetables and Fruit.

Although South Africa is on the whole better adapted for pasture than for agriculture, yet the agricultural products are also important. In Cape Colony, Government Agricultural Schools have been founded at Elsenburg and Somerset East. Wheat is grown in Caledon, Paarl, Malmesbury, Calvinia, Namaqualand, Queenstown, Albert, and Piquetberg; barley in Malmesbury, Robertson, Caledon, Bredasdorp, Riversdale, Piquetberg, Cape, and Swellendam; oats in Caledon, Paarl, Malmesbury, and Piquetberg; oat-hay in Cape, Malmesbury, Cradock, Oudtshoorn, Paarl, Stellenbosch, Uniondale, and East Griqualand; and rye in Clanwilliam, Malmesbury, and Piquetberg. Indian corn or maize thrives all over the country, while potatoes and other European vegetables also grow plentifully, and tobacco is cultivated in several districts, particularly in the valley of Oudtshoorn. Almost all kinds of fruit grow in Cape Colony, the species varying according to the height of the land above the coast; and the export trade, both in fresh and dried fruits, is rapidly increasing.

Wine growing.

The manufacture of wine and brandy is confined to the west districts of the Cape, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Malmesbury, Worcester, Robertson, and Tulbagh. The grape vine was first introduced from Europe in 1653 by the early settlers. In 1659 brandy wine was manufactured, in 1681 brandy was made, and in 1684 Governor Van der Stel laid out the famous Government wine farm at Constantia. From that time the cultivation of the vine has been of great importance to Cape Colony. The chief varieties are white wine, Hermitage, and Pontac.

Natal for agricultural purposes is divided into three zones —the coastlands, the midland districts, and the upper

districts. For a distance of twenty-five to thirty miles from the sea the land bears tropical and semi-tropical produce such as tea, coffee, sugar, and bananas, as well as all kinds of ordinary farm and garden produce except cereals. On the alluvial flats oat-hay, maize, potatoes, and sweet potatoes thrive. The midland districts are separated from the lowlands by a narrow belt of country, which is used for cattle farming and grazing. They possess black and red loamy soils, as well as clay soils, where all kinds of European cereals and root crops may be grown and stock raised. In the upper districts sheep-farming and cattle rearing are the main industries, while wheat is grown on many farms for local consumption, though the attacks of rust and mildew have tended to decrease the quantity. The districts of Vryheid and Utrecht, recently added to Natal, are great farming districts. In Zululand, which is also a fine agricultural and stock-raising country, the farming industry is chiefly in the hands of the natives.

Agriculture in Natal.

The two chief industries of the Orange River Colony are agriculture and stockfarming. The country is situated on a great inland plateau from three to four thousand feet above sea level. The whole of the territory is divided into farms varying in extent from two hundred to twenty thousand acres. The eastern district is extremely fertile, and is full of rocks containing large quantities of phosphate of lime, which automatically fertilises the land as it crumbles under the action of the weather. The country is, however, afflicted with droughts, hailstorms, and locusts, which inflict much damage on the farmer. The southern and western parts of the colony are less fertile, and suffer from want of water. The north-eastern districts are devoted chiefly to cattle, sheep, and horse-breeding.

In the Orange River Colony.

The Transvaal, like much of South Africa, is better suited for pasturage than for agriculture. The best districts for cereals are Pretoria, Rustenburg, Marico, Lydenburg, and Potchefstroom, while tobacco, sugar, coffee, bananas, pine-apples and oranges are successfully grown in the Zoutpansberg. The Transvaal is divided into three geographical zones, the high veld, lying from east to west, is healthy and bracing, and is the watershed of the country; the middle veld is suitable for horses and sheep, except in the rainy season, when they must be removed to the high veld to avoid fever. Where

The Transvaal.

there is water it is favourable for agriculture, but the greater part is deficient in a natural supply. The low veld is unsuitable for Europeans, and its agricultural capabilities have therefore remained largely undeveloped.

Rhodesia.

Southern Rhodesia has suffered extremely from the cattle disease which first made its appearance in 1902, but the country is now entirely free from it, and the number of cattle belonging to natives increased between 1902 and 1907 from fifty-six thousand to one hundred and eighty thousand. Rhodesia is a specially good stock country; it is open, well-watered, and suitable for cattle, sheep, goats and pigs. Summer crops only, such as maize, Kaffir corn, potatoes and tobacco, can be grown with great success without irrigation, while wheat, oats and barley, which flourish in the winter months, require irrigation to bring them to maturity. Agriculture has made great progress in the territory, chiefly throughout the Eastern province.

CHAPTER VI.

NATAL.

Portuguese, Dutch and Natives in Natal.

The country of Natal was so named by the Portuguese seaman, Vasco da Gama, because he first sighted it on his way to India on Christmas Day, 1497. From that time the Portuguese used the name for the district extending from the mouth of the Bashee River to the Bluff headland. The Dutch and English navigators, however, employed the name for the country between the Umzimvubu and Tugela rivers.

In 1689 the Netherlands East India Company bought the shores of the Bay of Natal from the leading chief of the neighbourhood, but made no attempt to establish a settlement. The district was densely peopled with Bantu tribes, very different from the nomadic Hottentots round Cape Town. These tribes would have made the support of a settlement an anxious and expensive task.

Natal continued to nourish a dense population, until the development of the military power of the Zulus, early in the nineteenth century, changed the condition of affairs. By 1824 the great Chaka had completed the desolation of Natal. The few natives who were left subsisted on fish and roots, or were driven to cannibalism. The districts between the Tugela and Umzimvubu were desert, and it was certain that no native race would re-people a district so near the Zulu kraals.

English Settlers.

The English, however, were bolder, and in August, 1824, a small party under Henry Francis Fynn obtained a grant from Chaka of the port of Natal and the surrounding district, and at a later date of the country from Natal southwards to the Umzimkulu River. With Chaka's permission the white men gathered followings of natives, and gradually assumed the

position of petty chiefs. The Cape Government did not look on the adventurers with favour, and Dingaan, who assassinated Chaka in 1828 and succeeded him, was in turn disappointed at their inability to act as intermediaries between him and the colonial authorities. They thus lived in constant alarm, regarded with unfriendly eyes by the Colonial Secretary, and purchasing Dingaan's patronage by assisting him in his wars. In 1835 they resolved to lay out a town and to call it D'Urban after Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the Governor of Cape Colony, and petitioned him that the district between the Tugela and the Umzimkulu might be made a colony and named Victoria. D'Urban supported their request, but the Secretary for War and the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, refused his consent to any colonial extension.

Zulu Massacres.

In the meantime the Dutch farmers were also interested in the country. In 1834 a party from Cape Colony paid a visit of inspection, and in October, 1837, a division of the great body of emigrants (*see* p. 490) who eventually founded the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, arrived at Natal, under Pieter Retief, from Thaba Ntshu, on the other side of the Drakensberg. Dingaan received him in a friendly manner, and towards the close of the year he returned with a large body of immigrants. But Dingaan, though ostensibly amiable, was in reality alarmed at the prospect of white immigration. On February 6, 1838, having lulled suspicion by the basest treachery, he massacred sixty-six Europeans, headed by Retief, who had visited his kraal at Umgungundhlovu to restore some stolen cattle. On the 17th a second massacre took place at Weenen, the place of weeping. On hearing the news Commandants Potgieter and Uys hastened to their countrymen's assistance, while the English traders from D'Urban also prepared to act. Neither party was successful. On April 11, Potgieter and Uys fell into an ambush and lost ten men, including Uys himself. Six days later the native levies of the traders, fifteen hundred strong, together with seventeen Englishmen, were lured across the Tugela and destroyed after a desperate resistance, only four Englishmen and five hundred blacks escaping. This Zulu victory was followed by the destruction of D'Urban.

Dingaan's Day.

In May Potgieter and a large body recrossed the Drakensberg northwards; but the other emigrants resolved not to quit Natal, and they were reinforced by fresh arrivals from Cape

Colony. In November Andries Willem Jacobus Pretorius arrived in Natal and was elected Commandant-General. On December 16, which is now kept as a public holiday, he utterly defeated the Zulus at Blood River, and killed over three thousand of them. Dingaan was forced to flee northwards, and about April, 1839, his younger brother Panda revolted against him with a large number of the incorporated Zulus, and sought the assistance of the emigrants. On January 30, 1840, his followers inflicted a decisive defeat on Dingaan's army at Magongo, near the Umkuzi river. Pretorius then declared the country between the Buffalo and the Tugela on the north and the Umzimvubu on the south, the property of the colonists.

The Republic of Natal.

This district formed the republic of Natal, divided into three magisterial and ecclesiastical districts, Pietermaritz, Weenen and Port Natal. An extremely democratic constitution was formed. The supreme legislative and administrative authority was entrusted to a volksraad of twenty-four members, elected by the whole body of burghers. All measures of importance were submitted for ratification to the body of settlers, at a meeting called a public. As a result extreme disorder prevailed, and the position of the colonists was rendered more difficult by the resolution of the English Government not to tolerate interference on their part with the natives on the eastern frontier of Cape Colony.

Its annexation by the British.

Towards the close of 1840 the emigrants became involved in hostilities with the natives in Pondoland on their southern frontier, and the Cape Government in consequence resolved to intervene. At first the burghers prepared to defend their independence by arms. In May, 1842, an English force occupied Durban, where they were hard pressed by the farmers, until relieved by the arrival of reinforcements at the end of June. This was followed by a temporary agreement on July 14, by which the burghers recognised the Queen's authority. A period of anarchy followed, and by the close of 1843 large numbers of the emigrants had retired across the Drakensberg. In May, 1844, Natal was declared a dependency of the Cape, with a Lieutenant-Governor, and a separate judicial, financial, and executive organisation. The Lieutenant-Governor was to be aided by an executive council of not more than five members, who were to recommend to the Governor and legislative council of Cape Colony such laws as they thought necessary.

On August 21, Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Cape Governor, defined the boundaries of Natal. On the north the boundary declared by Pretorius remained unchanged, but on the south the district between the Umzimvubu and the Umzimkulu was added to Pondoland. In 1866 a portion of this territory, forming the county of Alfred, was annexed to Natal. With this exception the boundaries remained constant, until after the conclusion of the Great War, when in 1903 the counties of Utrecht and Vryheid and part of Wakkerstroom were acquired from the Transvaal.

The Native Locations.

The first question with which the new British administration had to deal was the settlement of the Bantu, a few of whom had remained in the country during the Zulu domination, while many others had entered it since Dingaan's defeat. They were assigned seven locations, comprising altogether about a sixth of the area of the Colony, and in 1849 Kaffir law and customs, with the authority of the chiefs, were declared lawful within the locations in spite of the strong disapproval of the Natal officials, who, however, succeeded in obtaining the appointment of European magistrates in the largest locations. At the close of the year a hut tax of seven shillings was levied on the blacks.

Slow growth of Natal.

The growth of Natal as a European colony was exceedingly slow. In 1852 only eight thousand out of one hundred and twenty-one thousand inhabitants were of European descent, in spite of the arrival of five thousand six hundred emigrants in the preceding four years. This was partly due to the presence and protection of a large native population, partly to the preference of the Boer farmers for greater political independence. Emigrants from England came slowly, while the natives, relieved from the dread of the Zulus, increased with astonishing rapidity. In 1873 Langalibalele, a chief of the Amahlubi of great influence, rose against government interference, and came into collision with a white force while removing across the Drakensberg into Basutoland. He was, however, arrested and his tribe dispersed. In consequence of attention thus called to the condition of the natives in Natal, Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent out in 1875 as temporary Governor to investigate matters, and subsequently the power of the chiefs was greatly limited by placing them more directly under the European superintendence.

Separation from Cape Colony, and Representative Government.

Constitutionally Natal remained dependent on Cape Colony until July, 1848, when it was given a separate legislature, nominated by the Crown. Ordinances passed by this body required confirmation by the Governor-General and the Crown. In 1854 preparation was made for the establishment of representative government by ordinances granting municipal government to towns of over one thousand inhabitants, and creating county councils, corresponding nearly to the divisional councils of Cape Colony. On July 15, 1856, Natal was made a separate colony with a Governor appointed by the Crown. The Legislative Council consisted of sixteen members, of whom four were official, eight elected by county, and four by borough constituencies. The elected members held their seats for four years. Acts passed by the Council could be vetoed by the Crown within two years of their receipt in England. The qualification for the franchise was the possession of fixed property to the value £50, or the tenancy of property with an annual rental of £10.

Responsible Government.

In 1881 the head of the colony was promoted from the rank of Lieutenant-Governor to that of Governor, while, with some changes in numbers, the Legislative Council continued till 1883, when it was raised to thirty members, of whom twenty-three were elective. In 1893 responsible government was introduced after it had been urged for some time by a number of the colonists, headed by Sir John Robinson, who were influenced by the example of Cape Colony. The Legislature was divided into two bodies, a Legislative Council and a Legislative Assembly, which together were termed the Parliament. The Legislative Council, or upper house, was composed of eleven members, a number since increased to thirteen. These members are nominated for ten years by the Governor on the advice of his ministers. Every member must have reached the age of thirty, must have resided for ten years in the colony, and must possess fixed property of the value of £500. The Legislative Assembly was composed of thirty-seven members chosen by the electors of thirteen electoral districts. After the addition of Zululand in 1897, and of the districts of Vryheid and Utrecht in 1903, the number was raised to forty-three. The franchise is the same as that fixed in 1856. The assembly must be dissolved at the end of four years, and may be dissolved at any time by the Governor. Like the English

House of Commons, it originates all money bills and sends them up to the Council, which may reject, but may not amend them. The ministry is appointed by the Governor, and holds office during the King's pleasure, or until it loses its majority in Parliament. The ministers, who must all be members of the Legislature, were originally five in number, but have since been increased.

Indian and Native Difficulties.

In 1860 the growing industries of the colony—sugar, coffee, cotton, and arrowroot—caused the first importation of coolies or indentured labourers from India. The immigration has continued steadily since, and as the coolies almost always remain in the colony as "free" Indians, it has added a new feature to the race problem (*see* p. 632). The difficulty of admitting Asiatics as electors was seen immediately after the grant of responsible government, and in 1894 a bill was passed to prevent them in future obtaining the franchise. The native question is, however, perhaps even more difficult. In 1906 a great Zulu rising took place in March under the chief, Bambaata, but was put down later in the year after serious fighting in the Mome Valley on June 10, in which Bambaata himself was slain.

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Ecclesiastically Natal was originally part of the diocese of Cape Town, but in 1853 it was formed into a separate bishopric (p. 493). The first bishop was John William Colenso, famous for his support of Langalibalele and of Cetewayo, and for his views in regard to the historical accuracy of the historical books of the Old Testament. In 1863 his metropolitan, Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town, who strongly disapproved of his views on Scripture, cited him for heresy and declared him deposed. Colenso disregarded the sentence, and was declared excommunicate by Bishop Gray. He then appealed to the Crown and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council pronounced the whole of Gray's proceedings null and void in 1864. Two years later the Master of the Rolls, Lord Romilly, also gave judgment in his favour in a suit arising out of the refusal of the trustees of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund to pay Colenso his stipend. Gray, however, was supported by the English bishops, who in 1869 consecrated W. K. Macrorie Bishop of Maritzburg; while Colenso's later years were embittered by the animosity roused among the colonists by his championship of the Zulus.

Zululand.

Growth of the Zulu Power.

At the end of the eighteenth century the dominant tribe in modern Zululand was the Umtetwa, dwelling on the lower part of the White and Black Umvolosi. The Zulus on the upper White Umvolosi were tributary to Dingiswayo, the chief of the Umtetwa. Dingiswayo had lived in Cape Colony in his youth, and there learned the advantages of military organisation. On becoming chief he divided his young men into regiments distinguished by their names and the colour of their shields. On his death at the hand of an enemy about 1818, he was succeeded by one of his generals, the famous Chaka, already chief of the Amazulu. From him the whole confederacy took the name of Zulus.

Chaka.

Unlike Dingiswayo, Chaka was cruel and ruthless. From his accession he devoted himself to rapine and conquest. He perfected the discipline of his troops and armed them with the stabbing assegai, with its short handle and heavy blade. He swelled the numbers of his warriors by incorporating the young men of the conquered tribes. His ferocity caused him to be styled the "Hyena Man," while from his size he was called the "Great Elephant." During his rule he destroyed three hundred tribes, and depopulated the country inland to the Drakensberg from the confines of Cape Colony on the south and west, to the swamps of the Maputa on the north.

Dingaan.

In 1828 Chaka was assassinated by his brother and successor Dingaan. Ten years later Dingaan treacherously murdered the Boer envoys, and was in consequence overthrown at Magongo in 1840 (*see* pp. 519-520). He perished soon after on the border of Swaziland. In February Panda, Dingaan's brother, was installed chief, but as a tributary of the republic of Natal. His territory consisted of the land between the Buffalo and Tugela, and the Black Umvolosi, from the Drakensberg to the sea. When the English took over Natal Panda was restored to independence by a treaty dated October 5, 1843, at the same time ceding St. Lucia Bay to the English.

Cetewayo.

While he ruled Panda kept faith and peace, but as he grew old the country was troubled by his warlike son Cetewayo. In December, 1856, Cetewayo defeated and slew his brother Umbulazi in a great battle on the Tugela. In 1872 Panda died,

and Cetewayo, who had already re-established Chaka's military system, began to treat the English government with contempt. In addition the Boers from the Transvaal had begun to settle in the modern districts of Utrecht and Vryheid, part of which was claimed by Cetewayo. The annexation of the Transvaal by the English in 1877 involved them in the dispute. Matters came to a head on December 11, 1878, when an ultimatum was presented to Cetewayo at the instance of Sir Bartle Frere, demanding among other things that the Zulu regiments should be disbanded (p. 504). Early in January, 1879, three columns under the command of Lord Chelmsford entered Zululand. On January 22 the Zulus stormed Lord Chelmsford's camp, while he was absent with the greater part of his force. Of seven hundred Europeans, only about forty escaped. At Rorke's Drift, however, Lieutenant Chard with only one hundred men, held the passage of the Buffalo, repulsed a detachment of four thousand victorious Zulus, and saved Natal from invasion.

Isandhlwana and Rorke's Drift.

Taught caution by this lesson, the English defeated the Zulus at Kambula camp on March 29, and at Ginginhlovo on April 3, and finally overthrew them at Ulundi on July 4. This last fight destroyed the Zulu military system and ended the war. On August 28 Cetewayo was captured. In September the country was divided into thirteen tribal districts, each ruled by a chief. This arrangement proving anarchical, Cetewayo was restored in January, 1883, but it was found that defeat had destroyed his authority, and he was compelled to flee. In 1884 the Boers set up the New Republic in Western Zululand, which became merged in the Transvaal in 1888. Finally in May, 1887, Zululand was declared to be English territory, and a resident commissioner was stationed at Eshowe. On December 30, 1897, the country was formally joined to Natal.

Ulundi and the incorporation of Zululand.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ORANGE RIVER COLONY.

The territory now occupied by the Orange River Colony, between the Vaal and Orange Rivers, was completely devastated towards the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century by tribes fleeing over the Drakensberg to the north-west, from the Zulu impis (*see* p. 489). The desolation was completed and made permanent when the Matabele fixed their dwellings on the Marikwa to the north of the Vaal.

The origin of the Colony.

The Orange River Colony owes its origin to a party of Boer farmers, under Commandant Hendrik Potgieter, who left Cape Colony in the Great Trek (*see* pp. 489, 519) early in 1836 to seek independence in the North. Between the Vaal and Vet rivers the Matabele assailed them, destroyed a number, and swept away all their cattle. The survivors escaped, after beating off the Matabele, to Thaba Ntshu, aided in their retreat by another band of emigrants from Graaff Reinet under Gerrit Maritz. With extraordinary spirit Potgieter returned reinforced by fresh emigrants, and after defeating the Matabele in January, 1837, founded the town of Winburg, named in commemoration of their victory. In the summer, with only one hundred and thirty-five mounted burghers, he attacked the Matabele in their home, on the Marikwa, and after nine days fighting drove them beyond the Limpopo.

Already in December, 1836, the emigrants had formed a Volksraad, consisting of seven persons, who were at once a legislature and a supreme court of justice; and on June 6, 1837, they adopted a provisional constitution by which they recognised the Dutch law, and vested the executive power in a commandant-general. Shortly before a considerable party

under Peter Retief removed to Natal. Most of these were murdered by Dingaan in February, 1838, and on receiving the news Potgieter hastily marched to avenge their death. On returning he proceeded to the Mooi River, north of the Vaal, and for some years the fortunes of the Winburg burghers were associated with those of the Potchefstroom settlers (*see* p. 532).

British control established.

Numerous emigrants from Cape Colony followed the first trekkers, and many of them settled between the Modder and Orange, where they became involved in disputes with the Griquas, who claimed the sovereignty of these districts, and who were ruled by Adam Kok at Phillipolis. In June, 1845, the Cape governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, arranged that the land between the Riet and Modder should be assigned to the European settlers, who should be governed by an English officer with a commission from Adam Kok. The land south of the Riet was reserved for the Griquas. Major Warden was appointed commissioner, fixed his headquarters at Bloemfontein, and received his instructions from Cape Town. This arrangement worked well, for the emigrants most strongly opposed to English control removed to the Transvaal, while those remaining settled down peacefully.

Resistance and retirement of the Winburg and Potchefstroom settlers.

In February, 1848, however, Maitland's successor, Sir Harry Smith, declared all the territory between the Orange and Vaal rivers, as far east as the Drakensberg, English territory, under the name of the Orange River Sovereignty. This pleased the settlers between the Riet and Modder, who disliked being governed, even nominally, by a native, but it was very much disliked by the settlers at Winburg, who were by this time accustomed to self-government. Together with the Potchefstroom farmers they attempted to resist, and under the younger Pretorius compelled Major Warden to capitulate at Bloemfontein. On August 29, however, they were defeated at Boomplaats after an engagement in which plenty of courage was shown on both sides (*see* p. 502). The farmers who desired independence now retired beyond the Vaal (p. 533), and the new British possession was given a regular government. It had already been divided into four districts—Bloemfontein, Caledon River, Winburg, and Vaal River. On March 14, 1849, a Legislative Council was

Organisation of the Orange River Sovereignty.

created consisting of the English resident, the magistrates administering the four districts, and two unofficial members for each district, nominated for three years from among the landowners of the district by the High Commissioner. The High Commissioner had a veto upon all enactments, and the native chiefs exercised full control over their own people in the reserves.

Its Surrender by Lord Grey.

The chief event of the history of the Sovereignty was the first Basuto war in 1851-2 (*see* p. 497) which finally determined the colonial secretary, Lord Grey, to abandon the Orange River territory, to the annexation of which he had agreed unwillingly. In spite of the fact that a considerable number of Englishmen had settled in the country, and in spite of the vehement protests of these men, and of the Boers who had supported the government, the country was declared independent by the Convention of Bloemfontein, arranged by Sir George Russell Clerk and signed on February 23, 1854, and the country was evacuated by the English troops on March 11.

The Orange Free State.

By April the constitution of the Orange Free State was formed. All persons of European blood, after six months' residence, were to enjoy the full rights and fulfil the duties of burghers. The legislative authority was vested in a single chamber, termed the Volksraad, composed of members, returned by each village and field cornetcy and holding their seats for four years. At the end of two years half of the original Volksraad, selected by lot, were to retire. Members were required to be at least twenty-five years of age, to possess fixed property of the value of £200, to have been resident in the country for twelve months, and never to have incurred punishment for crime. The executive authority was entrusted to a President, to be elected by the burghers from a list of names submitted by the Volksraad. His term of office was five years, at the end of which he might be re-elected. He had the power of declaring war and making treaties, but required to have his acts and appointments ratified by the Volksraad. He could propose laws, but possessed no veto, and could be suspended from office by the Volksraad by a bare majority of votes.

Its military character and its politics.

The organisation of the Free State was largely military. Every man between the ages of sixteen and sixty was liable

to military service, and had to be mounted and armed at his own expense. The burghers of each ward elected a field-cornet, and those of each district a commandant. In time of war the commandants elected a general, who was assisted by a council of war, consisting of the State president, the commandants, and the field cornets. In spite of its military character, the constitution guaranteed individual liberty, freedom of the press, and security of property. The first president of the State, elected in May, 1854, was Josias Philip Hoffman, a man of philanthropic views. His dealings with the natives made him so unpopular that in February, 1855, he was compelled to resign, and was succeeded by Jacobus Nicholas Boshof, who in turn, wearied by opposition, resigned in June, 1859. There existed at this time three parties within the country, the party in power, who favoured the autonomy of the Free State, an English party strongly hostile to President Boshof, and a considerable minority of burghers in favour of union with the South African Republic.

Proposed union with the Transvaal.

Various attempts were made to unite the Orange Free State and the Transvaal under one government, and in December, 1859, Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, the President of the Transvaal, was also elected President of the Free State. His efforts to bring about a union were thwarted by dissensions within the Transvaal, and in April, 1864, he was succeeded by the great Jan Hendrik Brand. The desire for union with the Transvaal or Cape Colony was prompted mainly by the dangers to which the State was exposed from the Basutos, with whom an unsuccessful war was waged in 1858 (*see* p. 498). But under the presidency of Brand the power of the Free State developed, and its forces triumphed in the wars of 1864-5 and 1867-8, at the conclusion of which Basutoland was placed under the protection of the English Government.

The Basuto wars

The diamond fields dispute.

In the meantime the Free State had been steadily advancing westwards, where dwelt the Griquas and other small tribes. In 1861 the government purchased a tract of territory comprising the district of Phillipolis from Adam Kok, one of the Griqua chiefs. The determination of the extent of his rights over the territory he ceded, however, involved the state in long controversies with the other Griqua leaders, and especially with Nicholas Waterboer, which became acute after the discovery of diamonds

in Griqualand West in 1867. The territory in dispute included that on which Kimberley now stands, and almost the whole of the country east of the Vaal. In May, 1870, the Orange Free State undertook the government of the diamond fields, but in October, 1871, Sir Henry Barkly after arbitration (*see* p. 512) annexed the territory of Nicholas Waterboer, giving it the name of Griqualand West, and fixing the boundary by proclamation nearly at its present limits. In July, 1876, a sum of £90,000 was paid to the Free State as compensation for the peremptory nature of some of the proceedings. A diamond mine was also left to them at Jagersfontein within their territory.

Alliance with the Transvaal.

The quarter of a century succeeding 1871 was a period of quiet prosperity and progress for the Free State. On July 14, 1888, President Brand died, and on January 11, 1889, President Reitz was elected his successor. In February, 1896, he was in turn succeeded by President Steyn. In 1889 the main trunk railway of Cape Colony was extended to Bloemfontein, and in 1891 to the northern frontier at Viljoen's Drift on the Vaal River. At the close of 1895 the fair prospect was overcast by the apprehensions excited by the Jameson raid. In March, 1897, Kruger visited Bloemfontein to discuss the prospects of a closer alliance, and in the following month a defensive alliance between the two states was published. On the other hand, in regard to its own affairs, the Orange Free State showed itself conciliatory towards the English Government. In December, 1897, the period of naturalisation was reduced from five to three years, and persons exercising the franchise were only required to take an oath of allegiance to the State, without renouncing their nationality.

The War of 1899-1902, annexation, and grant of Responsible government.

When war was in sight, however, the Free State threw in its lot with the Transvaal. On June 23, 1899, the Raad voted money for military preparations. The State suffered little from the war until Lord Roberts' advance and the capture of Cronje's army (p. 508). After the occupation of Bloemfontein Lord Roberts, on May 28, 1900, formally annexed the Orange Free State, which was re-named the Orange River Colony. But annexation did not end the war, which laid waste great parts of the Colony. After its conclusion on June 24, 1902, Lord Milner was appointed Governor, assisted by nominated Legislative and

Executive Councils. In June, 1907, responsible government was established. A Legislative Council was created consisting of eleven members, at first nominated, but afterwards elective, and a Legislative Assembly of thirty-eight members, elected by British male white subjects, who have resided for six months in the Colony and are over twenty-one years of age. The first general election under the new system resulted in the return of an overwhelming majority of Boer members, and a ministry which included Christian de Wet, the most brilliant of the Free State's generals in the war, was installed in office under the Crown.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TRANSVAAL.

The Natives.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the modern Transvaal, the country between the Vaal and the Limpopo, was, like the territory which is now the Orange River Colony, occupied by various Bantu tribes. But about 1822 they were swept away by the Mantatis, a horde of refugees from the spears of the great Chaka, and their destruction was completed five or six years later by the Matabele, a part of the Zulu army who, under Moselekatse, broke away from Chaka and destroyed the eastern Bechuana tribes. The Matabele settled on the banks of the Marikwa, where they remained until the advent of the Boers, keeping the country a desert from love of rapine, and from fear of attack by the Zulus.

The Boer settlement.

The territory of the Transvaal had long been known to Boer hunters, but it was first occupied by settlers at the time of the Great Trek. When the Matabele assailed the emigrants south of the Vaal River, the Boers under Commandant Potgieter retaliated by attacking Moselekatse on the Marikwa, and inflicting such heavy losses on him that he fled beyond the Limpopo (p. 526).

The foundation of the republic.

The way was thus clear for settlement, and in 1838 Potgieter, after fighting without much success against the Zulus in Natal (p. 519), founded Potchefstroom on the Mooi River, and with his followers settled in the country between the Magaliesberg and the Vaal. In 1845 he sent out strong detachments north and east with a view to getting within reach of Delagoa Bay. A large party from Potchefstroom and Winburg founded

Andries, Ohrigstad, and Lydenburg, while another detachment, under Potgieter himself hitherto, settled in the Zoutpansberg. The proclamation of English sovereignty over the country south of the Vaal River in 1848 (p. 527), brought about a further emigration to the Magalies Berg, headed by A. W. J. Pretorius. On January 17, 1852, the Sand River Convention was signed, under the terms of which the farmers north of the Vaal were acknowledged to be an independent people, and it was succeeded by fresh emigrations from the Orange River Sovereignty.

Its Constitution.

At this time the Republic was divided into four districts—Potchefstroom, Lydenburg, Zoutpansberg, and Rustenburg. In 1849 the code of Thirty-Three Articles was adopted by the Volksraad. It was termed a constitution, but was in reality rather a collection of general principles of procedure in civil and criminal law. The Thirty-Three Articles, moreover, did not meet with universal acceptance, and in 1857 a more formal constitution was framed by a Representative Assembly of twenty-four members. By it the legislative authority was vested in a Volksraad, composed of members of European blood elected for two years. They were to be owners of landed property within the Republic, over thirty years of age, and electors of three years' standing. The administration was carried on by the President, chosen by the people, and an Executive Council appointed by the Volksraad. The military head of the Republic was the Commandant-General, elected by the burghers bearing arms, and receiving his instructions from the President in the time of war. The Republic was divided into field cornetcies, each consisting of from sixty to one hundred and twenty households. Every group of six field-cornetcies had a commandant. The Republic was also divided into districts for judicial and fiscal purposes. Each district had a landdrost and a board of heemraden elected by the people. On January 5, 1858, the representative assembly chose Marthinus Wessel Pretorius to be President. He was the eldest son of the old leader, A. W. J. Pretorius, who died in 1853. The constitution of 1857, which was originally adopted by the Potchefstroom district only, was accepted by the Zoutpansberg district in January, 1858. The Lydenburg district, however, including Utrecht, declared itself a separate state in January, 1857, and was not united to the rest of the Republic until April, 1860. At the same time Pretoria, founded in 1855,

was chosen as the seat of government. The burgher franchise, or right to take part in elections for the President and Volksraad was granted to all white persons over twenty-one years of age, who had been born within the State, who possessed landed property within it, or who had resided within it for a year. An oath of fidelity to the government and of obedience to the laws was likewise required from naturalised burghers.

Native and civil wars.

The chief events in the earlier years of the South African Republic were unimportant wars with the Bechuana tribes on the western frontier, who rapidly recovered after the removal of Moselekatse and resented the imposition of a labour tax by the Boers. The attack on the Bakwena in 1852 has become famous on account of the destruction of the property of the famous missionary, Dr. Livingstone, who was settled among them at Kolobeng. This occurred during the hostilities, and was ascribed by Livingstone himself to the Boers, but by them to a band of marauders, who anticipated their occupation of Kolobeng.

Between 1860 and 1864 a period of civil war ensued which injured the prestige of the republic in the eyes of both Europeans and natives. It was ended by the general acceptance of the younger Pretorius as President, with Paul Kruger as Commandant-General.

The Transvaal and the diamond mines.

After the discovery of diamonds in the neighbourhood of the lower Vaal in 1867, the Transvaal Government endeavoured to extend its authority over the diamond fields between the Vaal and the Harts. In June, 1870, the Volksraad were unwise enough to grant a monopoly of mining privileges to a company. In consequence the independent miners repudiated the authority of the Transvaal Government. In 1871 the case was submitted to arbitration, which resulted in a decision adverse to both the Transvaal and the Orange Free State (*see* p. 530). In consequence of the dissatisfaction with the award, Pretorius was compelled to resign, and was succeeded as President on July 1, 1872, by Thomas François Burgers.

The native labour system.

During Burgers's presidency the difficulties with the natives became acute. The Boers of the Transvaal had adopted a method of obtaining native labour by means of a system of apprenticeship, which was analogous to slavery in the two essentials that the labour was compulsory and unpaid, while it differed from slavery in lasting only for a period at the end of which, in

some cases at least, the apprentice was given a few head of cattle. The system was not in itself vicious, but there were undoubtedly many individual instances of harsh treatment and oppression. The chief fault lay in the unsympathetic attitude of the Boers towards the natives. This affected very seriously their relations with the neighbouring tribes. On the north and east they were surrounded by warlike races, with whom they were on bad terms, and whom they were not strong enough to overawe. A serious quarrel arose between them and Cetewayo, the Zulu King, in regard to the possession of the lands of the Blood River, and in connection with the Swazis, whom the Boers supported against the Zulus. The burghers had no fear of Zulu attack, and indeed their modern weapons and their method of fighting on horseback gave them an immeasurable superiority over any native infantry force, however numerous and brave. But they were less efficient in attack, their small numbers making them averse from risking serious loss, except in a great emergency. In 1876 an expedition against Sekukuni, a Bupedi chief in the Lydenburg district, ended in complete failure. The war was pursued by means of a band of foreign filibusters, who committed acts of great cruelty. The situation yearly became worse. The central government was too weak to control its subjects, while the warlike preparations of Cetewayo threw Natal into great alarm.

Quarrels with the Zulus.

Finally the Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon, resolved on annexation, an extreme remedy, but one desired by a minority within the republic itself in view of the growing anarchy. On April 12, 1877, Sir Theophilus Shepstone proclaimed the annexation in the Church Square in Pretoria, on the grounds that anarchy was prevalent, and that the failure against Sekukuni threatened a general native war. The country was renamed the Transvaal Territory. If this step had been followed by careful and conciliatory action things might have gone well. But Shepstone was not a very suitable administrator, because he was connected with Natal, which led the Boers to regard him with distrust, and he was succeeded by Sir Owen Lanyon, who believed in coercive methods. In July, 1878, a number of the Boers set out their grievances in a petition. They complained that the promises made at the time of annexation had not been fulfilled, that the Volksraad had not been summoned, that no constitution of any kind had been

Annexation of the Transvaal.

given them, and that they had not been protected against Sekukuni. In April, 1879, Sir Bartle Frere visited the Transvaal, where the malcontents had assembled in camp, and made some impression though he failed to win them over. Immediately afterwards he was replaced as High Commissioner by Sir Garnet Wolseley who overcame and captured Sekukuni in November. In September the Transvaal received the constitution of a Crown Colony with a nominated legislature.

The Boer rising.

This did not satisfy the burghers, who, moreover, expected further concessions from Gladstone's Government, which came into office in April, 1880. In July Sir George Colley succeeded Wolseley, but he brought no grant of independence. On Dingaan's Day (December 16) the flag of the Republic was hoisted at Heidelberg and Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert, were elected to carry on the government. Potchefstroom and Pretoria were beleaguered, and on December 20 a small English detachment was forced to surrender at Bronkhorst Spruit, forty miles from Pretoria, after losing more than half its number killed and wounded. On January 28, 1881, Sir George Colley attempted to force his way into the Transvaal from Newcastle, in Northern Natal, but was repulsed at Laing's Nek with a loss of two hundred men out of a force of fourteen hundred. On February 7 he was again beaten back at Ingogo. On the night of February 26 he renewed the attempt, occupying Majuba Hill in the darkness. On the morning of the 27th the Boers ascended the northern side maintaining a deadly fire, and drove the English troops from the summit. General Colley was himself among the slain.

Majuba Hill.

Boer independence restored.

This unfortunate moment was taken to make concessions which before had been refused. On March 21 an armistice was concluded, and two days later the Boers were granted complete self-government under the suzerainty of the Queen of England. In August the Convention of Pretoria was signed by which native interests were guaranteed, the control of foreign affairs was reserved to the English government, and a British resident was to be placed in Pretoria. The republic was designated the Transvaal State. Much might be said for the terms arranged, but little for the time chosen for making them. The restored republic was reduced in size by the exclusion of Swaziland from its limits. Very soon private adventurers began settling beyond the western boundary of the

state in the territory of the Barolongs, where they formed the republics of Stellaland and Goschen. In February, 1884, the Convention of London was concluded, by which the title of South African Republic was restored, and it was empowered to conclude treaties and engagements with foreign states and native tribes, on condition that they were first approved by the Crown. By this convention also the State's limits extended in the west to include a good part of the Stellaland Republic. In 1888 an addition was also made to the territory on the south-east, where the provinces of Utrecht and Vryheid were incorporated. These provinces had formerly been part of Zululand, and in 1884 had been formed by the Boers into the New Republic. In 1894 they also obtained the administration of Swaziland.

The Rand and railways.

For some years the Transvaal State, under the presidency of Paul Kruger, was hampered by serious financial embarrassments, which made it difficult to support the expenses of administration. This position was altogether changed by the discovery of the Rand goldfields in 1886 and the foundation of Johannesburg (p. 511). From that time the South African Republic was beset with difficulties of a different kind. The old condition of isolation from the outside world passed away. In 1887 a railway was opened through Portuguese territory, from Lourenço Marques to Komati Poort on the Transvaal frontier. By 1895 it was extended to Pretoria, while the capital was also connected with the Cape by the line from Bloemfontein, which joined the line from Lourenço Marques in the Rand district.

The Uitlanders.

From the commencement of the commercial development of the Transvaal, the increasing numbers of foreigners engaged in industrial pursuits, or uitlanders as they were termed, caused great difficulty. The Boer attitude is easy to understand. They had the natural dislike of a rural for a town population. They felt that most of the uitlanders understood nothing of the conditions of the country, and did not intend to make it their permanent home. Moreover, most of them were not land or mine owners. Though half the land and nine-tenths of the property had passed out of the hands of the burghers before the close of the century, they were not owned by the uitlanders, but for the most part by the great companies to whom the development of the country was due. On the other hand the uitlanders had considerable cause for complaint. Prosperity had not improved the Transvaal adminis-

tration. The resolute refusal of the burghers to give it their attention, and their love of local autonomy had left it largely in the hands of foreign officials, and it was by no means free from corruption. The old fashioned policy, inherited from the times of the Dutch Company, of granting exclusive trading concessions to private individuals, inevitably led to bribery and intrigue. The monopolies included railways, dynamite, spirits, sugar, jam, paper, and other articles in general use. In addition the franchise was made more difficult to obtain. In 1882 the necessary period of residence was increased from two to five years, and in 1890 ten years was fixed as the term for the full franchise. In 1892 the uitlanders formed the Transvaal National Union, with a view to concerted action with regard to their grievances.

Kruger.

The policy of President Kruger, moreover, was one of isolation. He wished so far as possible to separate the Transvaal from the rest of South Africa, especially that part under English rule. In this attitude he was opposed to the wishes of a strong party among the Transvaal Boers, headed by Pieter Joubert, who desired the pursuit of common Dutch interests throughout South Africa. Kruger, however, controlled the administration. In 1892 he imposed a new and high tariff on goods from Cape Colony, and in 1895, in order to oblige importers to use the Delagoa Bay railway, he endeavoured to cut off all intercourse by closing the drifts of the Vaal River. In addition the uitlanders were severely treated. In 1894 some English subjects were forced to serve on commando. The intervention of the English Government was necessary to ensure their protection, and to procure the reopening of the Vaal drifts. Feeling against the Transvaal administration became so strong that the Cape Prime Minister, Cecil Rhodes, considered that it might be possible to overthrow it by force.

The Jameson Raid.

The attempt was made prematurely by Dr. Jameson, who crossed the border and marched on Johannesburg in December, 1895, expecting the uitlanders to rise. On January 2, 1896, he was forced to surrender at Doornkop, having by his ill-advised action immensely strengthened the position of the Transvaal Government. The High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, was actually on his way to Pretoria at the time, to enter into negotiations in regard to the uitlanders. He found his task too difficult, and contented himself with securing the peace of the country by warning the uitlanders against resistance. In

1897 Sir Alfred Milner became High Commissioner, and he made strong representations concerning the position. In May, 1899, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, promoted a conference between Sir Alfred Milner and President Kruger at Bloemfontain on the subject of amending the franchise law. Kruger was willing to reduce the period of residence to seven years, but demanded in return concessions which would have made the Transvaal independent. Through the discussion of these conditions the question of the franchise became merged into the larger question of English authority. Finally British suzerainty was formally denied.

The end of the Republic.

War broke out in October 1899 (*see* pp. 505-9) and in May, 1900, Lord Roberts entered the Transvaal from the Orange River Colony in co-operation with General Buller's force, which crossed the Natal border early in June. From this time the Transvaal became the chief seat of the war. Lord Roberts occupied Johannesburg on May 31, and entered Pretoria on June 5. On September 1 the Transvaal was annexed to the English dominions. At the conclusion of the war Lord Milner was appointed Governor of the Transvaal, on June 21, 1902, with nominated Executive and Legislative Councils. In August, 1903, Swaziland was given a separate administration.

Representative and Responsible government.

The English government at the conclusion of peace undertook to restore representative government as soon as possible, and they were mindful of their pledge. A system of government for the Transvaal was promulgated by letters patent on March 31, 1905. It was intended to provide representative institutions and to serve as an intermediate stage to the establishment of responsible government. But after the Liberal Government came into power in England, this scheme was superseded on December 6, 1906, by the grant of full responsible government with a legislature consisting of a Council of fifteen members nominated by the Governor but ultimately to become elective, and an Assemply of sixty-nine members, elected by a franchise including every white male British subject who possessed a six months' residential qualification. As there was no native franchise all native territories, such as Swaziland, were retained under the direct control of the Crown. Under the new constitution General Louis Botha became the first Prime Minister of the Transvaal, and his government made a graceful acknowledgment of the liberality with which they had been treated by presenting to the Crown the finest jewel in the world.

CHAPTER IX.

RHODESIA AND NYASALAND.

By successive stages we have traced the expansion of British sovereignty from Table Bay over Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange River Colony, and the Transvaal. It has been a gradual though fluctuating advance from south to north, and its latest phase has brought it into contact with earlier British enterprise in Central Africa and points towards connections with British influence in the east and north. Rhodesia is now conterminous with Nyasaland, and may ere long enjoy direct communication with Uganda (pp. 694-9) and the Sudan (pp. 727-35).

I.—*Rhodesia.*

Mashonas and Matabele.

Until the nineteenth century the inhabitants of Rhodesia were the Mashonas and Makololos, who were a pastoral people, unwarlike, and clever workers in iron. In 1837 they were disturbed by the advent of the Matabele. This tribe was originally part of the Zulu army, which broke away northward under Moselekatse about 1817, ravaging and destroying, until they reached the country north of Pretoria. Twenty years later the founders of the Transvaal drove them north of the Limpopo (p. 532), where they established themselves in the neighbourhood of the Matopo Hills, forcing the Mashonas to take refuge in the mountains of modern Mashonaland, and the Makololos to cross the Zambesi. In 1869 Moselekatse died, and in 1870 he was succeeded by his son Lobengula.

The British South Africa Company.

In 1887 and 1888, after the discovery of gold on the Rand, numbers of European prospectors entered Matabeleland and Mashonaland. In 1888 Matabeleland and Mashonaland were declared to be within the British sphere of influence. At the same time, to prevent the encroachments of other European powers, J. S. Moffat, the assistant

British Commissioner in Bechuanaland, made a treaty with Lobengula, by which that chief agreed not to enter into any treaty with a foreign power, and not to sell or alienate any part of his territory. This treaty was prompted by Cecil Rhodes, then Prime Minister of Cape Colony, who, with the assistance of Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, obtained the concession of a monopoly of mining from Lobengula on October 3, 1888. A year later the great seal was affixed to the charter of the British South Africa Company. Its object was to develop and administer the resources of the region of South Africa lying immediately north of British Bechuanaland, to the north and west of the South African Republic, and to the west of the Portuguese dominions. In February, 1891, the charter was extended to cover the territory then under British influence north of the Zambesi, with the exception of Nyasaland. The directors included the Duke of Fife, the Duke of Abercorn, and Cecil Rhodes. The company was granted sovereign rights with regard to its territories, subject to the general control of the Secretary for the Colonies. The administrative system of the company was prescribed by Orders in Council of May 9, 1891, and July 18, 1894.

British Occupation.

In June, 1890, a pioneer column of about one hundred and eighty Europeans entered the Matabele country. It established forts at Tuli, Victoria, and Charter, and on September 11, reached its destination, the present town of Salisbury. At the same time Dr. Jameson and a few others proceeded to Manicaland on the Portuguese frontier, where they made a treaty with Umtassa, the chief of the district. This caused considerable friction with the Portuguese, culminating, in May, 1891, in a skirmish in which the Portuguese were defeated, and in a treaty in June by which the frontier was finally settled. The development of the new settlement was rapid. A town speedily grew up at Salisbury, immigrants poured into the country, and companies were formed to exploit the gold reefs, on condition of making over to the South Africa Company one half of their shares.

The Matabele War.

In 1893, however, the prospect was clouded by the outbreak of the first Matabele war. The Mashonas, relying on white protection, threw off their subservience to the Matabele and even stole their cattle. The Matabele retaliated by

attacking the Mashonas round Victoria, and were in turn driven off by Dr. Jameson. All demands for reparation were fruitless. Lobengula was undoubtedly desirous to keep the peace, but he dared not acknowledge the right of the English to protect the Mashona. To leave matters as they were was impossible. The impis of the Matabele were a standing menace to the whole of Mashonaland. In September a force of six hundred and sixty white men from Salisbury and Victoria began their advance on Buluwayo, well-armed and supplied with maxim guns. They were commanded by Major Forbes. On September 25, they repulsed five thousand Matabele at Shangani River, and on November 1, they routed a force of seven thousand at the Bembezi River. After this they occupied Bulawayo without opposition. They found it deserted and in flames, but they also found there unharmed two white traders whom Lobengula had protected to the last. A force of four hundred and forty Europeans under Colonel Goold Adams joined them from Tuli on the southern border a few days later. The king himself had fled northwards. His request for terms, accompanied by a present of £1,000, was intercepted by two dishonest scouts of the Bechuanaland border police, and a rash pursuit terminated in disaster to a reconnoitring party, thirty-four strong, under Major Allan Wilson, who were overwhelmed by numbers, and cut off to a man, fighting to the last with extraordinary gallantry. Early in 1894 Lobengula died of dysentry.

Organisation of Matabeleland.

The result of the war was that Matabeleland passed under the administration of the Company. The administration was regulated by an Order in Council dated July 18, 1894. The administrator was appointed by the Company, subject to the approval of the Secretary for the Colonies. He was assisted by an Executive Council, and if he acted in opposition to their will he was required to state his reasons to the High Commissioner at Cape Town. Dr. Jameson, already administrator of Mashonaland, was appointed administrator of Matabeleland also. The seat of government remained at Salisbury, and on November 14, the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Loch, issued a proclamation making Matabeleland a subordinate district. Towns were laid out at Bulawayo and at Gwelo, between Bulawayo and Salisbury.

In 1894 the country made remarkable progress, and Buluwayo grew with extraordinary rapidity. In 1895 the name of Rhodesia

was officially given to the country. In that year, however, an outbreak of rinderpest made it necessary to destroy a great quantity of cattle. This exasperated the Matabele, who resented also the compulsory labour in the mines, although this was very fairly paid. On December 29, Dr. Jameson started on his foolhardy raid into the Transvaal, which terminated in his surrender at Doornkop. The effect on the Matabele was very unfortunate, and precipitated a rising which was perhaps inevitable at some time or other. There is no indication that the rule of the Company was harsh, or that the majority of the settlers abused their position, but the Matabele had been too long accustomed to plunder and conquest to become peaceable subjects. In March, 1896, they rose and killed many isolated settlers. For some weeks Bulawayo was in a state of siege, but by October the danger was over, and at the close of the month Cecil Rhodes, unarmed, ventured into the midst of the Matabele in the Matopos and arranged a settlement. A rising in Mashonaland in June was easily put down.

The Matabele rising.

From that time until the outbreak of the Great War in 1899, a period of comparative tranquillity followed. Rhodesia was not the scene of serious hostilities in the Great War itself, though the effect on the country was considerable in retarding its development and putting a stop to much of its industry. At the beginning of the war the Transvaal Boers attempted to invade Rhodesia by way of Tuli, but were restrained by a small force commanded by Colonel Plumer, who also succeeded in holding the Bulawayo Railway for some two hundred miles south of the Rhodesian border, and finally in penetrating within forty miles of Mafeking, in the relief of which place he co-operated in May, 1900. From this time until the close of hostilities the frontier was only troubled by the occasional appearance of commandoes seeking to avoid the British columns.

Rhodesia in the Great Boer War.

The Jameson raid put a stop to negotiations at that time in progress, for bringing the Bechuanaland Protectorate under the administration of the Company. In addition, the control of the Imperial Government over Rhodesia was increased by an Order in Council of October 20, 1898, creating a Resident Commissioner, appointed and paid by the Crown, for the

Constitutional development.

territory south of the Zambesi, styled Southern Rhodesia, and entrusting the military forces to an Imperial Commandant-General. Four elected members were added to the five nominated members of the Executive Council. The powers of the Resident Commissioner were confined to the territory south of the Zambesi, because, for purposes of administration, the territory north of the Zambesi had been divided into two administrative districts, styled North-eastern and North-western Rhodesia respectively. The administration of these districts was finally settled by an Order in Council of December, 1899, which granted the Company administrative powers over the whole of Barotseland under the name of North-western Rhodesia, and a second of February, 1900, which gave them, with the title of North-eastern Rhodesia, the remainder of British Central Africa, with the exception of the territory adjoining Lake Nyasa. Each of these provinces is governed by an administrator. In 1903 Southern Rhodesia was given a Legislative as well as an Executive Council; the members of the Executive Council were to be not less than four, appointed by the Company with the approval of the Crown, while the legislature was composed of seven elected members and seven (reduced to six in 1908) nominated by the Company.

Railways.

In the meantime measures were taken to improve the communications with the outside world. As early as 1890 Rhodes obtained the extension of the Cape Town railway from Kimberley to Vryburg, and afterwards to Mafeking. The Bechuanaland Railway Company was incorporated in May, 1893, which afterwards became the Rhodesia Railway Company. In November, 1897, the railway from Cape Town to Mafeking was extended to Bulawayo and on May 24, 1899, a railway was completed from Salisbury to Beira through Portuguese territory. But while these undertakings were in progress Cecil Rhodes conceived the more magnificent project of carrying the main trunk line from Bulawayo to the Zambesi, and thence to Lake Tanganyika. He desired eventually to establish railway communication between north and south Africa,

The Cape to Cairo scheme.

and contemplated the possibility of constructing a line throughout the length of Africa, from the Cape to Cairo. In 1898 he vainly endeavoured to obtain the support of the credit of the home Government, but, undeterred, he proceeded with his

project as a private enterprise of the Rhodesia Railways Company. The line from Bulawayo to Gwelo was begun on May 30, 1899, but it was brought to a standstill in a few months by the outbreak of the South African war. The directors of the Rhodesia Railways Company, however, constructed a line from Salisbury to Gwelo, while war was raging, and completed the line from Bulawayo to Gwelo in December, 1902, thus connecting Cape Town and Beira. On May 9, 1901, finding the route to the Zambesi by Gwelo too difficult, the directors began to construct a line to Wankie, opened on September 21, 1903, and on April 25, 1904, the Zambesi was reached. By April, 1905, the Victoria Falls were bridged, and in June, 1905, the railway reached Kalomo the capital of North-western Rhodesia, while in August, 1906, it was opened for traffic as far as the Broken Hill Mine, three hundred and seventy-four miles from the Victoria Falls.

Its progress.

It is intended to carry the line to Chenobie on the Lukanga River, where there are rich deposits of copper ore. From Chenobie the line may be extended in an easterly direction to the south end of Lake Tanganyika, and thence through German territory along the eastern shore of the lake, or connect with a line of steamers on the lake, resuming at the northern end, or, thirdly, proceed along the western shore of Lake Tanganyika through the Congo Free State. The railway may also be connected with the contemplated Congo Free State system, which it is intended to carry to Redjaf on the Nile. The railway from Cairo at present extends to Khartoum, and between Redjaf and Khartoum it is possible to employ river transport until the completion of a line. Thus the Cape to Cairo project, which was ridiculed as visionary, is, in reality, perfectly practicable, although the line cannot be constructed entirely upon English territory. But as England would control the greater part of its length as well as its two extremities, she could hardly fail to exercise a predominating influence in its direction. A transcontinental telegraph line has already been constructed.

The Prospects of the Project.

The prosperity of Rhodesia has been retarded by two great causes, the one serious but temporary, the great South African War which cut it off from the Cape, and exposed it to the danger

of invasion—the other, more permanent, the difficulty of obtaining an adequate supply of labour. It is probable that with the extension of the railway into Central Africa this latter difficulty will be largely overcome. The country is so rich that it must eventually be a source of enormous wealth to its inhabitants. Besides the large output of gold, other minerals have been discovered in large quantities, including silver, copper, chrome, iron, lead, and, above all, coal. A company has been formed to mine the coal fields at Wankie, throughout an area of six hundred square miles. The country also furnishes tobacco, rubber, cotton, and all kinds of grain. It is an excellent cattle country, and its altitude makes it suitable for the fruits and vegetables of southern Europe. In Southern Rhodesia the districts into which the provinces of Matabeleland and Mashonaland have been divided are in charge of civil Commissioners as in a Crown Colony. Public works and survey departments have been organised, and municipalities established at Bulawayo and Salisbury. Schools have been opened and churches built, the Church of England, the Dutch Reformed Church, the Wesleyans, and the Roman Catholics being all represented. In 1891 the diocese of Mashonaland was formed.

The natural resources of Rhodesia.

II.—*The Nyasaland Protectorate.*

The British Nyasaland Protectorate is not, like the other British dominions, described in this section, the result of expansion from the Cape. But that expansion has brought it into close connection with those dominions and made it practically part of the South African system. It is bounded on the west by North-eastern Rhodesia, and on the east by Portuguese East Africa and German East Africa, from which it is divided by Lake Nyasa. Livingstone was the first European to traverse this part of Africa. In 1853, 1854, and 1858 he explored the country of the Zambesi, and in 1859 he traced the course of the Shire River as far as the Murchison Rapids. In 1861 he assisted the Universities Mission under Bishop Mackenzie, to establish themselves at Magomero to the east of the Shire highlands, and then explored the western shore of Lake Nyasa. The mission station was soon abandoned, but in 1866 Livingstone again reached Nyasa after following the course of the Rovuma, pressed westwards to Lake Bang-

Livingstone's explorations.

weolo, and thence journeyed north until he reached Lake Tanganyika. In 1871 Stanley found him at Ujiji on the east shore of Tanganyika, still intent on travel, and early in 1873 he died at Chitambo, south of Lake Bangweolo. His labours gave an enormous impulse to British missions and British trade. In 1875 the Free Church of Scotland sent an expedition which proceeded up the Shire to Lake Nyasa, where they eventually established a station at Bandawe on the west shore of the lake. A year later the Church of Scotland planted a station at Blantyre in the Shire highlands, while in 1885 the Universities Mission made its headquarters at Likomo, an island on Lake Nyasa. In 1895 the diocese of Likomo was created and Chauncy Maples consecrated first bishop. Unfortunately he was drowned in Lake Nyasa later in the same year.

Missions.

The efforts of the missions were supplemented in 1878 by the formation of the African Lakes Company, designed to establish a great trade route to Central Africa by the way of the Zambesi, the Shire, and the two great Lakes, Nyasa and Tanganyika. The chairman of the company, Mr. James Stevenson, privately undertook the cost of constructing a road between Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika, the only considerable distance where water portage was lacking. In 1887, however, marauding bands of slave traders began to devastate the northern end of Lake Nyasa and laid siege to Karonga, the station of the Company there. In consequence the Company was involved in a war, which lasted for two years until the conclusion of a satisfactory peace on October 22, 1889. In addition the jealousy of the Portuguese was aroused, and they endeavoured to close the Zambesi besides sending an armed expedition into the Shire country. The acting British consul promptly declared a protectorate over the Makololo country, and the Shire Hills north of the Ruo.

The African Lakes Company.

The matter was finally settled, after severe tension, by the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of June, 1891, by which the free navigation of the Zambesi, the Shire, and their affluents was secured and the limits of the English and Portuguese spheres of influence defined. A year earlier, on July 1, 1890, the English and German Governments came to an agreement concerning the northern limit of English influence, which was fixed at a line between Nyasa and Tanganyika, a

Agreements with Portugal and Germany.

little north of the Stevenson Road (*see* p. 693). Finally the north-western boundary was defined on May 12, 1894, by an agreement with the Congo Free State.

The establishment of a Protectorate and its development of the country.

In the spring of 1891 a British protectorate was formally proclaimed over Nyasaland and the Shire district, under the title of British Central Africa Protectorate, while the remainder of the English sphere of influence was placed under the management of the British South Africa Chartered Company, and at a later date formed into the territory of North-eastern and the protectorate of North-western Rhodesia. The first English Commissioner in British Central Africa was Sir Harry Johnston, who found his time fully occupied in checking the incursions of the slave-raiders, and in establishing internal tranquillity. By the close of 1895 he had accomplished his task, and in 1896 he returned to England. The value of his work is attested by the subsequent quietness of the country. In March, 1904, the country was transferred from the control of the Foreign to that of the Colonial Office; in September, 1907, it was renamed the Nyasaland Protectorate and placed under a governor and commander-in-chief with nominated Executive and Legislative Councils. The country has a total area of 43,608 square miles, and a population of nearly six hundred Europeans, over five hundred Asiatics, and nearly a million natives; its chief products are coffee, cotton, and tobacco. A railway was completed in April, 1908, from Port Herald near the Portuguese boundary to Blantyre. It will eventually be extended to Lake Nyasa, which is navigated by eight small steamers.

BOOK III.

INDIA, THE CROWN COLONIES,

AND OTHER

DEPENDENCIES OF THE EMPIRE.

I.—THE EMPIRE OF INDIA.
II.—THE EAST INDIES.
III.—THE WEST INDIES.
IV.—BRITISH EAST AND WEST AFRICA.
V.—BRITISH RULE IN EGYPT AND THE SUDAN.
VI.—THE SEA-LINKS OF THE EMPIRE.

I.

THE EMPIRE OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.

Position and Area.

India, the central peninsula of Southern Asia, consists of four fairly well-marked divisions: (1) a mountainous mass of great height and breadth, which completely encircles the rest of India except along the seaboard, guards the land approach from the north-west, and on the east forms (2) the region of Burma, with which may be associated Assam and Chittagong. This mountainous mass is joined by (3) the low alluvial Indo-Gangetic or Hindustan plain to (4) the peninsular tableland known as the Deccan. The political boundary is drawn in the mountain region which is known as the Kirthar, Sulaiman and Hindu Kush Mountains in the west, and as the Himalayas in the centre and east. The area of the British provinces and the feudatory or native states is 1,767,000 square miles.

Difficulties of Access.

The approaches to India both by land and sea are very difficult, and consequently, in spite of its physical and ethnological diversities, India is a region in itself, sharply cut off from the rest of the world. The land routes must cross lofty passes and icy wastes in the north, arid and difficult desert country in the west, or in the east a succession of steep densely forested ranges with deep valleys and torrential rivers. On two sides India is accessible by sea, but the low sandy coasts of the deltaic alluvial lands provide few good harbours; the best of them are Karachi, Calcutta and Rangoon, each a tidal harbour situated on a great delta. Moreover, the regular west

coast of the Deccan tableland is backed by steep escarpments, though from the east it is easily accessible by railways, roads and rivers. Bombay harbour, sheltered by islands, has only replaced the old Dutch Surat on the Tapti in importance since routes were carried from it up the steep escarpment of the Western Ghats. Calicut, opposite the Palghat gap in the southern tableland, has always been of importance as a trading centre on the coast of Malabar; but Madras, on the surf-beaten Coromandel coast, has only recently been made a good harbour by the construction of great breakwaters.

(1) The Land Approach.

The first of the four great divisions of India commands all the approaches to the country by land. If it were possible to rise high above the Pamir plateau, to the north of India, and obtain a bird's-eye view of Asia, we should see that from the Pamirs, which form a kind of centre, great mountain barriers stretch away, ever widening, to the south-west, the south-east, and the north-east, enclosing between them three great lowlands. That to the east is Chinese Turkestan, an arid region almost shut in by mountains, with rivers which disappear in the sandy wastes after irrigating small oases at the mouths of the valleys by which they leave the mountains. That to the west is the lowland of Turan, very similar in character, crossed by the Amur (Oxus) and Syr (Jaxartes) rivers, which reach the great lake of Aral. This lowland stretches far westwards and northwards round the north of the Caspian Sea, through Russia into the heart of Europe.

The North-West Frontier.

Across Turan a lowland route leads to the very base of the mountains which separate Turan from the third of these great lowlands, alluvial Hindustan; but, starting from this base, two hundred and fifty miles of difficult and dangerous mountain country must be crossed before the same level is reached again in Hindustan. The routes across this mountain country follow the tributaries of the Oxus, or of the Murghab, the Hari Rud and other rivers which evaporate in the sands of Turan, and then up valleys into the heart of the mountain barrier. Thence, by crossing one difficult pass, valleys can be reached on the other side, where raging torrents rush down between lofty ranges to the Indus. The chief of these routes unite either at Kabul, on the Kabul river, or at Chitral, on the Chitral river. On the Kabul route the valley of the Kabul river

is left for the narrow defile of the Khaibar pass, seventy miles long and the lowest break in the mountains which form the north-west frontier. By one or other of these routes wave after wave of conquest has broken on the plains of India, leaving one deposit upon another of race, language and social strata.

The Western Approach.

Turning west and south from the Pamirs the ranges diminish in height, but the total width of the lofty area increases in the plateau of Iran, in which are the two depressions of Mashkel and Seistan. To the latter flows the Helmand river, carrying the waters of the loftier mountains of Afghanistan between the Hindu Kush and Sulaiman mountains. The northern entrance to these depressions is by the Hari Rud, past Herat, which controls the route to the east by the Hari Rud and Kabul. It also controls the route round the margin of the depressions by Kandahar, on a tributary of the Helmand, to Quetta, the Bolan Pass, and the Indus plain. From Kandahar a line of valleys west of and parallel to the Sulaiman mountains forms a natural route to Kabul through Ghazni. From this route the plains of the Indus can be reached by several passes and valleys (*e.g.* the Gomal). Round and east of the middle and lower Indus the arid desert of Thar is a barrier of a different character, and one of great importance in the history of India.

The North-East Frontier.

The same bird's-eye view from above the Pamirs would show the mountain barrier widening towards the east into the dreary and icebound ranges of the Tibetan plateau, bordered by the Kuenlun mountains in the north, and the Himalayas in the south. Not only are the routes across it long, difficult, and exhausting for man and beast, but they lead into the mountain-girt desert of Chinese Turkestan, where the only permanently inhabited oases are separated by desert journeys of several days' duration.

(2) The Mountains and Valleys of Assam and Burma.

Separated from the Himalayas by the Brahmaputra is the mountain system of Assam and Burma. After a long course in Tibet, where it is known as the Sanpo, the Brahmaputra leaves the plateau by an almost inaccessible gorge through the Himalayas, and flows across the narrow, moist, forested lowland of Assam. The Patkoi and Arakan

mountains are a complete barrier between the Brahmaputra lowlands and the Irawadi and its tributaries, the valleys of which form the populous parts of Burma. Rangoon, on the fertile delta, is the chief port. The chief land route to the interior, instead of following the main stream of the Irawadi, passes up the Sittang valley east of the Pegu mountains; by an easy pass it joins the Irawadi, which is still the great highway of trade, at Mandalay, the chief centre of Upper Burma, where many routes converge. Farther east is the Salwin river, the navigation of which is obstructed, except in its lower reaches, by the existence of many rapids. Moulmein, at its mouth, is a teak and rice port. The line of the Arakan mountains is continued in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and the mountains of Central Burma in those of the Malay Peninsula, which is low and comparatively narrow on the southern part of the province of Tenasserim, reaching its narrowest point in the Isthmus of Kra.

(3) The Indo-Gangetic Plain.

Between the mountain systems, which thus guard India on the north and east, and the southern tableland lie the Indo-Gangetic plains. These broad plains border the Arabian Sea for some four hundred miles; but the existence of the great desert of Thar confines the eastward routes to the valleys of the Indus and to the margin of the Deccan. From Karachi the route passes through Haidarabad in Sind, and continues parallel with the Indus to Multan. This is the first large city of the Panjab, the land of the five rivers formed by the Indus* and its tributaries, Jehlam, Chenab, Ravi, and Sutlej. All these rise in the Himalaya Range and carry its rainfall and melted snows across the desert to the Arabian Sea. The Gulf of Cambay gives access to Surat, whence a route passes inland along the eastern margin of the desert through Ahmadabad, Ajmir, and Jaipur to Delhi and Agra on the Jumna tributary of the Ganges. Delhi is built at the northern end of the desert where it reaches the Ganges basin, and where the routes from the north-west through Peshawur, Rawal Pindi, Lahore and Amritsar in the Panjab are confined to a narrow strip between desert and mountain, before opening out to the rich basin of the Ganges. Delhi has, therefore, always been one of the keys of India.

* The Indus is estimated at 1,800 miles long, and drains a basin 370,500 square miles in area. The Ganges is estimated at 1,550 miles long, and drains a basin 409,500 square miles in area.

The Ganges Basin.

The upper part of the Ganges basin forms the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The lower part forms the densely peopled lowlands of Bengal. Agra and Gwalior command the route by the Chambal to the Deccan. Lucknow and Cawnpore are great cities of the plains. Allahabad is important not merely because here the Jumna and Ganges join, but because the routes from Surat and Bombay across the Deccan by the Khandwa Gap (*see* p. 556) here reach the Ganges. Benares, lower down the river and opposite another opening leading to the Deccan, is the most sacred city of the Hindus. Patna is built at the mouth of the Son tributary from the south. Murshidabad in the north-west, and Dacca on the east of the great delta, were the chief cities of Bengal until oversea invaders conquered India and made Calcutta on the Hughli distributary (the best entrance from the sea to these fertile plains) the capital of India. The coast of the delta is a marshy forest land, known as the Sundarbans. Another unhealthy, forested tract, the Terai, forms the northern margin of this lowland at the base of the Himalayas. In the south and west of the Gangetic Plain, the rugged forested country of the northern Deccan, known as Central India, is mainly under native control.

(4) The Deccan Tableland.

Central India must be clearly distinguished from the Central Provinces which, unlike Central India, are almost entirely under British control. Between Central India and the Central Provinces lie the Vindhya Mountains, which may, perhaps, be taken as the line of demarcation between Hindustan (roughly speaking, the Gangetic Plain) and the Deccan, although neither term is strictly defined. In structure the Deccan is more closely related to Arabia and Africa than to the rest of Asia. The rocks lie almost horizontally, and over the greater part of the area a sheet of basalt (called Deccan trap) is spread. The rivers cut steep-sided valleys, the most important of which open to the south-east or east, and are drained by the Mahanadi, Godavari, Kistna, Penner, and Kaveri, all flowing to the Bay of Bengal. The northern waters flow to the Ganges. The Narbada and Tapti, the only important rivers which flow west, reach the Cambay gulf of the Arabian Sea. North of the Narbada the Aravalli Heights form the north-western margin of the tableland, with Udaipur on their eastern slope. Between the Narbada and Tapti is the Satpura Range, a name

sometimes applied to the whole plateau districts of Betul, Chhindwara, Seoni and Mandla, sometimes to the tableland between the Narbada and the Tapti, and sometimes only to the section west of the Khandwa Gap, through which passed the old Moghul military route from Handia on the Narbada past Asirgarh and Burhanpur into the Deccan. East of this gap the tableland is called the Mahadeo Hills, though this name, too, is sometimes made synonymous with Satpura, and applied to the whole tableland between the Narbada and the Tapti. These hills are continued further east by those of Chutia Nagpur, which form the divide between the Ganges and Mahanadi basins.

South of the Tapti the western margin of the tableland ends in the steep escarpment of the Western Ghats, which is lowest opposite the ports of Bombay in the north, Goa in the centre, and Calicut in the south. South-east of the latter the Palghat Gap separates the high Nilgiri Hills in the north from the Cardamon Hills in the south, and gives easy access from the western or Malabar coast to the plains which border the eastern or Coromandel coast. The rivers flowing to the Bay of Bengal have gradually reduced the eastern margin of the tableland and left a much less lofty and continuous escarpment, sometimes called the Eastern Ghats.

The most important centre on this tableland is Poona, on a tributary of the Bhima, itself a tributary of the Kistna or Krishna. The rivers of the Deccan are intermittent in character and flow in difficult gorges. They impede rather than assist communication. From Poona the routes on the higher land between the rivers diverge. The most important lead either through the dominions of the Nizam of Haidarabad, between the Godavari and the Kistna, or south of the Kistna through Bangalore to Madras. Bangalore is in the native state of Mysore, which is surrounded by a horse-shoe line of heights opening to the north. The town of Mysore in the centre and Bangalore further north control the routes from the east. Numerous towns are found on the eastern lowlands, familiar in history as the Carnatic, Cuttack on the Mahanadi, Rajamundry and Cocanada on the Godavari, Bezwada which is now more important than Masulipatam on the Kistna, and Mysore, which lies between the Kaveri and a tributary. South of Madras, Pondicherri, Negapatam, and other ports are outlets for the wide and fertile plains of which Tanjore and Trichinopoli are the chief inland centres.

Climatic Conditions.

The southernmost point of India, Cape Comorin, is about five hundred and fifty miles from the equator, while in the north Chitral and Kashmir are in latitude 37°N., that is, in the latitude of southern Spain and Sicily, and rise to heights of over 20,000 ft. Obviously there must be a great range of climate in India. While most of tropical India is table-land, most of the rest is lowland, except along the mountain margin. This to some extent neutralises differences in temperature. The northern mountain barrier cuts off all climatic communications between India and the rest of Asia. In winter, when the sun is farthest south, the temperature diminishes steadily from south to north. In summer, when the sun is vertical over the tropic of Cancer, the lowlands immediately to the north of the tropic and in the east of the Iran Plateau become excessively heated, and form an area of low pressure and uprising air.

Rainfall.

Towards this the air flows from the high-pressure system of sub-tropical southern latitudes, which has moved northwards, and, coming over warm seas, is moisture laden. Over most parts of India this inflowing of air is the summer monsoon, which brings the moisture necessary for fertility. Consequently the precision and intensity of these high and low-pressure systems are matters of the first importance. When they are normally developed the currents of air flowing in from the south blow as south-west winds. They meet the Western Ghats and are deflected into higher altitudes, causing heavy precipitation; and as much as from one hundred to two hundred inches of rain fall along the western escarpment. Here, as elsewhere (*see* p. 428), the air which descends on the lee-side becomes heated and dry by compression, so that a belt of arid country is found immediately to the east of the western escarpment. In the north of the Bay of Bengal the winds are drawn in towards the low-pressure area from the south-east across the lowlands of Bengal, which form a natural trough for the main current to follow. This causes exceptionally heavy precipitation on the mountains to the north. In the Assam Hills, which run across the lowland north of the Ganges delta, the precipitation is extraordinarily heavy. The rainiest place in the world, so far as we know, is Cherrapunji in the Khasi Hills, receiving a rainfall of about four hundred and sixty inches. The exposed mountains of Burma are also

well watered in the summer months, while the protected valleys of the interior are comparatively dry. The other dry areas are in the southern Deccan, on the lower Indus, and in the lowlands of eastern Iran. The northern mountains receive a fair supply of snow and rain from winter storms, and the east of the southern Deccan a fair supply of rain in November and December from the retreating south-west monsoon. Rain, therefore, falls in the cool seasons in the extreme north and in the extreme south; elsewhere it falls in summer.

Economic Conditions.

In the mountainous area, the zones of temperature control zones of vegetation. Elsewhere the quantity and incidence of the rainfall are the chief factors which determine the character of the economic regions. The southern part of the Thar desert lies in similar latitudes to parts of Bengal, and though both are flat and similarly open to the sea, owing to the air movements the one is almost rainless and arid, the other has a heavy rainfall and a rich vegetation. When water can be obtained by irrigation the arid lands become fertile—*e.g.*, in the Panjab; while the qualities of the black volcanic soil of parts of the western Deccan enable it to retain moisture and make it fertile in spite of a low rainfall.

Temperature conditions, however, affect the character of of the crops. Only in the Panjab and the United and Central Provinces is the climate cool enough for wheat, which is a winter crop. The well-watered lowlands and deltas, where the temperature is uniformly high all the year, yield rice, oil-seeds, tobacco and cocoanuts. Cotton and millet are more prevalent on the drier uplands, like those of the Deccan. The big millet, called *jowari* (*sorghum vulgare*), is characteristic of the dry parts of India, where it forms a most important staple of food; and the lesser millets, *ragi*, *kodon* and *kutki*, flourish on the arid hills of the northern Deccan and the Central Provinces. Rubber is grown where coffee, owing to competition in other countries, has failed, and jute in the regularly renewed alluvium of the Ganges delta. Opium and indigo are cultivated in the Ganges lowlands; but the indigo plantations have suffered greatly from the competition of artificial dyes. Tea is grown on the well-watered and well-drained slopes of Assam, Darjiling and Ceylon, with different temperature conditions; but coffee is confined to hilly regions without frost, *e.g.*, in Mysore.

Distribution of Population.

India's population of about three hundred millions is densest in the fertile alluvial lands of Bengal, in Behar, and in Oudh, where there are over four hundred per square mile, and sparsest in the desert of Thar, where there are not five people to the square mile. The British territory supports nearly four-fifths of the population, although it comprises little more than three-fifths of the total area.

The Influence of Geography upon the History of India.

In studying the history of any country it is necessary to begin by gaining clear conceptions of the general physical and economic characters of its diverse regions. Each subtly but surely stamps its impress on its inhabitants. The diversity of geographical conditions necessitates a diversity in the interests and character of the people, which may bring about great conflicts. Geographical barriers and links help to explain the movements of conquest and of peaceful migration, which form the web and woof of the history of India.

Natural and political Divisions

Climatic characteristics determine political divisions in the three great areas of mountain, lowland and tableland. The arid, lower, and less rugged mountains and plateaux of Baluchistan have come under British control, while the loftier and more mountainous Afghanistan, in spite of its more fertile valleys and important routes, has been left independent, except that Great Britain controls its foreign policy, and holds the North-west Frontier Province on its margin. The equally rugged but more fertile and accessible Kashmir is a native state under British control. Most of the rest of the Himalayan margin forms the independent states of Nepal and Bhutan, and borders the wilderness of Tibet, to which Great Britain controls the route by the Tista through Sikkim.

in the Lowlands,

The lowlands are divided according to their rainfall and water supply into (1) the arid desert of Thar or Rajputana; (2) the irrigated lands of the Panjab; (3) the upper Ganges basin, forming the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh with less rainfall than the lower basin which forms (4) Bengal; while (5) east of the delta the plains and the hills of Assam which surround them make the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

In the Deccan tableland the rugged, sparsely forested, and difficult country of the north is controlled by native authority,

and is known as Central India. The more accessible land to the south of this, which is opened by the Narbada and Tapti valleys to the west, and by those of the Mahanadi and its tributaries to the east, forms the British Central Provinces. The lands between the Penganga-Godavari and the Kistna are roughly the natural area of the Nizam's Dominions, or Haidarabad, and the higher plateau of Mysore farther south is another native state.

[in the Deccan,

Geographical influences are not so apparent in the distribution of political power on the coastal plains of the Deccan. Diu, Daman, and Goa belong to Portugal, which has still fifteen hundred square miles of land, with a population of half a million, in India. The small possessions of Mahé, on the Malabar coast, and of Karikal, Pondicherri and Yanaon on the Coromandel, are French. With these exceptions this land is divided between the Bombay Presidency from Sind to beyond Goa, and the Madras Presidency, which skirts the Bay of Bengal. The influence of geographical conditions can, however, be traced in the western extension of Madras, through the Palghat Gap to the Malabar coast as far north as the Bombay frontier.

in the Marginal Areas.

CHAPTER II.

RACE, LANGUAGE AND RELIGION.

The Earliest Inhabitants.

The people of India, now some three hundred millions in number, were in the last Census Report (1903) divided into seven main physical types. The most primitive type known in India is a race short in figure, with black skins and almost negro-like noses; and these people are presumed to be the descendants of the earliest inhabitants. They are mainly found in the forest-clad mountain ranges and along the plateaux and undulating plains of the Deccan. Some of these aborigines, such as the Santals, Gadabas and the Juangs, speak languages which are offshoots from a common primitive tongue known as Munda. Others, such as the Gonds and the Khonds, who were until recently addicted to the custom of human sacrifice, speak languages belonging to the great family of tongues prevalent all over South India, and known as Dravidian. The Munda languages come from a form of speech once spoken, according to the Census Report, "over the greater part of the Indian Continent, over further India and even over the Archipelago and in Australia." The Dravidian languages, on the other hand, show strong affinities with the Finnish, Turkish and Hungarian languages, and a connection has been claimed for them with the native languages of Australia (*see* pp. 338-9). This linguistic connection seems to indicate that in prehistoric times a vast continent, inhabited by ancestors of the Munda-Dravidian people of India, stretched from Madagascar in the west to the Archipelago in the east, and from Siberia in the north to Australia in the south.

The Munda and Dravidian Tongues.

In historic times fair-skinned races have invaded India through the North-West passes, and yellow races have swept in from the further east; but everywhere the dark Munda-Dravidian race now forms, for the greater part, the underlying

basis of the population. Free from invasion in the south of India, the more civilised of the Dravidian-speaking people have preserved much of their ancient language and religion and their own dark colour and racial type. In the north they have intermarried and mingled with the invading fair-skinned and yellow immigrants, forming new races with distinct physical characteristics and religious beliefs.

The Aryan Immigrations.

The first of all the many invading races of India known to history is the Aryan. The Aryans spread in prehistoric times all over Europe and over Western and Southern Asia, yet no one knows where they originated. Max Müller held that they came from "somewhere in Asia." Some believe that their original home was in the steppes of Southern Russia, while others think they came from lands around the Oxus and Jaxartes. The Aryans who went west formed the Greek, Latin, Celtic and Teutonic peoples. Those who went east carried with them their language, sister to Greek and Latin, and the seeds of an Aryan culture nurtured in their western homes. This journey of the Aryans eastwards has left behind it no records. The lands through which they journeyed must have been much less bleak and arid than they are to-day, for they reached the Hindu Kush with their flocks and families and passed through the Kabul valley towards India. One branch of the migrating people stayed west of the Hindu Kush; these became the Iranians (Airyana =Erān or Iran), and some of their descendants fled, in the eighth century of our era, from the Mohammedan persecution in Persia to Bombay, where they form a distinct type, now represented by some ninety-four thousand rich and thriving Parsis.

The Aryans who first entered India and added a third physical type to the Munda-Dravidian and Iranian, occupied the Panjab, or land of the five rivers. Centuries after the first invasion a new wave of Aryan incursion drove the earlier Aryans east along the Ganges and Jumna and south across the Vindhyas. For long the dark Munda-Dravidian aborigines had been reviled by the fair-skinned invaders as being no-nosed, godless, eaters of raw flesh and abhorrent. But in the wars between the old and new Aryan invaders, of the legends of which Indian history is full, the dark aborigines joined as allies one or other of the contending parties, and intermarriages grew common. As a result, although the Aryan languages of India are allied to

those of Europe, the invaders themselves were so influenced by intermarriage, by climate and surroundings that now they have few physical characteristics in common with any European people.

The Aryan Religion.

The Aryans in their early homes had feared the great forces of Nature, and had revered men who claimed, by their magic power, to avert evil and to heal diseases, and who by offerings and imitative sacrifices sought to make the rain fall and the sun to shine, and to bring the forces of Nature under subjection. During their long wanderings eastward and their fierce fights against their foes, the Aryans began to glorify as gods the great forces of Nature which warred for or against them. The God of Fire was worshipped as Agni, the God of War as Indra, the storm gods as the Maruts, and law and order as Varuna; and the intoxicating juice of the Soma plant was drunk in the hope that it would lend new power to the warriors, and incite to new vigour the poetic raptures of the priests.

The Brāhmans and the Rig-Veda.

These priests invoked the aid of their gods by reciting Brahmas or prayers and so were called Brāhmans or makers of the poetic invocations to the gods. One thousand of these hymns, mingled songs of war and peace, were collected together about three thousand years ago and preserved in the memory of the people as the Rig-Veda or Songs of Wisdom. In these hymns the Brāhmans stand forth as divine lights to the people and local chieftains. The fighting men of the Aryan race are represented as segregating themselves apart as Rajanyas, and the settlers on the land as Vaisyas, while the dark aborigines have become Sudras or servile attendants on the higher classes.

The Caste System.

Thus there grew up strongly marked divisions of race and occupation, and the tendency spread for class to isolate itself from class, and for restrictions to be placed on change of occupation. An instinct for the preservation of their race against the increasing influence of the dark races soon began to pervade the Brāhmans, the warriors, and the Aryan settlers on the land. To prevent confusion of races and the usurpation by the lower classes of the professions or duties of the higher Aryan classes, the divisions of the people were hardened by strict rules into castes. By these rules of caste intermarriage between families,

not having a supposed common ancestor or not having the same professional calling, was forbidden. The Aryan colour thus was stayed from being entirely swamped by the encroaching influence of the dark Dravidians; and the Brāhmans remained supreme as not only able to sway the will of the gods but also to adjudicate in all laws of caste.

Pure and Mixed Races.

The more the Aryans held themselves aloof from the darker races the more they preserved their own racial characteristics. The Jats of the Panjab are now, perhaps, the purest Aryan type in India, and are, therefore, probably descendants of the earliest invaders, who brought with them their own wives and families, and so avoided marriage with the Munda-Dravidians. The Raj-puts also have been considered purely Aryan, though recent theories give them a later and more mixed origin. All over North India, indeed, from the Panjab to Behar, are mixed races of Aryo-Dravidians, who represent the fourth of the seven physical types. In Agra and Oudh, in Behar and throughout parts of Rajasthan (which is generally regarded as equivalent to Rajputana), and even as far south as Ceylon, the result of this intermixture of Dravidian and Aryan is to be seen in the physical characteristics of the people, whose complexions pass from black to light brown, and whose stature tends to lowness, and their heads and noses to aboriginal broadness. East of Behar to Bengal, north to the Himalayas, and south to Orissa, the Aryan fair blend fades away, and the dark Dravidians have united with yellow Mongoloid invaders from the further east. This Mongoloid element—the fifth physical type—is found purest in the people of Burma, Assam, Nepal and the Himalayas. Their faces have a typical yellow colour, their heads are broad and their eyes oblique. In Orissa and Lower Bengal, as might be expected, the dark Dravidian colour predominates towards the west and the yellow Mongoloid colour towards the east.

Later Invaders from the North-West.

Long after the incoming of the Aryans, a sixth race, consisting of nomad tribes from the steppes of Central Asia swept through the North-West passes, and during the first five centuries of the Christian era made for themselves kingdoms in North India. They were horsemen using bows and arrows, and were of medium stature and fair colour, with broad heads and little hair on their faces. Throughout western Panjab, down through the Deccan and Maratha country, even as far south as Coorg, these nomad

tribes settled, intermarried and mixed with the Dravidians, to produce the people there now classed as Scytho-Dravidians.

Turko-Iranians.

The seventh and last type, classed as Turko-Iranian, is found in the Baluchistan Agency and in the North-West Frontier Province; it is represented by the Baluchis, Afghans and, more doubtfully, the Brahuis, whose language, at any rate, is Dravidian. These people, formed from a fusion of Persian and Turki elements, are fairly tall, with light complexions, narrow and prominent noses and dark and grey eyes.

The Mohammedans.

Although the Mohammedans introduced a new racial element into India, and now number over one-fifth of the entire population, the last Census Report states that a large proportion of them have little or no foreign blood in their veins, being merely the previous inhabitants converted to Mohammedanism. There are still, however, descendants of the early Mohammedan immigrants who settled in Sind and the Panjab, and descendants of the Afghan, Turki and Persian soldiers of fortune and noblemen who accompanied the invading armies and settled in the north and in the Deccan. The Mohammedans have, however, one common language, known as Urdu or Hindustani, in which the grammar of the Hindi vernacular is used to make a *lingua franca* out of the Arabic and Persian of the invaders.

Languages.

In the south of India there are fourteen distinct Dravidian languages, the most important of which are Telugu, spoken along the east coast by over twenty millions of people, Tamil in the south up to Mysore by sixteen and a half millions, Malayalam on the west coast in Malabar by six millions, and Kanarese further north by ten millions. Of the Munda languages there are still ten in use in India, including Santali, spoken by one and three-quarter millions, Kol by nearly one million, and Gadaba, Juang and Savara by two hundred thousand aborigines.

Munda-Dravidian in the South.

Indo-Aryan in the North.

In the north of India, although the dark Dravidian colour has stamped itself upon the people, their languages—except a few surviving words termed Paisachi by native grammarians—have faded before the stronger influence of Aryan. Here are twenty-two Indo-Aryan and three Iranian languages spoken by seven times the number of people there are in England and Wales. These Indo-Aryan languages fall into two main groups,

From the Himalayas on the north and from the Jehlam in the west to Benares in the east one distinct group of Indo-Aryan languages is spoken. In the surrounding districts—Kashmir, the Western Panjab, Sind, the Maratha country, Central India, Orissa, Behar, Bengal and Assam—another group is spoken. In the first, or inner group, there are over twenty millions of people speaking Eastern Hindi from Benares to Allahabad; and from Allahabad to Sirhind in the Panjab there are nearly fifty millions of people speaking Western Hindi; while Panjabi is spoken by nearly seventeen millions, Rajasthani by eleven millions and Gujrati by eleven millions. In the second or outer group Marathi is spoken by eighteen millions, Sindi by three millions, Kashmiri by one million of people, and Western Panjabi by over three millions of Jats. To the east the language called Behari is spoken by thirty-four and a half millions, Bengali by over forty-four and a half millions, Uriya by nine and a half millions and Assamese by over one and three-quarter millions of people.

The Indo-Chinese Tongues.

The Indo-Chinese family is represented by ninety-two languages, of which the most important are Burmese and Shan; and the Hamitic and Semitic by one each. In all there are no fewer than one hundred and forty-seven languages spoken in India, often as different from each other as English from Greek or German from Hungarian.

Religions.

Just as numerous races have blended in India to form numerous nationalities and languages, so many strange superstitions and phases of thought have blended to form the many creeds and beliefs now embraced under the name of Hinduism. There are, however, religions foreign to the country and introduced in historic times, which stand out by themselves.

Mohammedanism.

Mohammedanism, which has for its creed Islam, or submission to the will of God, acknowledges only the one true God of Israel, and Mohammed as His one true prophet. From the beginning of the eighth century invading armies of Arab, Afghan, Turk and Tartar followers of the Prophet devastated the land and destroyed the Hindu temples. Many of the people were forcibly converted to Mohammedanism, and many are still glad to join its ranks, so that they may escape from the restriction of caste and rise in the social scale. The long line of Moghul Emperors was established in 1526, and all over India these Mohammedan

rulers planted their religion, their palaces, tombs and mosques.

The Parsis.

The Parsis of Bombay also brought into India their own religion to which they still adhere. This religion is sometimes called Zoroastrianism, from a Greek rendering of the name of its founder, Zarathustra. Sometimes it is called Mazdaism, from the name of the chief deity worshipped. The Parsis are often called fire worshippers because their deity is to them an emblem of effulgence, and they therefore turn to the sun or to fire as symbols of the light and glory of the Creator of the Universe.

The Sikh Religion.

The religion of the Sikhs of the Panjab is but an offshoot of Hinduism. It, nevertheless, condemns idolatry, recognises only one god and rejects caste and the supremacy of the Brāhmans. The word Sikh means disciple, and they are so called because they follow the teachings of the Sikh apostles, ten in number, from Nanak Shah, the founder, born in 1469, to Govind Singh, who died in 1708. Their chief scriptures are contained in the Adi Granth, or Supreme Book, mostly written by their founder in the obsolete Gurmukhi language. This tongue is almost unknown to the present custodians of the Adi Granth, which has, however, been recently translated into English.

Hinduism.

Current Hinduism was founded on the abiding force of Aryan culture in India. In the sacred Mid-Land, now known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the system of caste grew strong and the Brāhmanic literature flourished. There the priestly sacrifices became most costly and elaborate, and new books of Vedas were composed, comprising sacrificial chants and formulæ. The speculations of the Brāhmans about their gods were recorded in theosophical works, wherein sometimes all the gods have become forms of one god, known as Prajāpati, or the God of Creation. At other times the one god is Brahmā, the ultimate cause of all things, just as the Brahma, or prayer offered by the Brāhmans, is the cause of all power over the gods.

Brahmā, Vishnu and Siva.

Later, from these mists, the Indian Trinity evolved itself as Brahmā, the original essence or emanation from non-existence, Vishnu, the preserving force of the universe, and Siva, the fierce aboriginal god of destruction, in whom there was also the ever-creating principle of life. The freer thought of the people wandered in philosophic inquiries over the eternal question of what lay

beyond the gods and out of what they had fashioned the world. These speculations were recorded in the long series of prose writings known as the Upanishads.

Philosophic Doubts.

Side by side with the power of the Brāhmans over the gods and people there grew philosophic doubts of the very existence of the gods and a desire to find salvation, not by sacrifice, but by knowledge of the soul and of its weary quest through life. The existence of the soul seemed self-evident, and from the aboriginal beliefs around grew the idea that the soul could pass into higher and lower forms of life. The great central doctrine of Hindu thought was founded on the belief that the soul was doomed by the action or "Karma" of the individual to reap reward and punishment, not only here, but after death, in endless transmigrations through higher or lower animal, human or divine re-births.

Vedantist Ideas.

Indian philosophy set itself to solve this problem of good and evil, and to free the soul from the result of actions which led to transmigration. The solution most widely accepted in India to-day was that set forth in the Vedanta. The soul, when freed from the individuality of man, is but an abstract subject of knowledge, the self, or Atman, and when the universe is freed from material phenomena, there remains only an abstract unconscious self or soul of the universe (compare the *idea* of Platonism). By some it is taught that this unconscious self of the universe assumes the form of a personal god, who evolves cycles of creation by means of the force resulting from actions done in previous creations. By the majority of Vedantists the phenomena of life are viewed as dreams conjured forth by the association of illusion or Maya with the unconscious self of the universe. Nirvana, or release from the loneliness of the soul, can only be gained by knowledge arising from prolonged meditation on the unity between the self or soul of man and the self or soul of the universe. The soul or self of man will then rest in a mystic trance of unity with the universe never again to be re-born.

There were two great teachers who gave new answers to the problem, and from them arose two great schools of religious belief in India. The first of these teachers was Mahavira or Vardhamāna, who lived two thousand four hundred years ago. He taught during a long life—for he died aged seventy-two about the year 490 B.C.—that the soul of a man once liberated from

Jainism.

all bonds passes into an indefinable place of bliss, freed from the necessity of re-birth. These bonds could only be severed by a Jina or conqueror who delivered himself from the result of action by moderation in all things, by abstinence from evil, and, above all, by refraining from injury to all living creatures. The past Jinas are still honoured in the form of massive and highly-adorned statues in the beautiful temples which crown the hills of Mount Abu. The followers of Jainism now number one and a half million, and are mostly rich merchants and bankers in Bombay.

Buddhism.

The second teacher was Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, born at Kapilavastu in the north-east of the province of Agra. At the age of twenty-nine he left his wife and family to solve the problem of life's existence. For forty-four years he wandered to and fro, teaching the solution his soul had sought, and died in 483 B.C. at the age of eighty. To him there seemed to be within man no abiding principle which could be called self or soul. The inquiry into the existence of a god was one in which he never encouraged his followers to enter. Even if there was no soul, and if the inquiry into the existence of God was one beyond man's knowledge, the theory of transmigration, which had sunk deep into the belief of the time, remained to be explained. Buddha, therefore, taught that after death a new being was born, in no way connected with the old, but inheriting the result of its action in the previous life. It was, however, no crude philosophic speculation such as this that won for Buddhism the power it wielded over India for six centuries. It was won by a great brotherhood of begging monks and women he founded, who propagated the message of Buddha's teaching of life's sorrow and of the victory to be gained when the struggle for individuality ceased. They spread through India the injunctions of Buddha that man should not look to priest or sacrifice for salvation, but simply follow an eight-fold path of right speech and action, right beliefs and aims, right living, right endeavour, right mindfulness and meditation. His teaching levelled all distinction of caste, and had for its triumph the binding together of the people of India for a time into one common enthusiasm for negation of self. The final victory of Buddhism did not come until two hundred years after the death of Buddha, when the Emperor Asoka accepted his teaching as the State religion, and promulgated his doc-

trines all over North India, from Kabul to Orissa and from Nepal as far south as Mysore. Buddhism soon lost its high ideals and heresies arose. Buddha was worshipped as a god, and other deities, male and female, were established. Buddhism waned in India before the rise of a new Brāhmanism and the incursions of the Mohammedans. The Buddhists of India now number over ten millions, or three per cent. of the population, and are mostly found in Burma, Nepal, and other parts of the Himalayas.

Brāhmanism.

Brāhmanism had drawn from Buddhism before its decline much of the best of its teaching and had accepted the worship of all its saints and images. Under this Brāhmanic revival art and classical literature flourished, temples were built and monastic institutions established. A long series of law books stereotyped the customs of the people, and vast stores of popular mythology were composed for the use of all believing Hindus. At the beginning of the ninth century A.D., learned scholars went forth from their monasteries teaching the subtleties of Hindu philosophy and the adoration of the gods in their many forms and energies. At present seven people out of every ten of the population profess themselves Hindus as accepting Brāhmanic supremacy and the laws of caste. In Hinduism are woven as warp and woof strange superstitions and sublime ideals, the folly of worn-out mythologies with the highest aspirations of the soul, the crude reasonings of the animist with the brooding thoughts of philosophic inquiry, the subtleties of idealistic Monism with the materialistic worship of idols and images.

The best of Hinduism is leavened by a religious fervour inspired by the doctrine of "Bhakti" or faith in a personal god who by grace vouchsafes to the believing an eternal bliss near to himself after death. This faith in a personal god, such as Vishnu, who came to earth in many incarnations for the salvation of man, has overshadowed the earlier belief that salvation could be obtained by philosophic knowledge of the soul and its surroundings. It was a doctrine spread by many teachers all over India, but whether or not the doctrine can be traced to the influence of the early Nestorian Christians, as many scholars have asserted, remains a subject for further historical research.

Christianity.

At present there are over three millions of people who profess Christianity in India, about one per cent. of the population, but the number is gradually increasing.

CHAPTER III.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

The coming of the Portuguese.

Unless the Aryan invaders are to be classed as Europeans, the first European conqueror to set foot in India was Alexander the Great, who in 327 B.C. marched along the Kabul river, defeated Porus in a great battle on the banks of the Jehlam, and founded two cities, one on each side of the river. But on his death, four years later, anarchy pervaded his empire, and the Macedonians were driven out of India by Chandragupta, who established the Maurya dynasty, and extended his sway over all Hindustan. For eighteen hundred years India was left in the hands of Asiatic rulers, while its external commerce was carried on by Phoenician and Arab traders. At length the efforts of the Portuguese to open up a new way to the East in place of those obstructed by the Turks were crowned in 1486 by the discovery of an open sea route to the East round the Cape of Good Hope. Vasco da Gama in 1498 anchored three small ships off Calicut and was there welcomed by the Zamorin or ruler of the seas. From that time onwards for one hundred years the rich trade of the East remained in the hands of the Portuguese. When Portugal fell beneath the sway of Spain in 1580, her trade passed to the Dutch, from whom England long bought her Eastern spices, mace, cinnamon, pepper and cloves. With the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 the sea, in the words of Elizabeth, "became common to all men," and English ships could sail south round the Cape of Good Hope to seek the empire that awaited them in the East.

The East India Company.

In September, 1599 one hundred merchants of London assembled together at Founders' Hall in the City, and subscribed £30,133 to trade with the East. On the last day of 1600, Queen Elizabeth granted the English East India Company a charter, with the sole right to trade East, and authority to make peace and war with any power not Christian "for the honour of our nation and wealth of our people." The

Company was further granted power to govern its servants and punish them for any breach of bye-laws—a jurisdiction which afterwards extended over the trading settlements made along the coast of India. The English merchants had no light task before them in thus essaying a struggle for supremacy with the Portuguese and Dutch. In India the great Moghul Emperor Akbar held the whole land north of the Satpuras in undisputed sovereignty. His long reign of almost fifty years, from 1556 to 1605, had gained for his empire the support alike of Hindus and Mohammedans.

Zenith of the Moghul Empire.

For one hundred and fifty years the English had to restrict themselves to trade and wait for the coming ruin of the Moghul sovereignty. The indolent Jahangir, who ruled from 1605 to 1627, was succeeded by Shah Jahan, whose reign marked the culminating point of Moghul magnificence and power. For over thirty years he spent the wealth of the land in building stately palaces, mosques and towering minarets, and planting on the banks of the Jumna the dreamlike beauties of the Taj Mahal. But the gloom of impending disruption spread over the land during the closing years of the seventeenth century, when the fierce bigotry of Aurangzib turned Mohammedan and Hindu, Rajput and Sikh, into sullen foes, and India was eventually left without central control or union.

The fall of the Portuguese.

While the Moghul Empire was thus falling into decay, the English were preparing to take its place by outdistancing their rivals, the Portuguese, the Dutch and French, at sea—an achievement to which the East India Company contributed by constructing in 1609 the dockyard at Deptford. The Portuguese were the first to suffer. They had founded at Goa a great city, from which they traded, and further north they held Diu and Daman. The English, in 1612, determined to question the Portuguese monopoly by opening up trade at Surat, half-way between Daman and Diu. This insult was speedily resented. In November four Portuguese galleons and twenty smaller craft, well armed and manned, closed in round the "Red Dragon" of two hundred tons, under Captain Thomas Best, off Swally. For days the unequal contest raged. The "Red Dragon" was reinforced by one small ship, and then the entire Portuguese fleet fled before the astonished eyes of the natives, who had thronged the beach to see the fight. A final victory of four English ships over eight Portuguese galleons,

supported by three ships and sixty frigates, lost India to the Portuguese who were soon absorbed at home in their struggle for independence against Spain (1640-67).

Immediately after Best's victory the Emperor granted the English permission to trade along the coast, for he was glad to gain their protection for his Mohammedan subjects travelling by sea to Mecca. Surat became the centre for the trade to the East and remained so until 1668, when Charles II. gave Bombay (which he had received as part of the dowry of the Portuguese princess Catherine of Braganza) to the Company for a yearly payment of £10. The Company in 1632 gained the right to trade on the East coast at Masulipatam, and two years later it received the permission of the Emperor to trade throughout the Moghul Empire. In 1639 Francis Day purchased from the Rajah of Chandragiri a tract of land along the sea coast six miles long and one mile broad at a yearly rent of £600. This, the first territorial possession of the English in India, grew afterwards into the town of Madras.

Acquisition of Bombay.

Madras.

The Company's first settlement in Bengal was made at Hughli in 1640; but the local Viceroy of the Emperor harrassed the settlers to such an extent that in 1686 Job Charnock, the Governor, moved the settlement twenty-seven miles down the river to Sutánati, the site of modern Calcutta, and wrote home saying that the time must come when the native powers must be made "as sensible of our power as we have made them of our truth and justice." The Emperor Aurangzib made a grant in 1698 of a few villages round the site chosen by Job Charnock, and there was built Fort William.

Calcutta.

The first century of the Company's trading enterprise thus ended with the English in possession of the sites of the future capitals of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. Charles Davenant (1656-1714) in his "Essay on the East India Trade," foretold how, by "the full possession of India and its trade England could get command of the sea and hold a large fleet so that it might become as Rome, the head of a vast dominion, the fountain of law, the spring of power, honour and office throughout an immense Empire." The company of merchants in London grasped the future that lay before them and the means whereby alone it could be accomplished. In

Position of the Company in 1700.

1685 they ordered their servants in India to fortify their settlements and to make the revenues pay the expense, for it had now become evident that the natives "do live easier under our Government than under any Government in Asia." In 1687 they wrote to their settlement in Madras that they hoped to establish "such a politie of civil and military power and create and secure such a large revenue that may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure dominion in India for all time to come." In 1690 they again wrote to Madras, urging that every effort should be made to increase the revenue of the Company, for "'tis that must make us a nation in India."

The influence of Sea-Power on the history of India.

When the eighteenth century opened, India was drifting towards anarchy, from which it could only be saved by the consistent policy of one organised power, with ample resources and easy means of communication between its secured bases. It was the sea communication by which the English saved Madras when in danger, and it was by sea that speedy relief reached Fort William after the dire catastrophe of 1756. Sea power had given the English their first hold on India, and by sea power British dominion was saved more than once in the eighteenth century. The decline of the Dutch navy at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, and the subsequent naval defeats of the French, left England alone in a position to profit by the fall of the Moghuls.

The Moghul empire fell, exhausted by its efforts to hold communication between the basis of its power in the north and the distant isolated south. In 1707 the Emperor Aurangzib died, weary of life and twenty-five years' efforts to hold the Deccan in subjection. "The army is confounded," he wrote in his dying moments, "and without heart or help, even as I am. They know not whether they have a king or not." Predatory bands of Marathas, daily growing in strength, were crowding in on Delhi, the centre of the empire. The Sikhs were rising to power in the Panjab; Oudh, Bengal and the Deccan had fallen to generals or noblemen of the Moghul Court, while the Rajput chieftains were in open revolt. All were disunited, all ready to fall in turn before the disciplined troops of any power with a united purpose and unswerving policy.

Aurangzib.

The Portuguese had drifted out of the struggle, for their long servitude to Spain had impaired their resources, and

before they recovered their independence (1667) the Dutch had seized all their settlements on the Malabar coast. But the Dutch themselves, who were supreme in the Malay Archipelago, after their massacre of the English factors at Amboyna in 1623 (*see* p. 643), seem to have been exhausted by their struggle against Louis XIV., and played little part in the eighteenth century contest for dominion in India. The French had appeared on the scene, and a long struggle for supremacy ensued. Colbert, the minister of Louis XIV., saw the future that lay before his nation if it could take part in the trade of the East. In 1664 he founded the French East and West India Company. Ten years later Pondicherri, one hundred miles south of Madras, became the centre of the French power in the East, and a year later a settlement was formed at Chandarnagar, on the Hughli. The first contest between the English and the French lasted for two years and ended in 1748 with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, without either side having gained any material advantage. The second was spread over a period of six years until 1754, when the treaty of Pondicherry recalled Dupleix, the Governor of the French settlements, from all his dreams of an Indian Empire. The final struggle, from 1756 to 1761, closed with the surrender of Pondicherri the French capital in India.

The French in India.

This fight for supremacy first arose when Dupleix entered on his policy of forming alliances with the native powers. He hoped that by the exercise of diplomatic skill he would win influence, ascendancy, and ultimate supremacy over these native powers; and he was materially assisted by his wife, Joanna Begum. His keen intellect recognised the fact which had been proved by the Portuguese in many a fight, that no number of native troops could withstand European discipline. The Deccan was then ruled by a Nizam, or Viceroy, from Haidarabad, and the Carnatic was held by a Nawab, or Governor, at Arcot. Both were in dread of the Maratha bands from the west, and to both Dupleix offered French aid and support. A safe asylum was given at Pondicherri to the family of the Nawab when flying from the Marathas, and in return Dupleix gained for himself in 1741 the office of Nawab in the Empire and command of four thousand five hundred horse. When war broke out in Europe between England and France the rival fleets appeared on the east coast of India;

Dupleix.

but no decisive action took place, the English ships withdrew, and Madras had to surrender to the French (1746). The Nawab demanded from the French the restitution of the fort, as being in his territories, but Dupleix refused to comply. The time had come, he thought, when he could realise the hope of a life-time and show the French how easily an empire could be established in the East. With three hundred of his disciplined troops he drove the army of the Nawab from before Madras. South India seemed to lie at his mercy, but Dupleix and his naval colleague, La Bourdonnais, did not work well together; and when the English fleet appeared before Pondicherri it had to surrender. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) restored Pondicherri to the French and Madras to the English.

Capture and restitution of Madras.

Dupleix had not long to wait before he found new scope for the exercise of his fertile genius. The Nizam of Haidarabad died in 1748, and claimants arose for his vacant throne, as well as for the Nawabship of the Carnatic. The French proclaimed their candidates; and the English authorities at Fort St. George, in defence of their position, were forced to foster rival claims. The English were thus drawn by Dupleix into a career of alliance with native states destined to lead from alliance to intervention in their affairs, and then from intervention to protection or annexation. Dupleix was crowned titular Nawab of the Carnatic as protector to the real Nawab. French soldiers under the Marquis de Bussy were sent to Haidarabad to support the Nizam, who in return granted Dupleix the administration of the revenues of the Northern Circars from Madras to Orissa.

Fresh schemes.

Dupleix saw India already under French supremacy, but Bussy anticipated danger and counselled prudence. Clive, Stringer Lawrence and many heroes, whose names are now recorded only on the mouldering tombstones of the south, were waiting to grasp power from the hands of Dupleix. Clive, by one stroke of genius more brilliant than any of Dupleix's, in 1751 captured Arcot, the capital of the French candidate for the Nawabship of the Carnatic. He held the fort for seven weeks successfully, and then defeated the French and their allies at Arni and Caveripak, razed the City of Victory founded by Dupleix to commemorate his triumphs, and captured Trichinopoli, whither the French had

Clive.

Arcot.

removed their Nawab. France was now weary of the war and its expenses, and the truce of Pondicherri in 1754 robbed her of the chance of empire in the East. The two Companies agreed henceforth to renounce all native titles and never more to interfere in the differences that might arise among the princes of the country. Dupleix was recalled to France, where he died in poverty and despair.

Recall of Dupleix.

The last act of the tragedy for France lingered over the period of the Seven Years' war from 1756 to 1761. The best of the English troops had gone from the south to follow Clive to his victories in Bengal (*see* p. 578) and Fort St. David, south of Madras, fell into the hands of the French. They had resolved to make the Company's settlement at Fort St. George the scene of a supreme struggle for the control of the Carnatic, and for this purpose Bussy and his French troops were recalled from the territories they held under the Nizam. Masulipatam, the capital of these territories, was at once seized by order of Clive, and the French possessions in the Northern Circars passed to the English. In the south the French, now bereft of Dupleix, and ignoring the advice of Bussy, had nothing to guide them but the ignorance and headstrong petulance of Lally, Baron de Tollendal. Their fleet, under Comte d'Ache, sailed away from the coast, and left Lally unsupported during a long siege of Madras. The English fleet arrived in 1759, and the troops of Lally, half mutinous and wholly disheartened, were glad to raise the siege. The crowning victory came in 1760 at Wandewash, where the English troops under Sir Eyre Coote met the French in equal contest, neither side having native supports. Lally charged at the head of the French cavalry, but they were broken by the English fire and repulsed. Pondicherri soon fell; it was restored to France in 1763 by the Treaty of Paris, along with Chandarnagar, which had been conquered by Clive; but their fortification was prohibited. The sea power of the French had been broken and their East India Company was insolvent, while the English, through the genius of Clive, had laid the foundations of a secure base in the north, where wealth could be gathered and communication kept open by sea to Madras and by land or sea to Bombay.

The Seven Years' War.

Failure of the French in the Carnatic.

CHAPTER IV.

CLIVE, HASTINGS, WELLESLEY.

The Conquest of Bengal.

Before the French had succumbed in the Carnatic, the English had made other conquests from the natives in the north. On the outbreak of the French War the English Governor of Calcutta had hastened to strengthen the defences of Fort William. The Vizir, or Viceroy of Bengal, at once ordered the growing fortifications to be dismantled. He ruled in Bengal independently of the Moghul Emperor, and dreaded to see the rise of the rival power of the Company. The Governor pleaded that the defences were raised solely against the French. The Vizir surrounded the fort with an army of forty thousand men, and forced the garrison of less than two hundred soldiers to surrender. On a hot night in June of 1756 one hundred and forty-six men and women were driven as prisoners into a guard room only 18 ft. square, with one small opening as a window. That night one hundred and twenty-three men and women died in unspeakable torments.

The Black Hole of Calcutta.

Clive, on hearing the news, collected such troops as could be spared from Madras and sailed from there to avenge the deed. The remnant of the garrison was joined with the troops brought by Clive to form the first European regiment. Fort William was recaptured, and the swarming troops of the Vizir driven from around Calcutta. At Plassey (June 23, 1757) three thousand English soldiers with two thousand native supports put to hopeless rout his vast army of fifty-three guns, fifteen thousand horse and thirty-five thousand foot. All the guns were captured, and Clive lost but fifty-two of his men. The English had at length gained an assured and safe position in the rich plains of Bengal. There, amid a weak and unwarlike people they could bide their time and gather in wealth to

Plassey.

send support to the settlement at Madras and across the level plains of the north to Bombay. There was none in Bengal to oppose them, and at the Moghul court at Delhi there was neither union nor power for defence. Clive had baffled Dupleix in the south, and captured the last of the French settlements in the north. He left India for a time in 1760. "Had he never been born," says Lord Stanhope, "I do not believe that we should—at least, in that generation—have conquered Hindustan."

A weak and corrupt Government held sway at Calcutta during Clive's five years' absence. A new Vizir, Mir Jaffier, was set in power, and from him the Company gained the large districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong. The Emperor, who had now become a fugitive from the Marathas, joined with the Vizirs of Bengal and Oudh in one last struggle for native supremacy. At Buxar (October 27, 1764) their united army of fifty thousand men was defeated with terrible slaughter by Hector Munro. Clive, then in England, on hearing the news, wrote: "It is scarcely hyperbole to say that to-morrow the whole Moghul Empire is in our hands." Alexander Dow (*d.* 1779), the historian of these wars, sums up the situation by stating that it was very clear that "ten thousand English infantry, together with the Sepoys in the Company's service are not only sufficient now to conquer all India but with proper policy to retain it for ages as an appanage of the British Crown." After the victory at Buxar the Vizir of Oudh was driven from his capital to seek shelter with the Marathas, Benares was forced to surrender, and Allahabad was captured. When Clive returned to India in 1765 the whole of North India east of the Ganges and the Jumna lay at his disposal, but to the west the Marathas raided the country from the Panjab to Oudh, and in the Panjab, still further west, the Sikhs were shaping out for themselves a territorial sovereignty.

Buxar.

Clive's arrangements with Native States. Clive determined to interpose a friendly buffer state between these Maratha and Sikh powers and the Company's possessions in Bengal. Oudh was, therefore, restored to its Vizir, with whom a treaty of defensive and offensive alliance was made. Beyond Oudh the lands between the Ganges and the Jumna, known as the provinces of Kora and Allahabad, were given to the defeated Emperor, who in exchange granted to the Company the full right to administer the revenues of Bengal, Behar,

Orissa and the Northern Circars. The Company thus gained territorial sovereignty, with full powers of government, not by a grant from the British Crown, but under the sign manual of a Moghul Emperor. The revenues of these districts, which amounted to over two millions sterling yearly, were, during the government of Clive, collected by native officials, who were also entrusted with the administration of law and justice.

Warren Hastings.

Warren Hastings, who became Governor of Bengal in 1772, introduced into these possessions of the Company the basis of the present system of British administration and control. The lands of the Company were leased out to native rent-collectors who afterwards became the hereditary landlords or zamindars of Bengal. British officials, called collectors, were appointed to superintend the collection of the revenue, while civil and criminal Courts were established in each district, with English presiding officers, and a Court of Appeal at Calcutta. The last semblance of native sway thus passed away, and the Vizir was glad to retire on a pension from an office which had now become merely nominal. The Emperor, a puppet in the hands of the Marathas, was forced to surrender to them the provinces of Kora and Allahabad; but the possession of these districts by the Marathas left Oudh and the Company's territories open to attack on the west, so Hastings ignored the grant of the Emperor to the Marathas and delivered these provinces to the Vizir of Oudh.

The Rohillas.

The lands to the west were thus secured from invasion, but to the north-west of Oudh, the Rohillas, a band of Afghan adventurers, had established a temporary dominion. From time to time these new-won possessions of the Rohillas were ravaged by the Marathas. Driven to despair, they appealed to the Vizir of Oudh for aid, and promised to pay all the expenses of a protecting army. The Vizir sent troops, who drove the Marathas out of Rohilkhand; but the Rohillas, once saved, refused to pay the Vizir the promised expenses of the war. The Vizir appealed to Hastings, under his treaty of alliance with the Company, for forces to compel the Rohillas to keep their promised agreement. Hastings at once sent British troops: the Rohillas were conquered and their lands delivered over to the Vizir. There was thus established to the west of Bengal what Hastings described as "a complete compact State, shut in effectively from foreign invasion by the Ganges."

Hastings' conduct.

Of the many charges on which Hastings was afterwards impeached before the House of Lords, the one with regard to his conduct of the Rohilla war was the strongest, as it alleged that he had lent British troops to slaughter an innocent people from mercenary motives. Hastings was acquitted of all these charges by the House of Lords. Sir John Strachey, who afterwards served in Rohilkhand and examined the entire story on which the charge was founded, states in his exhaustive work on "Hastings and the Rohilla War" that it was "invented by the malignity of Francis, it was written down as history by Mill when the evidence of its falsehood was in his hands, and it was then thrown by Macaulay into the rhetorical shape in which it has ever since compelled acceptance from the majority of Englishmen."

Haidar Ali.

Hastings had thus secured the territories under his immediate rule in Bengal, but elsewhere, at Madras and Bombay and at home, the Company's affairs were drifting towards chaos. At Madras a weak Government had refused to aid Haidar Ali, Sultan of Mysore, against the Marathas in 1769, and in return he had raided and set in flames the country round Madras and forced upon the English a treaty of friendship and alliance. At home the affairs of the Company were so disorganised that in a few days in 1769 India Stock fell sixty per cent., and the Company was begging a loan from Government. The House of Commons, in its alarm, passed resolutions that all acquisitions of the Company belonged by right to the State.

Lord North's Regulating Act.

Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 followed, and, although it left the government of the territories acquired in India to the Company, it declared the full dominion of Parliament over "every British subject in every concern." Hastings, under this Act was made the first Governor-General of Bengal with a supervising authority over Bombay and Madras; but he had to act with a Council of four at Calcutta, who, by a majority vote, could decide any question in dispute, and his relations with the subordinate Governments of Madras and Bombay were ill-defined. It was a position which his successor, Lord Cornwallis, refused to accept until an Act was passed giving the Governor-General power to act in case of emergency, even in opposition to the opinion of his Council.

The Maratha States.

Hastings—after the Rohilla war—made no wars; but he had to bear the whole brunt, expense and management of the wars begun

by the Councils at Madras and Bombay. Everywhere free-booting bands of Marathas spread devastation. Their chieftains, jealous of each other, were incapable of uniting their forces into a combination strong enough to withstand the Company. The nominal head of the Marathas was the Raja, who lived at Satara, and was descended from Sivaji, the founder of the Maratha Confederacy in the seventeenth century. But he was now only a "pageant," and his authority had been usurped by his Prime Minister, or Peshwa, who ruled at Poona. The other chieftains, once generals under the Peshwa who had carved out principalities for themselves, were Sindhia in the north-east, Holkar in the south of Malwa, the Bhonsla Raja of Berar, whose lands stretched to Orissa on the east coast, and the Gaekwar of Baroda.

The Bombay Government and the Peshwa.

The Council at Bombay had for long desired to gain possession of the island of Salsette and the town of Bassein, territories under the control of the Peshwa. On the death of the Peshwa in 1773, the Council espoused the cause of a new claimant on condition that the coveted lands should be placed under the rule of Bombay. A war of succession followed, and in the first open conflict with the Marathas, at the battle of Arras (May 18, 1775), the English troops fell back in disorder. The newly-appointed Council at Calcutta, on hearing the news, declared the Bombay agreement with the claimant Peshwa to be unjust, and ordered the war to be stayed and compensation to be paid to the Marathas. The Declaration of Independence by the American Colonies in 1776, however, gave France new hopes of founding a dominion in India; and envoys were sent to the Peshwa promising troops and aid against the English in exchange for a seaport. Hastings saw that there was no time for hesitation, and, despite the opposition of his Council, he at once seized all the French settlements in India, and prepared to continue the war against the Marathas. The Council at Bombay had in the meantime sent out a force of only six hundred Europeans, under an incompetent general, against the Maratha army at Poona. A disastrous retreat ensued, the guns were abandoned, and the stores burned. The destruction of the entire force was only prevented by its leaders submitting to the disgraceful convention of Wurgaon (January, 1779).

The Convention of Wurgaon.

Throughout the whole period of these unfortunate years, when the American colonies were being lost, and divided counsels reigned in India, Hastings stood firm in his determination to

hold and consolidate a new Empire in the East to compensate for England's loss in the West. He was seriously hampered by the opposition of Sir Philip Francis, who had been appointed under the Regulating Act a member of the Governor-General's Council. At length the relations between him and the Governor-General became so strained that Hastings wrote of Francis: "I do not trust to his promise of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. . . . I judge of his public conduct by my experience of his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour." In a duel which ensued Francis was wounded, and soon afterwards took his departure for England.

Sir Philip Francis.

Hastings was now forced to take desperate means to raise money for the defence of the Company's dominions. Towards the expenses of the war the Raja of Benares, Chait Singh, as feudatory, was called upon to contribute. In the insurrection, which this demand provoked, English officers and their men were slain, and Benares swarmed with a turbulent mob; but Hastings calmly waited near until the amount demanded was paid. The Begums of Oudh, wife and mother of the late Viceroy, having been implicated in the insurrection, were called upon to refund two millions sterling they had taken from the Oudh treasury. The new Viceroy of Oudh was persuaded to use force, and over one million sterling was recovered.

Chait Singh and the Begums of Oudh.

Hastings now endeavoured to restore the situation at Bombay, while also sending troops and supplies to Madras then besieged by Haidar Ali. He despatched six thousand troops with thirty thousand followers across India to Bombay, a feat considered in those days beyond the dreams of possibility. Gujrat fell to Goddard, and the heroic storming of the heights of Gwalior forced this hitherto impregnable fortress of Sindhia's to surrender. By the treaty of Salbai in 1782 Hastings secured British predominance from Calcutta to Bombay, and gained the islands of Salsette and Elephanta.

Goddard's victories and the Treaty of Salbai.

In the south Haidar Ali had ravaged the country up to the walls of Madras, and the Council sat watching the flames of the surrounding villages. A force under Colonel Baillie had been defeated and three hundred officers and men led captive to Haidar's stronghold at Seringapatam. Hastings sent men and money under Sir Eyre Coote to the rescue, and at Porto

Defeat of Haidar Ali and the French.

Novo (July 1, 1781) thirty thousand of Haidar Ali's soldiers suffered a crushing defeat. Along the coast five desperate naval engagements took place, wherein the English fleet under Admiral Hughes kept the French under Admiral Suffren at bay and prevented it sending aid to the army on land. Haidar Ali died in December, 1782, and the Peace of Versailles in 1783 ended the struggle with a mutual restoration of the French and English conquests.

Pitt's India Act.

In 1784 Pitt carried through Parliament an Act establishing a new form of Government for India, which, with some modifications, remained in force until the Mutiny. The superintendence and control of the civil and military government and the revenues of India, were vested in a Board of Control consisting of six Commissioners, one being the Chancellor of the Exchequer, one a Secretary of State, the other four Privy Councillors, all appointed by the King. The senior Commissioner or President virtually monopolised all the functions of the Board, and his powers were similar to those of the present Secretary of State for India. The Board of Directors of the Company was allowed to retain rights of patronage and power of supervision, but was really subordinate to the new-made Board of Control.

In India the government was placed in the hands of a Governor-General and three Councillors who had authority over the minor Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The Governor-General and his Council were prohibited, without the express authority of the Court of Directors, from making peace or war except where hostilities had been commenced, from entering into treaties, or from guaranteeing the possessions of any country, province or state. Pitt's Act further declared that "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour and policy of the nation." Notwithstanding the declaration of these principles, the opening years of the new century were to see the Company's sway established over almost all India.

Tippu and the French.

Tippu, the son of Haidar Ali, early broke his treaty, and in 1792 had to surrender half his dominions and pay three million sterling to Lord Cornwallis, who had after an interval succeeded Hastings as Governor-General. The fury of Tippu was roused by his defeat, but he had now learned that he could never combat the English single-handed. He sought aid from the Nizam and from the Marathas, but he set his highest hopes

upon the French. At Seringapatam French troops had proclaimed the Republic, and Tippu had been hailed as a French citizen. At Haidarabad the French troops, under Raymond, were the ruling power, and land between the Ganges and Jumna was held by the French troops of Perron on behalf of Daulat Rao Sindhia. Napoleon had long planned the invasion of India, and his conquest of Egypt was merely the prelude to the campaigns he hoped to prosecute in the further east.

Lord Wellesley.

The leading idea of Lord Wellesley during his government from 1798-1805 was to defeat the intrigues of Napoleon and to leave the native states incapable of ever again seeking French or foreign aid. The Nizam first agreed to disband all his French troops and to take no more Europeans into his service without the consent of the supreme Government. Lord Wellesley then sent a joint army of the Company and of the Nizam, under General Stuart, against Tippu, who was defeated, and perished in endeavouring to escape from his capital at Seringapatam (May 4, 1799). From Tippu's dominions were taken Coimbatore and all the districts on the west coast, so that there should be no longer any risk of a French invasion. From the Nawab of the Carnatic were taken Nellore, North and South Arcot and Trichinopoli, and he was soon afterwards induced to resign his office, and received a pension. The districts of Bellary and Cuddapah, which lie between Mysore and the Nizam's territories in the north, were acquired from the Nizam in 1802 for the support of a subsidiary force. Mysore was left under an infant ruler sprung from the old Hindu Rajas, whom Haidar Ali had dethroned. Thus the Presidency of Madras was expanded until it nearly reached its present limits.

Partition of Mysore and the Carnatic.

Oudh and the Marathas.

There remained only the extension of the rule of the Company over the north to complete the Empire in India proper. The Vizir of Oudh, unable to pay his arrears of tribute, was obliged in 1801, under the Treaty of Lucknow, to cede Rohilkhand and the entire districts between the Ganges and the Jumna. The Marathas, who claimed supremacy over all India and a right to exact one-fourth of its land revenue, next engaged the attention of Lord Wellesley. The Peshwa deemed it wise to claim British protection, and to enter into the Treaty of Bassein, by

which he agreed to cede districts for the support of a subsidiary force, and to give up all foreign relations with any power outside his own dominions. Under the same treaty the territories of the Gaekwar of Baroda came under British protection.

The Treaty of Bassein.

This Treaty of Bassein of 1802 marks, in the opinion of many historians, the final establishment of British paramountcy in India. The remaining chiefs of the Maratha Confederacy who refused to submit to subsidiary treaties were Sindhia, who held the Moghul Emperor in his hands, Holkar, and the Bhonsla of Nagpur.

Sindhia.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, defeated the troops of Sindhia and the Bhonsla at the battles of Assaye and Argaum in September and November, 1803. Lake took Delhi and Agra after the battles of Aligarh and Laswari, dispersing Sindhia's French troops. By the Treaty of Sarji Anjengaon in 1803, Sindhia ceded all his territories north of the Jumna, an area of seventy thousand square miles, and agreed to accept for his future defence, and pay all its expenses, a subsidiary force of six battalions of the Company's infantry and guns, while the Bhonsla ceded Orissa to the English and Berar to the Nizam. The Emperor was transferred from the Maratha protection to that of the Company, not, as Wellesley wrote, so that the English might acquire conquests under the assumed authority of an emperor, "for, indeed, the days when it was necessary to proceed under the authority of some native power had passed away;" but to prevent his name and authority being employed for such purposes by other powers.

Assaye.

The Empire in India had been secured by Wellesley, but his last operations were singularly unfortunate. The war with Sindhia and the Bhonsla was followed by one with Holkar; and Holkar, wisely avoiding pitched battles, confined himself to the guerilla warfare to which his country was peculiarly suited. Monson was compelled to make a disastrous retreat; the Raja of Bhurtpore threw in his lot with Holkar, and the attacks of the Company's troops on Bhurtpore were more than once repulsed. The Company, alarmed at the expenses of Wellesley's administration, recalled him in 1805, and afterwards erected a statue to his memory "as a mark of their admiration and gratitude," while Sindhia, Holkar, and the Bhonsla recovered power enough to renew the struggle thirteen years later.

Holkar.

CHAPTER V.

THE EXPANSION OF BRITISH DOMINION IN INDIA.

The Sikhs. South India had now virtually passed under British supremacy. In the north the Company's possessions no longer needed the protection of Oudh to ward off Maratha raids. The conquests of Lord Wellesley had advanced the dominions of the Company as far as the Jumna, beyond which the Panjab was held by Ranjit Singh and his Sikh battalions. The rumour of danger from Afghanistan loomed large on the political history of India, when in 1807 Napoleon, by the Treaty of Tilsit, secured close friendship with Russia, hoping thereby to extend his conquests to Asia. Afghanistan remained the only base for a possible invasion of India. The whole frontier from the Sutlej to Afghanistan was under the protection of Ranjit Singh. The English claimed the east bank of the Sutlej, but Ranjit Singh held that it belonged to the Sikh Confederacy. On this issue, Lord Minto, who was Governor-General from 1807-13, prepared for war. The prudence of the astute ruler of the Panjab prevailed over warlike counsels; he knew his battalions could not contend against the Company's troops, and in 1809 he agreed that the British dominions should reach from Calcutta to the Sutlej.

The Gurkhas. Lord Moira, afterwards Marquess of Hastings, succeeded to the Governor-Generalship in 1813, and the troops of the Company soon came in contact for the first time with the Gurkhas of Nepal, who afterwards became brave soldiers in the Indian Army, but whose love of raiding and fighting had then to be checked in many a stubborn fight. The Gurkhas, who had seized two districts in the province of Oudh, were at length overcome in 1816; the provinces of Garhwal and Kumaon were added to the British dominions on the west of Nepal, while on the east a treaty of alliance and protection was concluded with the Raja of Sikkim. Nepal itself remained an independent state.

The Pindaris.

Lord Hastings had next to turn his attention to the district known as Central India, seething in anarchy, as well as to Rajputana, which, under its various chiefs, still remained isolated from British interference and liable to the attacks of the Marathas. Central India had become the swarming ground for bands of discharged troops, and hordes of predatory soldiery wandered far and wide, plundering the people and inflicting tortures indescribable on those who resisted. The people as far away as the east coast still tell stories of how the villagers set fire to their homes and sacrificed therein themselves, their wives and children rather than submit to the refined cruelties meted out to them by the refuse of broken-up armies. These Pindaris —as they were called—grew strong enough to make it necessary for the Governor-General to call upon the Maratha princes and Rajput chieftains to join their forces with those of the Company in one determined effort to free the land from pillage. The Rajput chieftains loyally entered into subsidiary alliances. The Maratha Peshwa agreed to pay seven and a half lacs of rupees for subsidiary troops, and Sindhia promised to send five thousand cavalry.

Maratha wars.

The Peshwa, however, fretted under his treaty of alliance with the Company, and then suddenly rebelled in November, 1817. He was speedily defeated and deprived of his authority, which was restored to an infant descendant of Sivaji, the imprisoned Raja of Satara (February, 1818). The Bhonsla of Nagpur followed the example of the Peshwa, but was overthrown at the memorable defence of the hill at Sitabaldi (November, 1817). Holkar drew down upon himself a crushing defeat at Mehidpore (December, 1817), and by the treaty of Mandisaur in January, 1818, he resigned all the authority he once had gained over the Rajput chieftains, and ceded territory to the Company in exchange for the support of a subsidiary contingent of three thousand sepoys. The Pindaris, who had depended upon the support of the native states, were now gradually hemmed in on all sides by a force of one hundred and twenty thousand troops (January, 1818), and the last of their leaders, left deserted, was slain by a tiger in the jungle. The chief Maratha states thus fell from a position of isolation to one of subsidiary treaty. The Rajput chiefs, who had incurred the enmity of the Marathas by their loyalty to the British and had been saved by British victories, accepted the position of subordinate co-operation with the British Government.

The first Burmese War.

The next extension of the Empire took place in 1824. An arrogant demand by the King of Ava for the cession of Eastern Bengal and a threat to conquer the whole country forced Lord Amherst, the Governor-General (1823-1827) to declare the first Burmese war. It cost some twenty thousand lives and £14,000,000, but resulted in the annexation of Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim.

Lord William Bentinck.

Seven years, from 1828 to 1835, passed under the rule of Lord William Bentinck, during which no formal extension was made to the Empire, although Nagpur and Mysore were taken under British protection during the minorities of their rulers, and Coorg was annexed at the invitation of the people, who were disgusted with the intolerable misrule of their Raja. The practice of female infanticide, so common among the Rajput states, was abolished; suttee or widow burning was prohibited; and the roving bands of Thugs, or professional murderers by garotting with a noose, were brought to justice, although the exertions of Meadows Taylor and Sleeman in this direction were not completely successful until after Bentinck's time.

The fear of Russian invasion.

A new peril now began to threaten India. The apprehension of a Russian invasion, which began at the commencement of the nineteenth century, rose to its height in 1837, when Russian officers were reported to be marching with the army of the Shah of Persia to besiege Herat. Lord Auckland, then Governor-General, sought for an alliance with Afghanistan; but the price asked by the Amir as a reward for his guardianship of the gates to India was the delivery to him of Peshawur, then held by the Sikhs. This was refused, and the Amir determined to throw in his lot with Russia.

The first Afghan War.

Lord Auckland deemed it wise to place a more subservient Amir on the throne of Afghanistan. An English army marched through Sind to the Bolan Pass, expelled the unfriendly Amir, Dost Muhammad, and handed over his territories to Shah Shuja, the rival candidate (1839). Kandahar and Ghazni were captured, and the army remained at Kabul for two years to support the new made ruler. Then suddenly, in 1841—as suddenly as strife, death and pestilence come in the East—Kabul flamed out in revolt. The English agents, Sir William Hay Macnaghten and Sir Alexander Burnes were massacred, and in the depth of winter a British army of four thousand five

hundred troops and twelve thousand followers, deprived of its arms, passed out of Kabul. From the heights overhanging its route the armed tribesmen swooped down on the retreating force, and the army found its winding-sheet in the snows of the mountain passes. A few captives remained behind. Dr. Brydon, weary, wounded and alone, reached Jalalabad, to tell the news. In 1842 an army of retribution, under Sir George Pollock, entered Afghanistan to release the captives and wreak vengeance on Kabul. Shah Shuja had, however, been slain, so the army retired and left Dost Muhammad to return to his throne. Sind, for its refusal to assist the troops in their march to the Bolan, was annexed by Lord Ellenborough, after Sir Charles Napier had won the heroic battle of Miani (February, 1843). Lord Ellenborough also contemplated dealing with the Sikhs, who, like Sind, had become restive during the British troubles in Afghanistan; but this task was left for his successor, Lord Hardinge.

The annexation of Sind.

Ranjit Singh meanwhile had kept the Panjab quiet under his firm rule during the alarm of Russian invasion in 1837. His army of thirty thousand men, organised and officered by such leaders as the Italians Ventura and Avitabile, the Frenchman Allard and the Dutch Van Courtland, and fired with religious fanaticism, was eager to test its strength against the British troops; and when Ranjit Singh died in 1839 his soldiers neglected his warnings, and, clamouring for pay and enterprise, invaded the Company's dominions across the Sutlej. They met their first defeat at the battle of Mudki (December 18, 1845), but at Firozshah, three days later, the English lost one hundred and five officers and two thousand men. The Battles of Aliwal (January, 1846) and Sobraon (February, 1846), however, showed the Sikhs that they must bow before their fate, and Lahore surrendered. The Panjab was placed under the rule of the infant Dhulip Singh, with a British protectorate. The districts between the Sutlej and Beas were added to British dominions under the administration of Henry Lawrence, and Kashmir was detached from Sikh rule, to be governed under British suzerainty by Gholab Singh, the strongest of the highland chiefs.

The Sikh Wars.

The peace did not last long, for in 1848 two British officers—Anderson and Vans Agnew—were murdered at Multan. Lord Dalhousie, who had succeeded Hardinge as Governor-General in

Annexation of the Panjab.

January, 1848, and ranks with Hastings and with Wellesley among the greatest of the British rulers of India, at once declared war. Lord Gough lost heavily at Ramnagar and at Chilianwalla (January, 1849). His desperate attempts to capture the Sikh guns at the point of the bayonet cost him eighty-nine officers and over two thousand men. Next month he restored his reputation at Gujrat, where the Sikh army was virtually annihilated; the remnant surrendered at Rawal Pindi in March. The Panjab—a land one and a half times as large as England and Wales—was annexed, and Dhulip Singh received a pension on which he lived in England until his death in 1893.

Further extensions of British rule.

The next great addition made to the Company's dominions by Dalhousie was the annexation, in consequence of outrages committed by the King of Ava, of the lower valley of the Irawadi from Rangoon to Prome (1853). He also extended British rule over states where he found chronic misgovernment, and he treated as lapsed to the sovereign power states where there were only adopted sons and no lineal male descendants. Seven important titles and states were thus acquired, including the Nawabship of the Carnatic, the states of Tanjore, Satara, Nagpur and Jhansi. Berar was taken over from the Nizam of Haidarabad in 1852 to support a new Haidarabad contingent of two thousand cavalry, five thousand infantry and four batteries in place of the subsidiary forces; and the annexation of Oudh took place in 1856 on account of the oppression of the people by their Nawab and ensuing internal disorder.

Causes of the Mutiny.

When Dalhousie left India in 1856 there seemed to be "peace within and without." But there were only forty-five thousand European troops in India, with six thousand five hundred gunners, while the native army contained upwards of a quarter of a million sepoys and twelve hundred native gunners. Many of these sepoys were men of high caste, drawn from Oudh, where British annexation, followed by a new survey and settlement of the land, threatened the profits they exacted from the ryots. Their caste forbade them to cross the sea, yet in a General Order of 1856 Dalhousie's successor, Lord Canning, laid down that every soldier at the time of enlistment should undertake to serve across the seas if required. This and many other causes spread a feeling of unrest through India.

The annexations of Dalhousie, the advancing progress of a new civilisation, with its steam communication, railways, telegraphs, postage, roads, new systems of irrigation canals, all inaugurated by Lord Dalhousie, prophecies that the Company's raj would end a century from Plassey, and the news of war in the Crimea, produced a ferment of disquiet, no man knew exactly how or why. More obvious was the weakening effect of the drafting of British regiments off to wars in Persia and in China. In 1857 the old "Brown Bess" musket was replaced by the new Enfield rifle, requiring the use of greased cartridges. A thrill of horror went through the caste men of the native army when the rumour spread that the grease was the grease of animals, the mere touch of which would destroy the caste of a Hindu, his most sacred birthright, and be most offensive to Mohammedans. The sepoys had, moreover, acquired confidence and pride by twelve years of victory over Afghans, Sikhs and Burmese; and they under-estimated the extent to which their triumphs had been due to British aid and leadership. Sons of the last Moghul Emperor stirred up the Mohammedans, and Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last Peshwa, who had been deprived of his state and pension, appealed to memories of Maratha glory.

Lucknow, Delhi, and Cawnpore.

The Mutiny broke out prematurely at Meerut. Lucknow became the centre of the disaffection in Oudh, and the British cantonments stood a six months' siege. At Delhi, the old Mohammedan capital, the old Moghul emperor was dragged from his obscurity and once more proclaimed the lord of India. At Cawnpore Nana Sahib headed the Maratha mutineers, shot British troops who had surrendered on a promise of safe conduct, and subsequently massacred women and children at the well of Cawnpore. But it was not a national movement; Meerut, Lucknow, Delhi and Cawnpore are all in the Upper Ganges Valley, and the greater part of India remained unmoved, or sided with the British. The Nizam of Haidarabad showed his loyalty, whilst Sindhia, Holkar (though their troops mutinied) and the chieftains of Rajputana rendered aid to the supreme power. The Panjab, recently annexed, stood firm, while John Lawrence denuded it of troops and sent them down to Delhi, where eight thousand British were besieging thirty thousand of the mutineers. When Delhi, Cawnpore and Lucknow fell (September 1857—March 1858) there was only left the quieting of Oudh and the clearing by Sir Hugh Rose of the Central Provinces, where

the Maratha heroine, the Rani of Jhánsi, and Tantia Topi, the ablest of the native military leaders, gave much trouble.

The end of the East India Company.

India passed after the Mutiny from the keeping of the Company to be thereafter governed by, and in the name of, the Crown. The transition had been long foreseen. The Charter of 1793 had extended the rule of the Company "without prejudice to the claims of the public." The Act of 1813 had laid down the constitutional principle of "the undoubted Sovereignty of the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in and over the said territorial acquisitions"; and in 1833 an Act which deprived the Company of its trading character described its members as "Trustees for the Crown of the United Kingdom." Finally, in 1858, an Act was passed vesting the control of Indian affairs in a Secretary of State assisted by a council; and on Nov. 1st a Royal Proclamation was issued stating the principles upon which the government would be administered (*see* pp. 598, 603).

The policy of non-annexation.

One of the first changes was to repudiate the doctrine of "lapse." Lord Canning issued notices to the native states of India assuring each ruler that "on the failure of natural heirs, the adoption by yourself and future rulers of your state of a successor according to Hindu law and the customs of your race will be recognised and confirmed." The policy of the Empire since then has been to preserve existing native states, instead of annexing them, as in the case of Oudh, for misrule. The Gaekwar of Baroda, for instance, was tried in 1874 on a charge of attempting to poison the British resident at his capital. He was found guilty, and his act was held to be one of hostility against the British Government and a breach of the loyalty due from him to the Crown. He was thereupon deposed, but a young relative was allowed to succeed. So, too, upon the death in 1868 of the Raja of Mysore, whose territories had been administered by British officers since 1831 (*see* p. 589), the Government recognised the claims of an adopted son; and at his majority, in 1881, he was installed by Lord Ripon in the full government of his dominions. The last instance of the same policy of non-annexation occurred in 1891, when James Wallace Quinton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, was murdered at Manipur. Lord Lansdowne, then Governor-General, punished the ruling chief, but the state was left independent, though placed under the supervision of a Government agent.

Recent extensions of British dominion.

Nevertheless, the British frontier has been considerably extended since the Mutiny. Lord Lawrence himself, whose name is associated with the policy of non-intervention, freed the Duārs from tribute to Bhutan in 1864. By the exertions of Sir Robert Sandeman British control was extended over the whole of Baluchistan, right up to the Persian and Afghan frontiers. Only the north-eastern districts are included in British Baluchistan and directly administered by Great Britain, the remainder being under the Khan of Kalat, who is the head of a loose confederacy; he, however, is paid a subsidy and is amenable to the control of the Governor-General's agent. British troops occupy Quetta, which guards the Bolan Pass. A still greater extension was made in the East by the annexation of Upper Burma. King Theebaw had waded through bloodshed to his throne in 1878, and had treated the Indian Government with persistent insolence. At length, in 1885, Lord Dufferin demanded a settlement of accounts. Ten thousand troops were assembled under General Prendergast, Mandalay was occupied with little resistance, and Burma became a province of the Indian Empire. It was more difficult to suppress the guerilla bands of dacoits, but Lord Dufferin succeeded with the help of Sir Charles Crosthwaite.

Burma.

Russia and Afghanistan.

These annexations were provoked by fear of advancing rivals. In 1878 it was ascertained in England, notwithstanding Russian assurances to the contrary, that a Russian envoy had been received by the Amir in Afghanistan. The Amir was pressed to receive a British envoy, and as he refused war was declared. The British troops entered Kabul and a new Amir was placed on the throne. The troops then withdrew and Sir Louis Cavagnari was left behind as envoy, only to be treacherously slain. Kabul was again occupied, and a new claimant, Abdur Rahman, who remained Amir till his death in 1901, was installed as ruler of Afghanistan. A brigade under General Burrows suffered a disastrous defeat on 27 July, 1880, at Maiwand, near Kandahar, from Aiyub Khan, brother of the deposed Amir; but Sir F. (afterwards Earl) Roberts with ten thousand men covered the distance of over three hundred miles from Kabul to Kandahar in thirty days and defeated the Afghan troops. Afghanistan was then evacuated, but owing to further advances on the part of Russia, a Commission was appointed in 1885 to lay down the boundary line between the territories of Russia and Afghanistan.

Russian troops, however, attacked the frontier post at Penjdeh, and Mr. Gladstone at once demanded and received a unanimous war vote from the House of Commons. The native princes also rallied round the Empire with offers of assistance, but timely concessions by Russia happily averted war.

The Durand Agreement of 1893 fixed a line of demarcation between India and Afghanistan, by which the tribesmen on our frontier were brought under our exclusive influence. The unruliness of these wild Patans provoked the Chitral expedition in 1895, and the Tirah campaign against the Afridis in 1897; and Lord Curzon, in 1901, appointed a Chief Commissioner, with a staff of officers selected for their capacity to deal with frontier problems, to administer the frontier districts and control these tribes. The recent visit of the present Amir, Abdur Rahman's son, to India has assured him of the unassailable strength of British supremacy, and his word of advice to the Mohammedans of India was to remember that zeal for their faith should be tempered with loyalty to their rulers. He has every reason to remain a firm friend and ally of England, and so preserve his state from falling between the contending interests of two European powers in the East. Russia has advanced east through the natural course of expansion and necessity for defence against uncivilised foes. Her further advance is now stayed by the Oxus and frontier of Afghanistan; and by the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 she declared Afghanistan outside the Russian sphere of influence, and undertook to conduct all her political relations with it through the intermediation of Great Britain. The North-West frontier was further protected in the same Convention by Russia's recognition of the British sphere of influence in South-Eastern Persia.

The present state of affairs.

Similar agreements have secured the borders of the Indian Empire on the East and North. The annexation of Upper Burma in 1885 had really been precipitated by the news that France, which had established an Eastern Empire in Tonkin and Cochin China, was developing an interest in Siam and Burma. The Siamese question caused great friction in 1894-5, but eventually, in 1896, it was agreed that Central Siam—*i.e.*, the Valley of the Menam—should be neutralised, and that east of it should be a French and west a British sphere of influence. On the north the mission to Tibet in 1904 resulted in the guarantee by Tibet and China that no foreign power should interfere in Tibet, while Great Britain undertook then, as in Afghanistan, not to

The Eastern and Northern Frontiers.

meddle with domestic matters or to annex territory. Finally, in 1905, the Anglo-Japanese alliance provided an additional guarantee for the maintenance of general peace in Eastern Asia and in India.

The Empire of India.

The external position of India is thus stronger at the present moment than it has ever been before, and the limits of its expansion appear to have been reached. It is an Empire within an Empire, and this fact was recognised when in 1876 the title of Empress was conferred by Act of Parliament on Queen Victoria. The jurisdiction of the Viceroy extends beyond the boundaries of India itself, and it is necessary to say a few words about these outlying possessions, dependencies, and spheres of influence. The most westerly is Aden, the only fortified point between Egypt and Bombay;

Aden.

with Perim, a small island used as a coaling station at the entrance to the Red Sea, it is attached to the Presidency of Bombay. It was first occupied by the British in 1839, but its importance dates from the opening of the Suez Canal, and it is now a great coaling station and an invaluable link in the chain of communications, not only with India, but with Australia, New Zealand, the Far East and East Africa. The hinterland and the British sphere of influence along the southern coast of Arabia have been delimited by agreement with the native chiefs and their suzerain the Sultan of Turkey. Off this coast Great Britain has also possessed the Kuria Muria Islands

Socotra.

since 1854, and Socotra, over which a formal protectorate was proclaimed in 1886, since 1834. British interests in the Persian Gulf, which are also under the control of the Indian Government, have already been described (*see* p. 220). In the Arabian Sea the Laccadive islands, about two hundred miles from the Malabar coast, belong to

The Laccadive, Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

the Presidency of Madras, while the Maldives are tributary to Ceylon (*see* p. 642). In the Bay of Bengal are the Andaman and Nicobar islands; the former are used as a convict station, where Lord Mayo, Governor-General of India from 1869, was murdered on a visit of inspection in 1872. Ceylon is not a part of the Indian Empire (*see* pp. 636-42); nor are the two Himalayan States of Nepal and Bhutan, both of which, however, maintain friendly relations with it, while Bhutan co-operated in the recent mission to Tibet.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GOVERNANCE OF INDIA AND RELATIONS WITH NATIVE STATES.

(1) The Central Government.

The gradual supersession of the Company by the Crown.

The foundations of the present system of administration, which were laid by Warren Hastings, have already been described (*see* pp. 580-1). The Regulating Act of 1773 asserted the supreme control of Parliament and the Crown; and Pitt's Bill of 1784 finally placed the affairs of the East India Company under the direct supervision of the King's Government through a Board of Control (*see* p. 584). The trading privileges of the Company were at the same time waning to their fall. In 1813 the import and export trade, with the exception of tea, was freed from the monopoly of the Company. Twenty years later the remaining monopoly of the China trade was taken away. The inchoate condition of the law of India—consisting as it did of Hindu law, Mohammedan law, English statute law and regulations of the Governor-General's Council—was recognised by the appointment of a legal member to the Council, whose duties were confined solely to the subject of legislation; but it was not until 1853 that the Legislative Council became distinct from the Governor-General's Executive Council.

The Secretary of State and his Council.

The Secretary for State for India, created by the Act of 1858, is a Cabinet Minister directly responsible to Parliament for all his acts and for every order he may send to India. His Council, the composition of which has been modified by the Act of 1907, may now consist of fourteen members, nine of whom must have served or resided in India for ten years, terminating not more than five years before their appointment as members of the Council. The ordinary term of office is seven years, but may be extended. The relations of the Secretary of State

to his Council are "intricate, but in substance the Council are only a consultative body, while the power and responsibility rests with the Secretary of State." He decides by a vote of the majority of the Council all questions of expenditure, but in specified questions he can act on his own responsibility, and on a question of peace or war he can direct the Government in India without consulting his Council. A constitutional limit was placed to his powers by the Act of 1858, which provides that, "except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of His Majesty's Indian dominions or urgent necessity the revenues of India shall not, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applicable to defray the expenses of any military operation carried on beyond the external frontiers of such possessions by His Majesty's forces." As guardian of the revenues of India, he presents annually to Parliament a financial statement, as well as a report on the moral and material progress of India. He can raise no loan in England without the consent of Parliament. All laws and regulations passed in India have to be submitted to him, and the Crown may, through him and his Council, signify approval or disapproval thereof.

The Governor-General and his Council.

The term Viceroy, usually applied to the Governor-General, is not recognised by any Commission or Act. It was, however, the term used in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, and is the term most appropriate to the Governor-General as representative of the Sovereign. The Viceroy's Executive Council at present consists of six members, with the Commander-in-Chief in India as a seventh or extraordinary member. The business of the Council is distributed between nine departments—Finance, Foreign, Home, Legislative, Revenue and Agriculture, Public Works, Commerce and Industry, Army, and Military Supply. The Viceroy takes personal charge of the Foreign Department.

The Army Department was, prior to 1902, under the charge of a military member of the Viceroy's Council. The Commander-in-Chief had always been appointed an extraordinary member of Council. Lord Kitchener objected to the intervention between himself, as Commander-in-Chief, and the Viceroy of a military member, and to the criticism by such a member of his proposals. The control of the entire military administration of the Army was, therefore, in 1905 placed under the Commander-in-Chief, and the military member of Council became a member for Supply dealing with all subsidiary matters not of a purely military character.

The Legislative Council.

The Legislative Council consisted until 1909 of the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief and the six ordinary members of the Executive Council, with sixteen additional members nominated by the Viceroy under the India Councils Act of 1902. The work of the Legislative Council was till 1909 strictly limited to legislation. It is now intended to increase its numbers without destroying the official majority, to introduce an elective element, representing various classes, into the Council, and to empower it to discuss financial and other public affairs and make recommendations to the Government.

The Judicial System.

High Courts of Justice for India were established by an Act of 1861 at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Allahabad, all under charters from the Crown; the first three absorbed the old Supreme Courts created in 1773. From these Courts an appeal lies in certain cases to the King in Council, that is, to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (*see* pp. 779-80). The judges are appointed by the Home Government, and cannot exceed fifteen for each Court. One third of the High Court judges must be barristers or advocates of the United Kingdom of not less than five years' standing, and one-third Indian civil servants of not less than ten years' standing. In the Panjab and Burma there are chief Courts with three or more judges, and in the minor provinces there are Appeal Courts presided over by one or more Judicial Commissioners.

The Penal Code, Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure and other enactments have introduced a definite system of law for Europeans and natives alike, but the Succession Act of 1865 is almost exclusively restricted to Europeans; where Indians alone are concerned, questions of inheritance, succession, marriage, and in some cases contracts, are decided by Hindu or Mohammedan laws. Local or even personal customs are also applied.

(2) Provincial and Local Government.

The Provinces.

India, apart from the Native States, is divided into thirteen provincial Governments and administrations—(1) Madras, (2) Bombay, (3) Bengal, (4) Eastern Bengal and Assam, (5) the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, (6) the Panjab, (7) Burma, (8) the Central Provinces and Berar, (9) the North-West Frontier

Province, (10) Ajmir-Merwara, (11) Coorg, (12) British Baluchistan, and (13) the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The Province of Madras, larger than Prussia and Denmark together, and that of Bombay, larger than Sweden, have each a Governor with an Executive and a Legislative Council. Bengal, the Panjab, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and Burma, are administered by Lieutenant-Governors, each with a Legislative (and since 1909 an executive) Council. In 1905 fifteen districts of East Bengal were united with Assam, and formed into a new province under a Lieutenant-Governor with a Legislative Council. The Central Provinces are under the administration of a Chief Commissioner, who since 1903 also administers Berar; the Andamans are also under a Chief Commissioner, while Coorg is ruled by the Resident at Mysore. Ajmir-Merwara and Baluchistan are each under an agent to the Governor-General. The new North-West frontier Province formed by Lord Curzon is under a Chief Commissioner (*see* p. 595).

The Districts. The provinces of India are sub-divided into about two hundred and fifty-nine separate administrative charges called districts. Each of the large provinces has on an average about forty-eight districts; but in Madras the districts are larger and only number twenty-one. Each district is on an average about the size of an English county, and in the Provinces of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and Agra is under the control of a Collector-Magistrate. In the other provinces, which used to be known as non-regulation provinces, the District Officer is designated Deputy-Commissioner.

The District Officer. The District Officer is supported by Assistants, by a larger number of Deputy Collectors who are almost all natives of India, and by the chief executive officers, such as the District Superintendent of Police, the District Surgeon and the Engineer; there is also a Civil and Sessions Judge for each district. The District Officer is the direct centre through which the government of India is administered. He is responsible for the peace of his District, and can invoke military aid in case of disturbance. He is an executive officer responsible for the revenue collections as collector, and he controls the operations of the police as magistrate. This union of functions is considered by many to be inadvisable, but the people are accustomed to it, and the orthodox official view is that no change should be made.

His Assistants.

The Assistant Collectors are members of the Civil Service, who number for all India about one thousand. Only a sufficient number of junior Civilians are maintained as Assistants to provide training for the higher administrative posts (*see also* p. 608). These Assistants, after they have qualified by passing examinations in the languages of the District, and in civil, criminal and revenue law, are generally placed in executive charge of a division of a District. Each division is further divided into five or more sub-divisions, each in charge of a native officer or tahsildar. The detail work of the entire magisterial and revenue administration falls on this native tahsildar. He directly supervises the details of revenue collection, watches the condition of the crops, and estimates the ability of the cultivators to pay full revenue, or the necessities which demand its remission. He can check oppression and suppress peculation, and the welfare of the villagers rests largely in his keeping.

Collection of Taxes.

The primary work of collecting the revenue when not permanently settled, as it is in Bengal, in one-third of Madras, and in parts of the United Provinces, is done in each village by the village headman and the village accountant, the latter of whom usually holds his appointment hereditarily. The revenue accounts are of the most elaborate description. The holding of each tenant is surveyed and delineated on Government maps, and every detail connected with it is examined at a yearly settlement by the Collector. It is by the continual supervision of the Collector and his Assistants alone that fraud can be detected, and the great body of cultivators protected from unjust demands and extortion.

(3) Revenue and Taxation.

Revenue from the Land.

The great source of revenue is the land, from which more than £17,000,000 annually is collected, an amount almost equal to the expenditure on the Army. This land revenue is one-quarter of the entire revenue of India. The revenue, not permanently settled, is assessed at intervals of twenty or thirty years; it is fixed at from one-third to one-half of the actual or estimated rental. The Famine Commission of 1878 calculated that the portion taken as revenue all over India was from

three to eight per cent. of the gross outturn. A resolution of the Government in 1902 stated:—

(1) That in areas where the state receives its land revenue from landlords, progressive moderation is the keynote of the policy of the Government, and that the standard of fifty per cent. of the assets is one which is most uniformly observed in practice, and is more often departed from on the side of deficiency than of excess.

(2) That in areas where the state takes the land revenue from the cultivators the proposal to fix the assessments at one-fifth of the gross produce would result in the imposition of a greatly increased burden upon the people.

(3) That over-assessment is not, as alleged, a general or widespread source of poverty and indebtedness in India, and that it cannot fairly be regarded as a contributory cause of famine.

Taxation in India was stated by Sir Henry Fowler, during the debate in Parliament on the financial statement of the Secretary of State in 1906, to bear less upon the people than taxation in any other country which provides statistics.

Taxation.

In India only one-quarter of the revenue is derived from taxation, whereas in England five-sixths of the revenue comes from that source. This contribution to the Indian revenue is at the rate of 3s. 6d. per head of the population, but of this 1s. 10d. per head comes from the land revenue, which is considered to be rent and not of the nature of a tax. If the land revenue be deducted, the taxation comes to no more than 1s. 8d. per head of the population. The only tax which is said to press heavily upon the agriculturists is the salt tax. Salt is not only a necessity of life in the East, but a necessity of the great agricultural industry of the country, because cattle require it to keep them in health. Since 1903-4 this tax has been reduced by two million sterling. It now represents a taxation of only 4d. per head of the population, but officers who have had personal knowledge of the hardships it inflicts outside the mere payment of the tax will agree with the recent opinion of the Secretary of State for India, that if financial considerations permit, it should be further diminished; and in 1907-8 the salt tax was reduced from one and a half to one rupee per maund (a maund=82 lb.), at an annual sacrifice of £1,266,700 of revenue.

An income tax of two per cent., that is 5⅓d. in the pound, is levied on non-agricultural incomes of not less than a thousand

rupees (£66. 18s. 4d.), or more than two thousand rupees (£133. 6s. 8d.); this excludes the great bulk of the population.

Other sources of revenue.

On similar incomes of over two thousand rupees this rate is two and a half per cent., or 6d. in the pound. Revenue is also derived from opium, from customs, from sale of forest produce, from interest on loans, and income from irrigation works, railways and other departmental receipts.

(4) The Native States.

Over one-third of the area of India and over one-fourth of its inhabitants are included under what may be called foreign territory, consisting of more than six hundred separate states. Some of these states comprise only a few villages, some are as large as British provinces. Nine of them, including Haidarabad (which is as large as Great Britain), Mysore, Gwalior, Kashmir, Baroda, Travancore, Jaipur, Jodhpur (or Marwar) and Udaipur, occupy more than half the total area of all these states, while of the rest there are not fifty with a population exceeding a hundred thousand. Over these native states there is "a paramount power in the British Crown, of which the extent is wisely left undefined. There is a subordination in the native states which is understood but not explained." These states are under the rule of chiefs, sometimes called feudatory, sometimes called protected, princes in subordinate alliance with the supreme Government. They were in many cases formed out of the territories which successful soldiers of fortune secured for themselves on the break up of the Moghul Empire. In other cases, such as Udaipur, Marwar and Jaipur, these native states have been preserved to the descendants of ruling chiefs, who trace back their descent to the early Aryan conquerors.

Previous attitude towards them.

Lord Wellesley, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, sought to secure the peace of India by bringing the then independent states under treaties of subsidiary alliance, whereby troops were provided for their defence, and the pay of these troops was guaranteed by the states. During the period from 1814 to the Mutiny the policy of the Government was to isolate the states which had not been ceded or annexed, and thus make them subordinate to the supreme British power. When the Crown assumed the government of India there was established over these states, in the words of Lord Canning, "a reality in the suzerainty of

the Sovereign of England which has never before existed, and is not only felt but eagerly acknowledged by the chiefs." They have all gradually acquired their present position, not in consequence of any definite declaration, but in consequence of "a gradual change in the policy pursued towards them by Government." The treatics, grants and dealings of Government must, therefore, "be read as a whole, like the decisions of case-made law, in order to arrive at any definite idea of the position now held by the rulers of these states."

Their present position.

These chiefs of the native states are, in fact, allies under the suzerainty of the Emperor of India. The states possess no international existence, nor can they without permission employ in their services anyone but a native of India. Jurisdiction over British subjects is generally prohibited, and criminals punishable for offences committed in British India have to be surrendered to British officers. Although the King's writ does not run in these native states, the British Government exercises, through a Resident, jurisdiction over such British subjects as may reside or be employed there. Should the rule of a feudatory prince prove lawless he can be deposed, as was the Gaekwar of Baroda (p. 593). The supreme Government reserves to itself the right to settle any disputed succession; it can repress disorder and suppress misrule and interfere to secure religious toleration, and can check gross infringement of the laws of public morality. The rulers of these states cannot, without permission, raise internal defences. They retain a limited number of troops, and the duty of maintaining and paying for subsidiary forces was impressed on the large states, such as Haidarabad, Mysore, Travancore, Gwalior, Indore and Baroda. In 1903 the feudatory armies amounted to over one hundred and thirty-six thousand men, most of them merely armed retainers or military police. Gwalior has about ten thousand troops, of which about half are cavalry, all fairly well disciplined, and several batteries of artillery.

The Native States and the Empire.

Lord Dufferin accepted the offer of the feudatory states to aid in Imperial defence, and special contingents, known as Imperial Service troops, were selected from the more important states and placed under the supervision of British officers. These special contingents now number 19,000 men, under twenty-one British officers, and many of them have seen service in the frontier campaigns and in China. Lord Curzon recently formed a special corps of cadets from

a limited number of selected members of the aristocracy of India, so that they may receive an education fitting them for a place in the Imperial army as British officers. These cadets are chiefly recruited from colleges set apart for the education of heirs or relatives of the feudatory chiefs. One such college was founded by Lord Mayo at Ajmir for the education of cadets of the chief families of Rajputana, an example followed by the establishment of the Rajkumar College at Rajkot, and others at Lahore, Indore and Raipur in the Central Provinces.

Conservatism and loyalty.

Within the native states lives still much of mediæval India. There "the battle with cruelty, superstition, callous indifference to the security of the weaker and poorer classes, avarice, corruption, disorder in all public affairs and open brigandage is by no means over at the present day." Nevertheless the people of the East love the pomp and glamour of Oriental display that still surrounds their own rulers, and the more conservative of the chieftains look with dread to the approach of the levelling tendencies of a western material civilisation. Possibly their conservatism may also act as a check on revolutionary tendencies in other parts of India, just as the native states served, in the words of Lord Canning, as a breakwater at the time of the Mutiny against the surging storm around them. There are substantial as well as sentimental reasons for their loyalty. The Imperial army guarantees them absolute protection from invasion. They also gain the advantages arising from the commercial development of India, its sea-borne trade, and rapidly developing system of intercommunication by roads and railways. And, however much the ruling chiefs may cling to the traditions and customs of the past, they all feel pride in being sovereign allies of the Crown. This sentiment of loyalty, which infuses the East with a fervour almost religious in the intensity of its enthusiasm, has inspired the Gaekwar of Baroda, and more recently his Highness the Aga Khan, to express a hope that in the future a non-political regency may be established in India "with a descendant of the Sovereign as a permanent Prince Regent."

CHAPTER VII.

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE AND THE ARMY.

The servants of the Company.

In the early days of the Company its civil officers were divided into writers, factors and merchants. A writer after five years' service received £10 and a merchant who was a member of Council £80 yearly. If the Company's officers made fortunes they made them by engaging in private trade or by receiving presents and gifts from native powers, and not infrequently by more questionable means. Clive, during his second administration, strove to suppress these evils by prohibiting the receipt of presents and the pursuit of private trade, and at the same time fixing salaries at more reasonable figures. The Regulating Act of 1773 established a Supreme Court at Calcutta, under Sir Elijah Impey and three judges, with the avowed object of having jurisdiction over the Company's servants to prevent bribery and extortion. The superior officers of the Company were required to enter into covenants binding themselves not to trade, not to receive gifts or presents, and to subscribe for pensions. The service thus became known as the Covenanted Civil Service of India. To that service, by the Act of 1793, all the principal civil appointments in India were reserved and appointments were made by nomination of the Court of Directors in England.

The Civil Service thrown open to natives.

An Act was passed in 1833 that distinctions of race or religion should not disqualify any subject of the King from being appointed to the Covenanted or the uncovenanted services in India if he was eligible according to the rules; this the Directors, in a despatch to the Governor-General in India, explained as meaning "that there shall be no governing caste in India." The despatch further stated that under the earlier system certain offices were appropriated to the natives, while from certain others they were debarred; not because these latter belonged to the Covenanted Service, and the former did

not, but because the average amount of native qualifications could only be presumed to reach a certain limit. "It is this line of demarcation which the present enactment obliterates, or rather, for which it substitutes another, wholly irrespective of the distinction of races. Fitness is henceforth to be the criterion of eligibility."

Present method of selection.

The system of nomination was abolished by the Government of India Act of 1853, and appointments to the Covenanted Service were thrown open to competition among natural born subjects of the Sovereign, including natives of India. Regulations for admission to the service were made in 1854 by a committee presided over by Lord Macaulay, and since 1858 the examinations have been under the direction of the Civil Service Commission. At present candidates who are successful in the competitive examination in England remain there for one year to study the law of India and the chief language of the province to which they are appointed. In India their pay commences at four hundred rupees monthly, the rupee since 1899 being valued at 1s. 4d. (p. 617). They are entitled to an annual pension of £1,000 at the end of twenty-one years' active, and twenty-five years' total, service.

Provisions for appointing natives.

The Civil Service Act of 1861 specially reserved to members of the Covenanted Service all the more important civil posts in the "regulation" provinces, while a proportion of military officers are still appointed to civil posts in the frontier provinces. It was considered in 1870 that this Act did not provide sufficiently for the employment of natives in the higher branches of the service. An Act was therefore passed declaring that it was expedient that additional facilities should be given for the employment of natives of proved merit and ability, and that the Government of India should not be restrained by the Act of 1861, or by any previous law, from appointing any native of India to any post in the Civil Service although such native shall not have been admitted under the system of competition in England. It was, however, directed that natives of proved merit and ability could only be selected under rules prescribed by the Governor-General in Council and sanctioned by the Secretary of State. Rules were accordingly framed in 1879, during the Government of Lord Lytton; but they were found not to work satisfactorily, and failed to secure properly qualified men.

The Secretary of State thereupon appointed a commission "to devise a scheme which might reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality and to do full justice to the claims of natives of India to higher employment in the Civil Service." This commission, which contained six native gentlemen out of a total of fifteen members, reported unanimously that it was necessary to retain the examination in England for the selection of candidates for the "chief administrative appointments and such a number of the smaller appointments as will ensure a complete course of training for junior civilians." Officers thus selected by examination in England were then formed into the Indian Civil Service, and a second service was established for each province, called the Provincial Service, and recruited almost entirely from natives of the province, who were to hold the higher appointments of the uncovenanted service and a number—about one-sixth—of the appointments ordinarily reserved by law or practice to the Covenanted Service (pp. 600—1).

The Provincial Civil Service.

The entire position was again reviewed in 1893, when the House of Commons passed a resolution, somewhat hastily, "that all open competitive examinations heretofore held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Service of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously in India and England, such examination in both countries being identical in their nature." Lord Kimberley, in asking the advice of the Government of India on this resolution, stated that, in his opinion, "it is indispensable that an adequate number of the Civil Service shall always be Europeans and that no scheme would be admissible which did not fulfil that essential condition." The Government of India answered that for the last twenty years it had "assiduously endeavoured to promote the entrance into the higher offices of the Indian Public Service of duly qualified natives; the necessities of our position in the country continue to limit the possibilities of such admission." Finally the Government of the day decided not to take any steps to give effect to the resolution of the House of Commons.

The proposal for simultaneous examinations in England and India.

At present out of one thousand three hundred and seventy higher appointments with salaries over £800 a year, one thousand two hundred and sixty-three are held by Europeans, five by Eurasians and ninety-two by natives. Of posts bearing salaries of from £60 to £800 a year over

The racial distribution of appointments.

sixteen thousand are held by natives, over five thousand by Eurasians and five thousand by Europeans. The High Courts have each at least one Indian judge, most of the civil Courts are presided over by natives, and the municipal and local fund boards are largely native. The proportion of Englishmen employed is less than one to every thousand square miles of country, and about one thousand Englishmen represent in India the executive of the supreme Government.

The Mohammedans.

There is a strong feeling among the Mohammedans that they are not duly represented in the administration. The Hindus everywhere more readily assimilate Western education and easily win in the struggle for office. The Mohammedan is often poor and more often proud. He is compelled by Mohammedan sentiment to complete his study of the Koran in the original Arabic before he commences to study the secular subjects required in competition for Government office. The difficulty was seen in 1883, when Sir Syed Ahmad Khan founded a college for Mohammedans at Aligarh in the United Provinces, with English professors to teach the learning of the West and native professors to give religious instruction; and the Amir of Afghanistan during his recent visit to India inspected the college, and paid a glowing tribute to its value.

The growth of the Indian Army.

A few highly-trained English officers, scattered sparsely throughout the country, are responsible for the good government of the people, most of whom have never seen a soldier and care not who their rulers be so long as they themselves are allowed to gather their crops in peace. The mass of the people willingly leave to their rulers the task of defending the country from invasion and of preserving law and order. The nucleus from which the Company's army grew in Bengal was a guard of honour given to the Governor at Hughli of one ensign and twenty men. The first European regiment of the Company was formed out of a few surviving soldiers of the King handed over to it by Charles II. in 1668 along with Bombay. At Madras it was not until 1748, after the commencement of the war between France and England, that a body of Sepoys or *sipáhis* was raised and a European force formed from recruits taken or pressed from the ships on the coast. An Act of 1754 gave the Company power to try its officers by court martial. By 1756 the British troops in Bengal had risen to four companies of European infantry, one company of artillery, and

two companies of militia, officered by civil servants. Lord Cornwallis, in 1786, was empowered to grant commissions in the regular army to the Company's officers; and the Company three years later received authority by Act of Parliament to grant commissions and to raise troops, not exceeding two thousand men, who were to be recruited and trained by the Crown, the Company paying a fixed sum for each soldier.

The existing military establishment.

After the Mutiny the British troops in India were raised to sixty-three thousand, with the artillery almost entirely in their hands, while the native army was reduced to one hundred and thirty-five thousand. The advance of Russia on the frontier of Afghanistan in 1885 caused considerable additions to be made; and the British troops in India now number seventy-five thousand officers and men exclusive of the three thousand British officers in the Indian army. In the latter the native troops number one hundred and fifty-eight thousand; and there are in addition nineteen thousand Imperial Service troops (*see* p. 604), thirty-three thousand native reservists and a similar number of volunteer efficients. The total military expenditure in 1906-7 was just under twenty millions sterling. The full value of this can be best estimated by comparing it with the expenditure for Russia of thirty-nine millions, for Germany of thirty-two and a-half millions, for France of twenty-seven and three-quarter millions, for the United Kingdom of over thirty-one and a-half millions, and with that for Japan of less than five millions, exclusive of extraordinary war expenditure. The expense of recruiting and training European troops for service in India is met by a capitation charge of £7. 10s. on every soldier sent to serve in India.

The latest reorganization.

Comparatively reckoned, this army of India is the smallest in the world, consisting as it does of less than two hundred and fifty thousand troops with but five hundred guns and a reserve of only twenty-five thousand for a population of three hundred millions, or about one soldier for every twelve thousand of the population, while in France there is one soldier out of every six male adults. The Indian army is chiefly recruited from the hardier races of Pathans, Gurkhas, Sikhs, Dogras, Jats, Panjabis, Mohammedans, Marathas and Rajputs, as well as some of the castes of Madras, where the material is of very varied standards of excellence. In 1903 the infantry battalions and the cavalry were renumbered

so as to eliminate every territorial distinction, and the troops placed in divisions similar to those in which they would be drawn for war. Lord Kitchener has recently reorganised the army under two commands, the Northern and Southern, each controlled by a general officer and staff. The Northern command, with its headquarters at Rawal Pindi, comprises the Peshawur, Rawal Pindi, Lahore, Meerut and Lucknow Divisions and the Kohat, Bannu, and Derajat Brigades. The Southern command, with its headquarters at Poona, is composed of the Quetta, Mhow, Poona and Sikandarabad Divisions, and the Burma and Aden garrisons. "We are now attempting," said Lord Kitchener in March, 1907, "to form divisions, self-contained in all respects, which, when ready to take the field, would leave behind sufficient troops to provide for order and tranquillity in the areas from which they are drawn. The idea is to establish divisions *en échelon*, one behind the other, on the various railway lines, so as to provide for rapid concentration in time of war."

CHAPTER VIII.

INDUSTRIES, COMMERCE, AND COMMUNICATIONS.

Past and present.

India of the past was an India where the chief cities were often merely the fortified camping grounds of invading armies, many times changed for new sites at the whim of a ruling prince or emperor. The wealth of the country was lavished on the building and adorning of palaces, tombs or temples, many of which are still preserved as monuments of a mediæval past. The cultivators of the soil fortified their villages, and behind walls or thick hedges of impenetrable growth resisted the perennial roving bands of marauders or the tyrannic demands of the tax collector. Each village remained self-contained, shut off from its neighbour, supplying its wants by its own village artizans, who were often paid from the grain heap at harvest time. When we think of India of to-day, we think of Calcutta, the second city in the British Empire, with its crowded shipping and smoke-vomiting factories; we think of Bombay with its spinning and weaving mills, its dockyards and shipping, and its Parsi merchant princes; and not least we think of Madras, where the English have been at home for over two hundred and fifty years; we think of its sea-washed harbour, its growing trade and its teeming bazaars. Through the sea ports of India one-tenth of the whole trade of the British Empire now passes. This sea-borne trade is more than one-third of the trade of the Empire outside the United Kingdom; it is greater than that of Australia and Canada combined, and within the Empire India's sea-borne trade is second only to that of the United Kingdom. To build up this colossal trade everything, from roads to railways, from irrigation of the crops to canals for transport, as well as telegraphs and all the appliances of modern commerce, has been evolved under the security of British rule in little more than half a century.

Agriculture.

The great source of India's wealth is, and always has been, her soil, which supports a population increasing at the rate of two million souls a year. The value of the annual crop is estimated at two hundred and forty-five million pounds sterling (*see* p. 602). In its production are employed five times the population of Great Britain. The land itself is gradually improving in value, and as a consequence the indebtedness of the cultivators tends likewise to increase. It is a result common to both east and west. Mr. Theodore Morison has recently shown that, as far as figures can be trusted in comparing rural indebtedness in India with that in Europe, "the advantage is at present slightly on the side of the Indian agriculturist." He finds that, while in Europe eighty per cent., in India two-thirds of the cultivators are normally in debt.

Land-banks and State encouragement.

In Europe the demand, in order to raise the cultivators from this condition of indebtedness, has been for land banks and for State aid. In India also efforts have been made to prevent the land passing out of the hands of the cultivators on account of this indebtedness. The Deccan Relief Acts of 1879 and 1881 restore the land to the tenant after it has been cultivated for seven years for the benefit of the foreclosing moneylender. For the Panjab an Act has recently been passed making the maximum period of mortgage twenty years, and this Act has been extended to parts of the United Provinces at the request of the people. An Act of 1904 provided for agricultural banks in order, in the words of Lord Curzon, "to make the cultivating classes themselves the lenders, improving their credit, developing their thrift and training them to utilise for their own benefit the great advantages which the experience of other countries has shown to lie in the principle of mutual co-operation." Further to improve the condition of agriculture, a College Farm and Research Station has been established in 1904 at Pusa in Bengal to test crops and seeds, and to provide training in improved agricultural methods for approved native students; and the Government has recently set aside £133,333 a year to establish and maintain agricultural colleges in each province.

Village industries.

The mass of people, however, who are engaged in agriculture are settled in scattered and small villages where the old economic conditions are still in force, and there is little opportunity for any extended system of co-operation. Nine-tenths of the

people live in villages of less than five thousand inhabitants, among whom there is but little necessity for division of labour and but little need for exchange. India during the past two hundred years has been left hopelessly behind in a world contest where her handicrafts and want of co-operation for distribution have to contend against the machinery, combination and capital of the West. In many of the industries of India the same primitive tools and appliances are used as were in vogue thousands of years ago. The Indian weaver still employs his clumsy hand-loom, while by the use of an improved loom, such as is used in Japan and elsewhere, his efficiency "might be increased one hundred per cent., and with the increase he would be able to compete with the factories of Europe." The Principal of the Art School at Calcutta inspected thousands of native looms without discovering a fly shuttle, which in England one hundred years ago increased the efficiency of labour threefold (*see* p. 129).

Manufactures.

But in large towns, where division of labour and the utilisation of capital are possible, the industries of India are steadily advancing. There is no reason why capital should not develop the vast natural resources of the country and the industry of her teeming millions until with her cheap labour she could hold her own against all western or far eastern competition. The products of cheap labour will, however, always be liable to be met with protective duties in white countries, and as the standard of comfort rises in India the cheapness of her labour will tend to diminish; in October, 1908 a Commission reported in favour of limiting the hours of children under fourteen years of age to six a day, and of "young persons" over that age to twelve. There are now two hundred and ten cotton mills in the country—of which seventy per cent. are in Bombay—employing nearly two hundred thousand persons. There are thirty-nine jute mills in Calcutta employing nearly one hundred and fifty thousand people. The paid-up share capital and debentures of these cotton and jute mills, of which nearly all are owned by joint-stock companies, amounts to over twenty million pounds. India supplies nearly all the foreign demand for raw jute, and the value of the export rose between 1905 and 1907 from seven to seventeen million pounds; the export of raw cotton (nearly fifteen million pounds) is hardly less important. The paper mills of India furnish the Government offices with much of their stationery, and twenty-seven breweries provide half

the malt liquor used by European soldiers, while the tea industry, especially in Assam, maintains a vast army of coolies. The railway workshops employ sixty-seven thousand people; but the remaining industries, which may be said to be of any importance as supporting more than twenty thousand people, are merely concerned in the first stages of preparing raw material for export. Bengal produces about eighty-five per cent. of the present output of Indian coal; and this, with what comes from the Central Provinces, Haidarabad, Assam and the Rewah State, supplies almost all the coal for the railways. Iron is raised in Bengal and Orissa; and in the Raipur and Chanda districts of the Central Provinces an enormous body of hematite with sixty-eight per cent. of iron has recently been rendered workable by the accessibility of coal. At Sibi, on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, extensive iron and steel works are now being erected, where coal from the Jheria fields will be utilised. Gold to the value of over two and a half million pounds was extracted in 1904 in Mysore, and reef mining has been commenced in Haidarabad, but the total output has declined in recent years. Petroleum and rubies from Burma support increasing industries, as do also manganese and mica from Madras, the Central Provinces and elsewhere. The salt mined in the Salt Range, and also that evaporated round the coast, forms an important product.

Minerals.

Lord Rothschild stated before the Currency Commission in 1898 that the one great want of India was the development of her industries. He held that any amount of capital could be found in Europe—under generous treatment—for this purpose; and Prof. Marshall, in his evidence before the same Commission, emphasised the need of India for this capital. There would be no lack of interest in the affairs of India if foreign capital could be attracted for the exploitation of her resources. The day is passing, if not already past, when the influx of capital and the growth of private enterprise should be regarded with suspicion. The employment of foreign capital has been deplored, but, in the words of Lord Curzon, "Where without it would have been Calcutta? Where Bombay? Where would have been our railways, our shipping, our river navigation, our immense and prosperous trade? And why should a different argument be applied to India from any other country in the world? The whole industrial and mercantile world is one

Need of capital.

great field for the tiller to till." With its vast trade India has built for itself a financial position which Sir Robert Giffen, when considering a deficit of a few millions sterling in twenty years' administration, declared to be exceedingly prosperous. He pointed out a fact of primary importance in Indian finance when he said that "some of the mischief in dealing with Indian financial affairs seems to me to arise from the hurry to make good a deficit which in the circumstances of a country like India can only be attempted by slow degrees." This importation of capital is absolutely essential to India's progress, and it is futile to complain of the consequent payment of interest as a drain on the resources of the country.

Exports and imports.

The sea-borne trade of India has multiplied fourfold since the transfer in 1858 of its government to the Crown. The exports have advanced forty-four and a half per cent. and the imports forty-eight and a half per cent. during the last five years, while the gold and silver realised, outside currency, increased at the rate of £9,000,000 yearly. The chief exports are raw cotton, raw jute, raw hides and skins, tea, opium, tobacco, seeds and grain. The principal imports are manufactured goods, manufactured cotton, woven goods, mineral oils, metals, hardware and cutlery, imports which, with organisation and capital, could to a great extent be made the product of native industry The present exports exceed the imports by twenty millions. The home charges, which this excess of exports has to meet, amounted in 1905-6 to £17,666,000. The interest due on capital spent on State and guaranteed railways is nearly six and three-quarter millions, payments for interest on debt, pensions and other charges over five millions, and expenditure for military charges over six millions. Part of this excess of export over import takes the form of payment for the service of expert British administration; but Prof. Marshall, in his evidence before the Currency Commission in 1899, considered this advantage to be one vast unreckoned import which, "on the whole, I think very cheap." Interest on capital, moreover, has always to be paid *to* countries which abound in accumulated capital and *from* new countries whose development is immature; and, as pointed out by Sir Robert Giffen, "there is nothing in excess of exports over imports to indicate special circumstances of prosperity or adversity."

One of India's greatest financial difficulties in the past has been the currency. The principal coin in use is the silver rupee, which is now worth 1s. 4d.; salaries are fixed in rupees,

and the largest sums calculated by lacs and crores, a lac being one hundred thousand and a crore ten million rupees. The rupee, however, originally supposed to be worth 2s., was subject to continual fluctuations in value, thus disturbing the rate of exchange and embarrassing commercial relations. For a long time before 1893 its tendency was to fall. In that year the Indian mints, which had been open by law to the unrestricted coinage of silver into rupees, were closed, with a view to fixing the exchange. The rupee reached its lowest in 1894, when it was worth little more than a shilling. Since then it has risen, and by 1898 it became almost stable at 1s. 4d. An Act of 1899 made the British sovereign legal tender at the ratio of fifteen rupees to the sovereign, and the coinage of silver into rupees was resumed, but only to a limited amount. To guard, however, against a renewal of the former violent fluctuations, it was decided to treat the profits of this coinage as a special Gold Reserve Fund to be invested in England, and to be utilised only for the purpose of maintaining the rate of exchange. The total amount of this fund in England and in India at the end of March, 1907, was over sixteen millions; and these reforms have given a security to India's commercial transactions which they never enjoyed before, and helped to cure that fluctuation of exchange which troubled India's governors and critics a generation back.

The currency.

The railways, canals and forests of India are under the direct control of Government, and yield a net revenue of five millions sterling, an increase of one million and a quarter sterling in five years. There are now some thirty-two thousand miles of railway open; one thousand miles are being laid yearly, and the total expenditure is now represented by some two hundred and eighty millions sterling. They pay on the whole more than five per cent. on the capital outlay. This capital was raised on a guarantee from Government, or by loan, or by advances from revenue. The guaranteed railways worked at a loss to the Government until 1900; by 1905 they showed a profit of two millions sterling. Most of these railways have now been acquired by the Government. It was proposed to spend thirty millions sterling, at the rate of ten millions yearly, on increasing the present railway mileage. The sum for 1907-8 has been reduced to nine millions,

Railways.

but upon the recommendation of a recent committee it is likely to be largely increased in the next few years. Railways in India not only add to the military strength of the Empire, but they aid commerce by bringing surplus crops to the seaports and to the centres of distribution. In times of famine they are invaluable for the purpose of distributing food from places of plenty to tracts suffering from want of rain. They act further as a palliative of famine by stimulating the production of non-food crops, such as jute, which are exported and render the population less dependent on one form of agriculture.

Famines.

Canals act not only as a palliative, but as a preventative of famine in bringing water from a permanent source of supply to districts where the local rain is precarious. Districts in nearly every Province, which have a normal rainfall of from 15 to 30 inches, are liable to famine from its failure or uneven distribution. There have been no fewer than twenty severe famines in the one hundred and thirty years between 1770 and 1900. They began with the great famine which spread over the lower valley of the Ganges in 1770, when one-third of the teeming population of Bengal is believed to have perished without relief. In 1866, in Orissa, nearly a million sterling was spent on relief, and yet it was estimated that nearly one-third of the population died. Two years later the same calamity fell on Rajputana, Ajmir and parts of the North-West Provinces. In 1876-7 a terrible scarcity spread over the greater part of South India, extending later to parts of the Central and United Provinces. It was this famine that led the Government to declare "human life shall be saved at any cost and effort," and later on to the appointment from England of a Commission to report on the whole question of relief and protection. In 1896-7 the rainfall was deficient all over India, and famine afflicted the United Provinces, Bombay, Madras, the Deccan, the Central Provinces, the Panjab and part of Bengal; eight millions sterling were spent on relief, yet the death rate rose five millions above the average, while the birth rate fell by two millions. In the past fifteen years three terrible famines have followed in close succession, but in nearly all cases a wise and timely expenditure kept down the deaths. In Bombay, in 1900, full relief was withheld too long, and many fell a prey to cholera.

Four Commissions have inquired fully into the best means of dealing with famine; the first in 1868, a second in 1878,

another in 1898, and the last in 1900. A code laying down the principles on which relief should be given was prepared in 1883, and this has been amended from time to time under the teaching of experience. It now embodies an elaborate plan of campaign against famine which has worked with great efficiency. But one of the chief results of these commissions has been to establish works of irrigation as the primary preventative. The irrigation canals that have been made in India are almost wholly British work. The Upper Ganges Canal, which has been in use since 1854, has 459 miles of main canals and 4,467 miles of distributing channels; the Sirhind Canal, finished in 1887 at a cost of one and three-quarter millions sterling, has 319 miles of main channel; the Chenab Canal, completed in 1900 at a cost of two millions, 427 miles of main channel and 2,379 miles of secondary channels. In South India the Godavari supplies 503, the Kistna 309, and the Kaveri 544 miles of main canals. All these canals are perennial sources of irrigation, provided with weirs and headworks; but in the Panjab and Sind there are inundation canals which are only supplied during the annual rise of neighbouring rivers, such as the Sutlej and the Indus. The net profit on these irrigating canals was over half a million sterling in 1906-7; and their enormous civilising benefit, by turning millions of acres of arid land into rich arable fields, outweighs all objections raised on the ground that "irrigation does not pay its way."

The remedy of irrigation.

Canals projected.

The amount spent up to March, 1906, on canals has been thirty-two millions sterling, yielding a return of seven and three-quarters per cent. This capital has provided over 50,000 miles of canals and distributories, giving a perennial supply of water to twenty-one and a half million acres. The Irrigation Commission of 1901-3 recommended that an additional thirty millions sterling should be spent during the succeeding twenty years in canals and distributories to irrigate six and a half million acres more. It has been shown by Lord Curzon that during the next twenty years there will be an army of two hundred and eighty thousand workmen employed for two hundred and fifty days in each year in the construction of new works of water supply. Among the more important works of irrigation now under construction may be mentioned the Jehlam Canal and the Upper Swat Canal project, which is to

cost £1,186,666 and to irrigate three hundred and eighty-two thousand acres. At Chakdara the scene of fierce fighting a few years ago, there will soon arise great engineering undertakings for the headworks, and at Dargai there will be a new cataract formed of a 300 ft. fall. In South India a tunnel one and a quarter miles long was driven through the western Ghats to bring the waters of the Periyar river to the dried-up lands of Madura and Ramnad. In the Swat Valley project a tunnel five thousand feet long will have to be driven through the granite and hard quartz-mica schist of the Malakand range. The whole wild tract from Abazai to the Indus should then be covered with smiling crops, and the fierce fighting frontiersmen become peaceful peasants.

Forests.

The State forests of India cover now an area of 200,000 square miles. They yielded in 1905-6 a net revenue of £1,775,000, of which one-third came from Burma; and they produce sixty-six million cubic feet of timber. In the face of figures such as these it is sufficiently obvious that, under British rule, a fertile field has been secured for capital and industry, only requiring enterprise and co-operation to enable the wealth and resources of India to be utilised for the benefit of her ever increasing population.

CHAPTER IX.

THE NATIVE MOVEMENT.

Great Britain's task in India.

India, to those who know its history, is a land where oppression of the agricultural population, religious feuds, racial warfare, internecine strife and anarchy are only stayed by the strength of British supremacy. For the execution of the task she has assumed in India, England now stands trustee to civilisation. Should the British Empire ever willingly withdraw from the governing of India with a full knowledge of the fact that India would then sink back into the gloom of a mediæval barbarism, it would forfeit all claim to self-respect and to the regard of the civilised world. When and if India gathers herself into a nation and learns the difficult lessons of self-government and self-control, the terms upon which British rule is exercised may have to be reconsidered. In the meantime, we have to discuss the fact stated by Mr. Morley in 1906, "that everyone —soldiers, travellers and journalists—they all tell us there is a new spirit abroad in India."

This new spirit in India is what is called the National Movement. It is no mushroom growth; it is the result of British dominion in India, and its roots go back a century or more. When the English came to India they found it little more than a geographical expression. Horizontal as well as vertical lines of division prohibited any sort of unity; the vague Moghul suzerainty barely concealed the diversities of an infinite number of states, within each one of which religion, race and caste separated one section of the people from another. There were no common ideals or methods of thought, but only varieties of caste and religious prejudice. There was no possibility of common action, and therefore no such thing as public opinion. In circumstances like these all forms of popular self-government are out of the question, and despotism is inevitable. A

Past conditions.

somewhat similar alienation of class from class necessitated arbitrary rule in France before the Revolution, and the violence of that movement was due, not to political theories, but to the mutual suspicion existing between class and class and arising from the long absence of common action in local and national affairs.

Unifying effects of British rule.

The fault of the old régime in France was that it did nothing to mitigate this aloofness or to foster those habits of political communion which early produced a public opinion in England and made its constitutional development so comparatively peaceful and free from social hatreds. The same charge does not lie against British dominion in India. Taught by her own experience, or perhaps unconsciously applying her own ideas, Great Britain has in India eschewed the Machiavellian maxim *divide et impera*, and has encouraged unifying tendencies with results which are now becoming apparent. Englishmen are doing for India what the Normans did for England. By the steady pressure of one government actuated, roughly speaking, by one general set of principles and ideas, the manifold divergencies of the conquered people were gradually smoothed away. As the Norman did not look at England from the West Saxon, the East Anglian or the Northumbrian point of view, so the Englishman has not ruled India from the standpoint of the Brahman or the Mohammedan, the Bengali or the Maratha. To all alike he has applied the principles of English law and government, and to some extent the ideas of Western morality. The efforts of missionaries, even when they have not converted the natives to Christianity, have weakened the hold of the caste system, and undermined customs which separated one class from another. Material as well as moral civilisation has tended to break down this isolation; every railway built, every canal constructed has facilitated and compelled increased communication between caste and caste, creed and creed, one locality and another; and in the Indian army all territorial designations have been obliterated (*see* p. 611). With the removal of these barriers, the Indian's consciousness quickens and expands. He is educated into a realisation of things beyond his village or his caste, develops a dim conception of India, and begins to appreciate the difference between it and other countries. Public opinion becomes possible, interest in politics increases, and a desire for some share in the management of affairs is wakened.

Growth of political consciousness.

When this amalgamation of provincial diversities and expansion of local consciousness took place in England, the conquering Normans were absorbed and English nationality was formed. The racial, religious, moral and climatic gulf between England and India prohibits a similar solution of the problem, deprives the native movement of such leadership as aliens like Simon de Montfort gave to the English people, compels it to rely on Oriental statesmanship, and tends to promote the solidarity of the East. The recent Russo-Japanese war was watched in India with an intensity of interest due less to the Anglo-Japanese alliance than to the fact that the Japanese are Asiatics; and the result of that conflict gave added confidence to the growing political consciousness of the Indian people. Nor is it likely to be weakened by the general awakening of Islam and its apparently sudden bent towards parliamentary institutions, though as yet the Mohammedans in India have studiously held aloof from the more recent manifestations of the native movement.

Present limits of the movement.

Here we touch its weakest point. Caste has not yet expanded into nationality, and it may be doubted whether the ideal of some at any rate of the leaders of the native movement is not to substitute Bengali for British domination rather than to give a real self-government to all the races of India. Efforts to spread the agitation south and west have not met with much success. Burma, the Deccan, the Rajputs and the Sikhs are almost untouched, and the Native States seem as impervious to revolutionary ideas as they were in the days of the Mutiny. Until the movement has made some terms with the Mohammedans, and brought the Deccan, Sikhs, Rajputs, not to mention the hill tribes and Native States, into line, it is too early to describe it as national or India as a nation. So far there have been only tendencies in that direction, tendencies which have much to overcome before they reach their goal. In one respect they may ease the minds of those responsible for India's government; an India conscious of nationality would not tolerate foreign invasion with the passive indifference of old when conquest only meant a change of tyrant for the cultivators of the soil. India would have much to lose; and the more its people are educated up to a realisation of the difference between the British and other political systems, the less likely are they to desire the substitution of any other sove-

reignty for that of the Empire, within the bounds of which it has been found possible to establish so many forms of self-government and to gratify so many national aspirations.

Macaulay's forecast.

To the development of India's aspirations Great Britain has offered encouragement, tempered by a desire to keep them within practicable limits. Even so far back as 1833 Macaulay, then newly made member of the Supreme Council in India, looked forward to it when he said "it may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system until it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having been instructed by European knowledge they may in some future day demand European institutions. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a people sunk in the very lowest depths of slavery and superstition, and to have ruled them so as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would, indeed, be a title to glory all our own."

Education in India.

The Court of Directors in 1830 decided that the education of the people of India should follow on English lines, and that English should be introduced gradually as the language of public business. The Directors then expressed their desire that Indians should be educated so as to qualify them "by their intelligence and morality for high employments in the civil administration of India." It may be that they desired a cheap administration, but that has not influenced the result. The Act of 1833 declared that no native of India should on that account be disqualified from holding any office under the Government. Through Macaulay's influence it was decided that the education of Indians should be conducted solely through the medium of English, for it was his opinion that "the languages of Western Europe civilised Russia, and I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindu what they have done for the Tartar." Lord William Bentinck two years later ruled that all the funds at the disposal of the Government for instruction should be bestowed on English education alone. Lord Hardinge in 1844 gave a considerable impulse to the desire for English education by announcing that in nominating Indians to posts in the civil employment a preference would be given to those who had received an English education. A despatch of the Court of Directors in 1854 stated that every opportunity should be

given to the higher classes of Indians for the acquisition of a liberal European education, "the effects of which may be expected slowly to pervade the rest of their fellow countrymen."

Universities and Schools.

In the same year a Department of Public Instruction was formed, and universities after the model of the old examining University of London were founded at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay—afterwards at Lahore (the Panjab University) and Allahabad. These universities, like their model, long contented themselves with conducting examinations. But the example of London was again followed when in 1904 an Act of the Governor-General's Council made provision for university teaching. Other educational reforms were discussed at the Simla Educational Conference of 1901 and embodied in a resolution of the Government issued by Lord Curzon. As a result increased attention is being paid to primary, commercial, agricultural and technical education; and an Indian Institute of Science has been established at Bangalore. There are now over a hundred and fifty thousand institutions educating some five million students. Seventy per cent. of these are maintained or aided by the State; and improved methods are steadily being applied in teaching both in English and in the vernacular. There are at present, according to the last census returns, eighty-six males out of every ten thousand of the population literate in English, a number almost double what it was ten years ago. Of the Hindus there are sixty-four, of the Sikhs fifty-two, of the Mussulmans thirty-two literate per ten thousand. Two-fifths of the Parsis are literate in English, and out of every ten thousand there are one hundred and thirty-two Jains and twenty-four Buddhists likewise literate. The most educated of Indians to-day admit that the tendency of English education has been, in the words of Mr. Gokhale, an able exponent of their views, "towards the liberation of the Indian mind from the thraldom of old-world ideas and the assimilation of all that is highest and best in the life and thought and character of the West."

Nevertheless the mass of the people are still fettered by differences social, religious, and racial, which make the realisation of nationality a far-off dream. "Seven children out of eight," says Mr. Gokhale, "in India are growing up to-day in ignorance and darkness, and four villages out of five are as yet without a school-house." It was once hoped that education would somehow filter down to the mass of the people. The

last census returns show that ninety per cent. of the male population and ninety-nine per cent. of the female are still unable to read and write. Much remains yet to be done for primary education, and the native movement of to-day wisely presses this fact upon the attention of Government. But, although only a little more than one million of the populace can read and write English, fifteen millions can read and write the vernaculars, and they are gradually becoming instructed through their own literature, and through the Press. The educated class in India are the only class which can unitedly express any political opinion, but their opinion should not be too hastily accepted as that of the whole country.

The demand for National Self-Government.

A National Congress of delegates from various parts of India commenced in 1885 to meet annually. In 1907 the Congress claimed that the people of India should have self-government like the United Kingdom and the Colonies. Mr. Gokhale, in a recent lecture before the East India Association, held that the realisation of this ideal must necessarily be slow, but that the educated classes wanted India "to be a prosperous self-governing integral part of the Empire like the Colonies." Lord Reay replied: "The claim that India should be governed as a self-governing colony is a claim which seems to me unreasonable. . . . I ask any Indian whether he can possibly contemplate with the condition of the masses as they are that they should be entrusted with the exercise of the franchise. . . . I do not think that such change in the Constitution as would limit in any way the influence of Parliament over the Secretary of State and the responsibility of the Secretary of State to Parliament would be accepted by the people of this country, however ignorant they may be of the condition of the Indian people, and, in consequence, cautious in their judgment on Indian affairs." Mr. Morley, speaking in Parliament in 1906, said it was a fantastic and ludicrous dream to imagine that British institutions could be transplanted wholesale into India, and that hurry or precipitancy in forcing the legitimate claims of India could "only have the effect, the inevitable effect, of setting the clock back."

Mohammedans and Hindus.

Mr. Gokhale has also advocated a closer union between Hindu and Mohammedan, and a closer union between the subdivisions of Hindus, as preliminaries to any advance towards unity, and has drawn a picture of the chaos out of which nationality would in the future have to be evolved. On the one side was the prestige

of a mighty Empire, with its power of organisation, discipline and practical capacity, on the other side an educated class determined to rise to a position worthy of respect by civilised people, and in the middle "the great mass of the Indian people lying inert for centuries, deplorably divided and subdivided, with hardly any true sense of discipline, plunged in ignorance and poverty and wedded to usages and institutions not calculated to favour combined action."

The Mohammedans have recently placed before the Government their claims for consideration as being one-fifth of the entire population of India. They have formed associations with the avowed object of promoting loyalty to the British Government and of advancing their own right of proportionate representation in any scheme for the further employment of Indians in the service of Government. Lord Minto in 1906, in reply remarked that the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government were to be found in the municipal and district boards contemplated in 1870 by Lord Mayo, who hoped to awaken a political spirit among the people by giving them an interest in and supervision over the management of local funds devoted to education, sanitation, medical charity and local public works. Lord Ripon in 1882 desired to advance the political training and elevation of the people by associating them more fully in the work of municipal and local boards; and a fair amount of progress has been made in building up a civic conscience in India. There were in 1906 seven hundred and forty-nine municipalities, whose members are chiefly native and non-official, controlling a population of nearly seventeen millions, and an income of nearly three millions sterling. There are also in almost all districts of British India local district boards which are to a large extent representative.

Local Self-Government.

As stepping stones towards national self-government elected representatives have been admitted to the legislative councils, leaving the officials a bare majority; and it is urged by the native movement that elected members should also be admitted to the executive councils of the Viceroy and Governors of the provinces. This would not be in accordance with constitutional practice in the rest of the British Empire, but this objection would not lie against the contemplated nomination of native members by the Crown. The essential element in any scheme

Popular Native Representation.

of representation must be the adequate protection of the varied interests of the different sections of the people, which can only be done by some system of proportional representation. Sir Charles Crosthwaite has recently pointed out the fact, which overshadows this whole movement for elective representation, that "to every man of India of high birth and old-established rank, whatever may be his race or religion, the idea of canvassing inferiors for votes, or even of proposing himself as a candidate for their choice, is repugnant."

Native Civil Servants

There is, however, a strong distinction between the ideal of popular self-government and the view that educated men in India should be given a larger representation than they now possess in the higher executive posts under Government. The idea underlying this movement was well expressed by Lord Dalhousie when he said that "we cannot and we ought not to anticipate that India shall be in all times coming wholly incapable of being admitted to a share of the government of itself in unison with its British conquerors." On the other hand, the Duke of Argyll, when Secretary of State, reminded the Government of India that although the intention of the statute of 1870 was to give additional employment to natives of proved merit and ability, "it should never be forgotten, and there should never be any hesitation in laying down the principle that it is one of our first duties to the people of India to guard the safety of our dominion. In the full belief in the beneficial character of our administration and in the great probability that in its cessation anarchy and misrule would reappear, the maintenance and stability of our rule must ever be kept in view as the basis of our policy, and to this end large proportions of British functionaries in the more important posts seem essential."

Extension of Native Employment.

As the result of prolonged discussion and consideration one-sixth of the posts in the Indian Civil Service have been opened to native candidates who are recruited from the Provincial service (*see above*, p. 608). Further action in the matter has been taken by the Secretary of State for India, who proposed in Parliament, in December, 1908, to increase the numbers and enlarge the scope of the Viceroy's Legislative and the Provincial Councils, to facilitate the entrance of elected native representatives, and to nominate a native to the Viceroy's Executive Council. Lord Morley had previously appointed two natives to serve on the Secretary's Council in London. Nothing calculated to

increase the education of the people and fit them to combine under some system of unity will be left undone from fear of untoward results. British rule has already bestowed on India the best of its educational training, and it has not hesitated to grant free speech, a free Press and the right of public meeting, fully conscious that the result would be the frankest expression of popular aspirations.

Other fields for the Native Movement.

To those who view the present position of India from a purely academic standpoint, it may seem that the best service its educated people could render to their country would be to utilise their advantages more freely than they do for the furtherance of its material and intellectual advance. While much is being done by Indian scholars for the study of the religious thought, philosophy, and classical literature of their own country, much remains for them to do towards the advancement of historical research on modern lines and for the preservation and refinement of their vernacular languages. The future of India can best be served by warfare against the prevailing ignorance and superstitions of the mass of the people, by a crusade against debilitating and debased customs, by a development of India's latent capabilities for industry and commerce, and by fostering the principles of co-operation, moderation and compromise.

CHAPTER X.

INDIA'S PLACE IN THE EMPIRE.

The "Empire" of India.

India, as constituting an Empire in itself, holds, formally at any rate, a unique position among the dominions of the Crown. The sovereignty of the King-Emperor over the ceded and conquered territories in India flowed from the principle that no subject can acquire dominions except on behalf of the Crown. Every settlement made and every State conquered or ceded became, from the very fact that the Company owed allegiance to the Sovereign, part of the kingdom of that Sovereign; as for the protected States, they "appear to present a peculiar case of conquest operating by assumption and acquiescence." The Royal Titles Act of 1876 conferred no power upon the Empress of India beyond that which she had before enjoyed as Queen. The use of the words "empire" and "imperial" grew up in the reign of Henry VIII., who, by asserting that his was an imperial crown, meant that it was independent of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope; but his efforts to secure an authority transcending that of kings and resembling that of the old Roman Emperors were not permanently successful, and the powers of an Emperor are unknown in British law. Nevertheless, the use of the title with regard to India serves to mark a real distinction. The Sovereign's power in India, although exercised through Ministers responsible to the Imperial Parliament, is as despotic, so far as the people of India are concerned, as the powers of the Roman *imperator*, and his rule may properly be called *imperium*. In the rest of his dominions, with some numerous but small exceptions, that word is singularly inappropriate to the authority exerted. There is another more technical distinction between India and the other dominions of the Crown. Elsewhere, when the Crown acts in an executive and sometimes in a legislative capacity, it does

so nominally through the Privy Council; for India the medium is the Council of the Secretary of State, which is a much more active body than the Privy Council. It is really the Secretary's Cabinet, and the fact that he alone of ministers has such a cabinet emphasises India's importance; a similar body attached to the Secretary for the Colonies might perhaps be advisable (*see* pp. 769-777).

India's claim to consideration.

India has been claimed by Lord Curzon as "the political and imperial centre of the British Empire; there lies the true fulcrum of dominion, the real touchstone of our Imperial greatness or failure," and India once lost, "our sun would sink to its setting." At any rate, as Freeman once pointed out, it would be strange if, in any conception of Empire, India should be left out. The same point was made by Lord Salisbury in 1891, when he stated that any common principle of foreign policy throughout the British Empire would necessitate "a balance and approvement of the voting value of the various elements of which the Empire is composed, and when you come to tot up that calculation you cannot leave our Asiatic dependencies out of sight."

Restrictions on Indian immigration in the Colonies.

The inhabitant of India is in all respects a British subject. He can be, and has been, elected to the British House of Commons; the Universities and professional schools of England are freely open to him; yet, as Mr. Morley has expressed it, "a bar sinister is placed in some British Colonies upon many millions of the King's subjects." Not only in Africa, but in Australia and New Zealand—as well as in the United States and British Columbia—there is a fixed determination to preclude Asiatics from competing with white labour; and Mr. Chamberlain expressed in 1904 his sympathy with every effort to stay the overflowing immigration of India into South Africa, which might, if unchecked, drive the white inhabitants out of political existence. This exclusion of Asiatics from self-governing colonies is not due exclusively to colour or caste prejudice (*see* pp. 394-6). The colour prejudice exists at home merely as a modern growth arising from the facts of conquest. It does not exist to any great extent among the lower classes, nor among those who have never been brought into contact with the East. It becomes more pronounced as a factor in the struggle for existence where the white man is brought closest into con-

tact with the vast population of the East. It rises to its height in the United States and in the West Indies, where the race pressure is keenest.

The question in the Transvaal.

The question, so far as it relates to Asiatics, has taken its acutest form in the Transvaal, where a series of enactments under the old régime restricted and penalised the Indian population. This policy has been continued since the Boer War and the grant of responsible government. In 1906 it was enacted that Asiatics should be allowed to reside permanently in the Transvaal only on being registered, and on receiving a certificate, to be checked yearly. To obviate fraud and false personation, it was further provided that the certificate, as well as the register, should record not only the name but also the ten-digit finger print of the holder of the certificate. While the Transvaal is, perhaps, justified in exacting such finger prints as are really necessary for the identification of registered persons, this last requirement has given deep offence, because the ten-digit finger print is only taken elsewhere from criminals who have to be identified from all the world. Strong representations against it have been made in England as well as India, and there has been much friction in the Transvaal. That Government has, of course, no desire to brand the Indians as criminals, but the antipathy to an immigration which might add to the racial complexities of South Africa and undermine the white standard of comfort and wages, is too pronounced to admit of an issue from the present conflict which shall be entirely satisfactory to the natives of India. The question of registration is only one point; the Indians also complain of civil disabilities in respect of trade, education, the use of facilities of locomotion by road and railway, and exclusion from the municipal and political franchise, as well as social disabilities fatal to the maintenance of the social system to which they have been accustomed in India, and to the perpetuation of which in South Africa the South Africans have an insuperable objection.

India and Imperial Defence.

In all matters of Imperial Defence the Supreme Government must guide the course of India's policy. The British Empire has the huge land frontier of India to defend, where her navy is powerless. It is therefore necessary that the British Army in India should be maintained at a high standard of efficiency. And, besides the burden of defending a country

nineteen hundred miles from north to south and east to west, the army in India is often requisitioned for the general defence of Imperial interests. The despatch of over thirteen thousand British officers and men and nine thousand native followers, with vast quantities of arms and ammunition, from India during the Boer War enabled Ladysmith to hold out and saved Natal. To China thirteen hundred British troops and twenty thousand native troops went to save the Legations of Pekin in 1900, while the Maharaja Sindhia equipped and took there a hospital ship.

Native offers.

The resources of the Indian feudatories are, moreover, yearly being offered more liberally to the service of the Crown, both in India and abroad. The Nizam of Haidarabad volunteered the fullest aid in money and troops in 1885 at the time of the Russian outrage at Pendjeh. The chiefs of Gwalior, Bikanir, and Idar have fought side by side with British soldiers, while the Imperial Service troops, numbering nearly twenty thousand men, are capable of much expansion, and have already seen fighting in China, Chitral, Tirah and Somaliland. In all cases where Indian troops are used for service outside India the cost has to be borne by the Imperial Government.

In any Imperial union for defence it would have to be remembered that the whole of India's sea-going trade is insured from risks by British ships. The Indian Royal Marine consists of only ten sea-going vessels, six inland and harbour vessels, a submarine flotilla and some few steamers and launches.

The Indian Royal Marine.

India's fiscal policy.

India is at once the largest producer of food and raw material in the Empire, and one of the largest consumers of manufactured products. She is, therefore, an important factor in all questions of trade within the Empire. At present the only export duty is one on rice, mostly from Burma, which has been defended on the ground that it is paid by the British or foreign importer. With regard to imports, the Indian Tariff Act of 1894 re-imposed an old duty of five per cent. *ad valorem* on almost all articles; on most classes of iron and steel, however, the duty is only one per cent. Only a few of these imports, such as spirituous liquors, petroleum, sugar, metals and cotton piece goods yield any customs revenue of importance. The duty on imported cotton manufactures was fixed at three and a half per cent. *ad valorem* in 1896, and an excise duty was imposed on the higher

classes of cotton goods manufactured in India. The object of this combination of import and excise duties was to provide revenue without giving protection against Lancashire manufactures. Grains and pulse are admitted free, but the import is practically *nil*, even in times of famine. Half of the exports from India are practically raw materials which are admitted duty free into the consuming markets; the remainder pay only moderate duties or, as in England, have purely revenue duties imposed.

Exports.

India's total export of private merchandise (excluding re-exports, Government stores, and treasure) for 1906-7 was estimated at £115,388,000, or nearly eight shillings per head of the population. Nearly twenty-seven per cent. of these exports go to the United Kingdom, eleven to Germany, eleven to China (including Hong Kong), nine to the United States and six to France. Ceylon takes three per cent., and the Straits Settlements another three. India supplies raw jute for the world, and takes one-quarter of the export trade of Lancashire. While nearly three-quarters of the exports of India go to countries other than England, sixty-six per cent. of her imports come from England, so that any increase of her purchasing power enables her to take a larger amount of imports from England. Therefore the more India exports the more it is to the advantage of England.

Attitude of the Indian Government towards preferential trade.

If India, however, granted a preferential tariff to British imports it is contended that she would be gratifying a customer who only takes one-quarter of her produce at the expense of customers who buy three-quarters; and that this discrimination would provoke retaliation on the three-quarters of her produce (mostly raw material) now admitted duty free by other countries. The Government of India, therefore, after considering the resolution of the Colonial Prime Ministers in 1902 on the subject of Imperial tariffs, stated that they desired to avoid all tariff wars, and that in their opinion it would be a calamity if India were involved in such struggles with the important purchasers of her goods. The Secretary of State, in his speech on the Indian Financial Statement of 1906, also urged that India was a debtor country, and should by all means endeavour to increase her exports. Extremists among the educated classes in India advocate a boycott of British and foreign goods

and the imposition of protective or prohibitive duties in the interests of "Swadeshi" or "own country" industries.

The intellectual value of India.

Lord Curzon, throughout his term of office as Viceroy, pleaded incessantly for a fuller and wider recognition of the fact that "planted as we have been by Providence upon the throne of the Indies, we are trustees for the world of a literature and archæology, a history and an art that are among the priceless treasures of mankind." These words recall the long vista of the past civilisation of India; the wide range of Vedic literature; the burial mounds covering the relics of Buddha, where the origins of art and architecture in the East are to be traced on sculptured gateways, telling of Persian, Assyrian and Græco-Roman influences; Hindu temples and Mohammedan mosques; the monumental forts, palaces and tombs of the Moghul Emperors, the master builders of Indo-Saracenic architecture; the dream-like beauties of the Taj Mahal, a priceless treasure; and the tomb of Akbar now restored to the full dignity of its design. Not the least of the services rendered to the Empire by a long series of rulers of India, from Warren Hastings to Lord Curzon, have been their efforts to preserve and to restore the literary, archæological and artistic monuments of a civilisation more ancient and in many respects more interesting than that of any other dominion of the British Crown.

II.

THE EAST INDIES.

CHAPTER I.

CEYLON.

In spite of its proximity to India, Ceylon has had a distinct history of its own, and is separately administered under the Colonial and not the India Office. Geographically it is severed from India by the Palk Strait, but the chain of sandy shoals which crosses the strait and is known as Adam's Bridge, prohibits its navigation by any but the small steamers which pass through the Paumban channel. If the sea fell five fathoms, Adam's Bridge would be an isthmus ten miles wide; and ocean steamers running east and west have to pass south of Ceylon, and generally call at Colombo, which owes its greatness as a port to this fact. Ceylon lies between the latitudes of 5 deg. 54′N. and 9°51′N. and the longitude of 79°42′E. and 81°55′E.; its length is two hundred and seventy miles, its breadth one hundred and forty, and its area—about equal to that of Scotland or Holland and Belgium—is twenty-five thousand three hundred and sixty-five square miles. The south of the island is a mountain mass reaching a height of over 8,000 ft. and sloping steeply down to a coastal plain; the north is a low tableland rising at first gently from the sea and then more steeply to the southern highlands. The most interesting of these mountains is Adam's Peak (7,320 ft.), on the summit of which is a footprint supposed by Buddhists to be Buddha's, and by Mohammedans to be Adam's. Rain is precipitated by the contact of the north-east and south-west monsoons with

Physical Features.

these mountains, and the rainfall in some places in the mountains exceeds an average of 200 inches, while districts with less than 50 inches are reckoned arid. But the rivers which rise in these mountains do not, except the Mahaweli Ganga (200 miles), exceed eighty-five miles in length. The sea moderates the temperature which is less than that in many parts of India; at Colombo the mean monthly temperature in the shade never exceeds 80 deg.

Tamils and Sinhalese.

The earliest inhabitants of Ceylon belonged to a prehistoric race now represented by the fast dwindling Veddas or wild men of Ceylon. Its history begins with the arrival about 543 B.C. of a prince from North India who was the founder of the first known dynasty in the island. He and his successors, with the help of Tamil colonists from South India, overcame the aborigines and established settled government and civilisation. Mahinda, the son of the Indian Emperor, Asoka, introduced Buddhism in the year 246 B.C. A branch of the tree under which Buddha sat, while he thought out the

Buddhism.

doctrines he afterwards spread over North India, was planted in 245 B.C. at Anuradhapura, the old capital of Ceylon, and the tree which grew from it is still venerated by Buddhists throughout the East. The Sinhalese, who now number over two and a-half millions of the population, are supposed to be descendants of these settlers from North and South India, and their language belongs to the Aryan group. Of the Sinhalese ninety-one per cent. are Buddhists and the remainder Christians. The early history of Ceylon and of its one hundred and seventy-four native kings has been preserved in a long metrical chronicle called the Maha Vansa,

Early History.

which has been continued down to A.D. 1798. The Tamils from South India, who established dynasties in the island in the third century B.C., waged wars incessantly with the Sinhalese settlers. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Tamils had gained possession of the greater part of the island, while the Sinhalese kings reigned in the south and west. The sea ports of Ceylon remained in the possession of Arab traders who introduced into the island the Mohammedan religion, and their descendants are settled in all the chief trading centres, especially on the east and west coasts.

The rich trade of the island remained for centuries in the hands of the Arabs. It was to Ceylon that the wealth, the

silks and spices of the Far East were brought by Chinese mariners, there to be bartered for the goods of the West.

Arab traders and Marco Polo.

Marco Polo, towards the end of the thirteenth century, tells strange stories of the island having once been visited by Sinbad the Sailor. There in the mountains was to be seen "the sepulchre of our first father Adam, and some of his hair and of his teeth and the dish from which he used to eat." Marco Polo no doubt here described the relics of Buddha which he heard the island contained. For long years the sacred tooth of Buddha was preserved at Kandy, until it was carried away by the Portuguese. Ibn Batuta, a Moor from Tangiers, narrates how in 1374 the seashore was "covered with cinnamon wood, which the merchants of Malabar transport without any other price than a few articles of clothing." Colombo, the present capital, was even in his time "the finest and largest city in Serendib" (an old name for the island.

The Portuguese.

The Portuguese first landed in Ceylon in 1505, and the native Chroniele, Rájávaliya, says they were a race "of very white and beautiful people, who wore hats and boots of iron and never stop in one place . . . . and they had guns, with a noise louder than thunder, and a ball shot from one of them, after traversing a league, will break up a castle of marble." They formed a settlement at Colombo in 1517 for the purpose of trade. There they cruelly persecuted the natives who would not become Christians, plundered and destroyed the Buddhist shrines, and carried off to Goa the sacred relics. The Sinhalese kings and their subjects soon found it advisable to embrace Christianity and to take new Portuguese names, many of which still survive in Ceylon. They, however, never relaxed their struggle for independence, and often inflicted severe defeats upon their Portuguese persecutors.

The Dutch in Ceylon.

The Dutch appeared off the coast in 1602, and with them the Sinhalese gladly made alliance. In 1658 the Portuguese were driven out of the island and the Dutch monopolised the cinnamon trade. In 1742 they planted by forced labour the waste along the sea coast with cocoanuts, so that now along the south-west for a hundred miles there runs a stately and unbroken grove of palm trees. The British East India Company during the war with Holland captured in 1782 the Dutch settlement at Trincomalee, which was, however, recaptured by the French and restored to Holland. It was again captured by Col.

James Stuart, in 1795, on the renewal of the war between the British and the Dutch, and in 1796 Colombo surrendered. All the Dutch settlements were ceded to the English, and in 1802 by the Peace of Amiens, Ceylon was formally annexed to their British Crown. The native chiefs still maintained a sovereignty in their mountain fortresses until 1815, when the ruthless barbarisms and cruelties of their king made war inevitable. Kandy, the last stronghold of the last of the long dynasty of kings of Ceylon, was captured, the king deposed, and by treaty with the native chiefs the island became a Crown Colony.

The British Conquest.

Ceylon is the chief Crown Colony in the Empire. It is controlled by the Crown through the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and is administered by a Governor with an Executive Council consisting of the Governor, the Colonial Secretary, the Officer commanding the troops, the Attorney-General, the Controller of Revenue and the Treasurer. The Legislative Council consists of seventeen members; five of them are members of the Executive Council, four are official members and eight are unofficial, representing different interests, classes and races; all are nominated by the governor. The island is divided into nine provinces, each under a Government Agent and his assistants. Local affairs, such as sanitation, are controlled by three municipalities and eighteen local boards. The colony is garrisoned by a force of Indian troops (which have replaced the British troops) of two thousand five hundred men. Three-fourths of the cost of this defensive force is contributed by Ceylon, the contribution being fixed at nine and a-half per cent. of the general revenue. Colombo Harbour is strongly defended on the most modern scientific principles, the Colony furnishing the batteries and the Imperial Government the armaments.

Existing Organisation.

There is a Supreme Court of Justice with original criminal jurisdiction and power of hearing appeals from the subsidiary civil and criminal courts. There are also district courts with civil and criminal jurisdiction, courts of request and police courts for the trial of minor civil and criminal cases. Under an Ordinance of 1871 village councils were established for the local trial of petty offences and civil disputes, with power to make rules, with the approval of the Executive Council, for the carrying out of local improvements. The law administered is based on the Roman-Dutch law, introduced

The administration of Justice.

by the Dutch, but now greatly modified by English law and local ordinances. There is a criminal code based on the Indian penal code, and the law of criminal and civil procedure has been codified.

Religion and Education.

The Europeans number only six thousand five hundred out of an entire population of four millions. More than half the inhabitants profess the faith of Buddhism; about a million are Hindus, two hundred and seventy-five thousand Mohammedans and three hundred and ninety thousand are Christians. There are three hundred thousand pupils receiving instruction, or about 1 in 14 of the population. The Government restricts its expenditure chiefly to the support and extension of vernacular education, English-teaching schools being largely self-supported.

Coffee planting.

Although the coffee shrub was first introduced by Arab traders, very little trade was done in it by either Sinhalese, Portuguese or Dutch; and it was not until 1825 that the first coffee plantation was opened at Kandy. The cultivation increased rapidly, and by 1870 there was an export trade of four millions sterling. There were then 176,000 acres under cultivation, yielding on a full-bearing crop twenty-five per cent. on the outlay. Cheap Tamil labour flowed in from South India, a railway was opened from Colombo to Kandy in order to aid the growing industry, which was further fostered by a great rise in the price of coffee abroad. Within ten years from 1869 ten square miles of virgin forest in the district of the Wilderness of the Peak were opened up for the cultivation of coffee, and over 4,000,000 acres of land were sold by the Government to capitalists with an ample hope of profit on the investment.

Substitution of Tea for Coffee.

There was, however, all this time an insidious fungoid growth (Hemileia vastatrix) creeping over the coffee plant. It arose in one centre and then spread far and wide, attacking plants new and old, weak and vigorous, with equal impartiality. Estates were sold recklessly and fortunes were lost; even when cinchona was tried it was attacked and the industry failed. The old coffee shrubs were then grubbed out, tea was planted, new machinery introduced and the labourers taught a new industry. From an export of 23 lb. of tea in 1876 the industry has grown and thriven until the export has reached an estimated value of four millions sterling. Tea now represents sixty per cent. of the value of the exports from Ceylon and products of the cocoanut over twenty-two per

cents. Rubber has lately been planted, in conjunction with tea and cocoa, and its cultivation is likely to become a valuable industry. There are now almost four hundred thousand labourers from India employed on the tea and coffee plantations, serving under no system of indentures, and free to quit after a notice of one month. More than one-fourth of Ceylon is now under cultivation. There are over 700,000 acres under rice cultivation, 460,000 under tea, 880,000 under cocoanuts, 104,000 under rubber, while cinnamon, cocoa, tobacco and coffee are also important industries.

Other Products.

The gems of Ceylon have become proverbial, and although no diamonds have been found, the country near Ratnapura, the City of Gems, is rich in sapphires, rubies, catseyes and other precious stones. There are now about four hundred gem quarries in the island and one thousand seven hundred plumbago mines. The pearl fisheries of the Gulf of Manar on the west coast belong to Government, and were in 1905 leased at 310,000 rupees annually for a term of twenty years to an English company.

Precious Stones.

The revenue of Ceylon is mainly derived from customs duties and receipts from railways, which between them make up fifty-six per cent. of the entire income. Port and harbour dues, monopoly of the sale of salt, land sales, spirit licences and sales of stamps and Government timber are the other chief sources of revenue. On most articles imported there is a duty of 5½ per cent. *ad valorem* imposed, but on cotton the duty is four per cent., while on articles such as rice, provisions, tobacco, specific duties are levied, and machinery, unwrought iron and steel, and coal are admitted free. The public debt of the Colony, now over five millions sterling, has been incurred in the construction of public works of improvement, including five hundred and ninety-seven miles of railway, two thousand five hundred miles of telegraphs, waterworks, and the improvement of the Colombo Harbour. On the railways over five and a-half millions sterling have been expended, and on Colombo Harbour two and a-half millions sterling. There have been constructed at Colombo two breakwaters enclosing a harbour of one square mile, a graving dock, coaling depot and fishery harbour; the port is rapidly increasing and nearly three thousand steamers call there annually. The harbour at Trincomalee, which is probably the most perfect natural harbour in the East, is

Revenue and Expenditure.

accessible in every weather, being almost landlocked and measuring about two miles each way. Unfortunately it is out of the way for vessels trading between the West and Far East or Australia and remains unused; and its naval and military stations were removed in 1905.

The Maldives.

Some four hundred miles west and south-west of Ceylon lie the Maldive Islands, a group of atolls or rings of coral, which are tributaries of the Empire. The Sultan of the Maldives sends an annual embassy and present to the Governor of Ceylon as representing the King. The inhabitants are principally of Sinhalese descent with an admixture of Tamils; their language is a dialect of Sinhalese, though traders understand some Tamil, and Mohammedanism is their religion. The principal island is Malé, where produce consisting of dried fish, cocoanuts, cowrie shells, tortoiseshell, woven mats, yarn and cloth, is collected for export.

CHAPTER II.

THE MALAY STATES.

(1) The Straits Settlements.

Portuguese and Dutch.

The rise and growth of British power in Eastern Asia form one of the latest chapters in our Colonial history. The wealth of the "Spice Islands" had attracted the first Portuguese voyagers at the dawn of the sixteenth century to the great chain of islands that stretches from the Malay Peninsula towards New Guinea on the east and towards China on the north. In 1511 Albuquerque captured the old and famous port of Malacca, which some ranked with Ormuz and Aden as one of the "three keys of the East." Portuguese influence rapidly spread through the whole of Malaya to the Moluccas. It declined as rapidly a century later when the Dutch came to wrest the Eastern trade from Portugal, and from their first factory, set up at Bantam in Java in 1596, extended their power throughout the Archipelago, with outlying posts in Formosa and Japan.

The earliest English traders.

Rival English traders found their way to Malaya within a few years. James Lancaster, acting for the East India Company, established a factory at Bantam in 1602 and brought back next year a great cargo of pepper as an earnest of the rich trade that was to be developed. But the Dutch were better supported from home, and commanded more capital and more ships than the English. The keen competition between the two nations for trade and dominion, despite an abortive agreement of 1619 for sharing the profits and the perils of Far Eastern commerce, soon ended in the triumph of the Dutch. The

The massacre of Amboyna.

summary execution in 1623 of English traders for alleged conspiracy to seize a Dutch fort, which is remembered as the "massacre" of Amboyna, disheartened the English, who could get no redress. From this time the East India Company vir-

tually abandoned the struggle for the "Spice Islands" and concentrated its attention on India. The English factory at Bantam was maintained for a time and regarded as the centre of the Company's operations in the East. But the Dutch captured it in 1682, leaving to the English only the small factories at Fort Marlborough near Bencoolen, and at Indrapura, on the west coast of Sumatra. For a century these were the only English outposts beyond India.

Settlement on the Malay Peninsula.

The growth of the China trade enforced the need for a convenient station where English merchant vessels might call for wood and water on their way between Canton and Calcutta. The East India Company, made dominant in India by the genius of Clive and Hastings, at length determined to renew its efforts in Malaya on a modest scale. A settlement on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula was obviously required. This long narrow tongue of land, stretching 12 deg. south-eastward from Burma and Siam, forms, with Sumatra on its west, the Malacca Straits, the natural trade route between India and China. Sumatra was partly controlled by the Dutch; Malacca, long the chief port on the Malay coast, had been held by them since 1640. The East India Company fixed on the island of Penang, at the northern end of the Straits and some two hundred and fifty miles north-west of Malacca, as a desirable station. Francis Light, a merchant captain trading with the native state of Kedah, secured the cession of Penang from the Raja and hoisted the British flag there, August 11, 1786. He re-named it Prince of Wales's Island, on the eve of the Prince's birthday. The cession was confirmed by treaty in 1791 and extended in 1800 to cover a strip of the mainland coast, two miles away. This strip has since been known as Province Wellesley, after the Marquis Wellesley, then Governor-General of India. Kedah by treaty was to receive in return an annual subsidy of ten thousand dollars. Penang was intended from the first to be a free port; import duties were imposed only for a few years. It was used for a time as a penal settlement for Bengal, from 1796. The status of the Colony was raised in 1805, when it became a presidency under Philip Dundas as Governor, subject to the Governor-General in Bengal. Stamford Raffles was assistant secretary to Dundas.

Penang.

Malacca was the next Malay port to be acquired. In the war with Holland (*see* pp. 60-1, 486-7), an Indian expedition

under Captain Newcome and Major Brown attacked and captured Malacca in August, 1795. Restored to the Dutch at the peace of 1802, it was recaptured in 1807.

Malacca.

The old Portuguese walls were destroyed, and preparations were made to transfer the inhabitants to Penang, which was to secure the remains of Malacca's decaying trade. The project was not carried out, chiefly owing to Raffles' efforts. Malacca remained under a British resident until 1818, when, in accordance with the terms of peace, it was again handed back to the Dutch. It was finally acquired by treaty in 1825, the Dutch taking in exchange the old English factories in Western Sumatra, where Sir Stamford Raffles had rendered services second only to those he performed in Java and Singapore.

The loss of Java and the gain of Singapore.

The third and most important of the Straits Settlements, Singapore, was founded in 1819 by Sir Stamford Raffles, whose government of Java during the English occupation of 1811-16 forms one of the most instructive chapters in the history of native administration. The Malays were treated with sympathy; their institutions were utilised instead of being destroyed; their lands were granted them on leases which enabled them to benefit by their own improvements; and forced labour and feudal dues were abolished. The fruits of the extraordinary hold which Raffles secured over the natives of Java were sacrificed by its restoration to the Dutch, and next to the American colonies Java is the greatest of the "lost possessions" of the Empire. Raffles occupied Singapore on January, 30, 1819, by virtue of a treaty with the local chief, the Dato Temenggong—a treaty confirmed a week later by his over-lord, the Sultan of Johore, the State embracing the southern extremity of the peninsula, off which lies Singapore. Colonel Farquhar, Resident of Malacca until its second restoration to the Dutch, beame first administrator of the new Colony.

Development of Singapore.

It had been, according to Malay annals, the seat of a great power in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In 1819 it was inhabited only by a few pirates. But its fine harbour and its unique position at the narrow southern entrance of the Straits through which Indo-Chinese commerce must pass, added to the fact that it was always a free port, rapidly brought settlers and trade to Singapore. Penang and Malacca were administered at a loss, but Singapore soon became self-

supporting, as Raffles had predicted. It had by 1824, when it was formally ceded to Great Britain, a population of ten thousand, which was trebled in the next twelve years. Its shipping trade in 1835-6 was nearly twice as large as that of Penang and Malacca together. For four years Singapore was, for administrative purposes, controlled by its founder, Sir Stamford Raffles, the Resident at Bencoolen. It was placed in 1823 under the direct supervision of the Bengal Government.

The organisation of the Straits Settlements.

The three Colonies of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore, were in 1826 united as the Incorporated Settlements, with a Governor residing at Penang, and subject as before to the government of Bengal. The seat of government was transferred in 1836 to Singapore, now unquestionably the predominant partner. On April 1, 1867, the final step was taken in the recognition of the Straits Settlements as a separate Crown Colony, with Sir Harry Ord as its first governor. The Colony has since received several small additions. The most important of them is the district of the Dindings, a strip of land on the west coast of the peninsula, eighty miles south of Penang, with the Pangkor and Sembilan islands opposite. These islands had been ceded by Perak in 1826 but had not been occupied; they were ceded anew in 1874 with the strip of coast by the Sultan of Perak, in the treaty of Pangkor. The outlying island group, known as Cocos or Keeling (*see* p. 758), annexed in 1857 and governed from Ceylon after 1878, was placed under the control of the Straits Settlements in 1886; and Christmas Island (p. 758) was added to the Colony in 1889, the year after its occupation, and annexed to Singapore in 1900. Lastly, Labuan (*see* p. 656), the only British Crown Colony in Borneo, was transferred to the care of the Straits Settlements at New Year, 1907. The total area of the Colony is now about sixteen hundred square miles.

Physical features of Singapore.

The Straits Settlements lie entirely within the tropics. Singapore is but one degree north of the equator. It is a large island, with an extreme length of twenty-seven miles, and an extreme breadth of fourteen miles, and a total area, including minor islets, of two hundred and six square miles. It is mostly flat, with a few low hills. On the north it is separated by a channel, three-quarters of a mile wide, from the mainland of Johore. On the south lies the town of Singapore, on a broad crescent-shaped bay which forms a natural harbour and is protected by small islands

to the south. This harbour is always filled with the shipping of all nations. The southern horn of the bay is occupied by fortifications. A short railway traverses the island, from Singapore town to the point opposite Johore town. The climate is healthy for the tropics, as the great heat is tempered by the sea breezes. The mean rainfall is heavy, amounting to 118 inches in 1906, or more than thrice as much as that of the British Isles.

of Malacca; Malacca is one hundred and ten miles north-west of Singapore, on the east shore of, and almost half-way up, the Straits. The water shoals off the town, so that even small vessels have to anchor more than a mile away. The town lies at the mouth of a small river. Some of the houses are built out over the sea. At the south end is the Resident Councillor's house on a hill; below it is the old Dutch Stadt House, and above it are the ruins of the Portuguese cathedral, once the scene of the labours of the Jesuit missionary St. Francis Xavier. The town is the capital of a province, having a coast line of forty-two miles and varying in width from eight to twenty-five miles, with a total area of six hundred and fifty-nine square miles. It is densely wooded, but, where cleared, is extremely fertile. The mean rainfall in 1906 was a third less than that of Singapore.

of the Dindings, Penang and Province Wellesley. Next in order, one hundred and eighty miles further up the Straits, is the district of the Dindings. Including the scattered islands off its coast, it has an area of two hundred and sixty-five square miles. It is noted for its fine harbour at Lumut, the seat of administration. Eighty miles further north is Penang. Georgetown, the capital, is situated on the east side of the island, whose steep wooded hills rise to 2,750 feet at their highest point. Province Wellesley, on the mainland opposite, is, like the Dindings and Malacca, a densely wooded country, rising gradually from the sea towards the lofty hills which form the backbone of the peninsula. The shore is fringed with palms, beyond which are rice fields, with low hills and forest at the back. It is very fertile, and the cultivated area is proportionately larger than in the other mainland settlements. Penang has almost as moist a climate as Singapore.

The Straits Settlements are governed from Singapore by a Governor, with two Resident Councillors stationed at Malacca and Penang respectively. There is an Executive Council

of eight members and a Legislative Council of eight official and seven unofficial members, appointed by the Crown; the Singapore and Penang Chambers of Commerce have the right to nominate one unofficial member apiece. The population, mainly Chinese, Malays and Tamils, in 1901 was 572,249, of which Singapore had 228,555, Malacca 95,487, and Penang 248,207. The three chief towns have municipalities. The prosperity of the Settlements is mainly due to their ports, which act as distributing centres for the commerce of the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and the other Dutch possessions, Borneo, and the countries bordering the China Sea. Singapore has the largest docks in the Far East, to supplement its harbour; these docks, constructed by the Tanjong Pagar Company, were lately taken over by the Government, the price fixed by the arbitrators in 1906 being £3,318,837. The volume of trade carried on here and at Penang, the natural outlet for the tin mines in Perak, is very great. In 1906 the imports of merchandise from abroad into the Straits Settlements were valued at £37,082,597, and the exports abroad at £32,815,236, excluding specie and the coasting trade; 57·8 per cent. of the imports came from, and 48·5 per cent. of the exports went to, Great Britain and other parts of the Empire. The main article of export is tin; next in importance come tropical produce like pepper and spices, copra, sago, tapioca, coffee, preserved pine-apples, gambier, gum copal, rattans, and rubber, which is now receiving much attention. The Colony had in 1906 a revenue of £1,122,136 and an expenditure of £1,088,955. It was then, and had for years been, free from debt. The unit of currency is the silver dollar, the value of which was fixed at 2s. 4d. in January, 1906; the sovereign was made legal tender in the same year.

Government, population, and economic conditions.

(2) The Federated Malay States.

The Federated States have a coast line of one hundred and ninety miles on the west, and of one hundred and thirty miles on the east of the peninsula. Their total area is estimated at twenty-six thousand three hundred and eighty square miles; Pahang, by far the largest, contains fourteen thousand square miles, Perak six thousand five hundred and eighty, Selangor three thousand two hundred, and Negri Sembilan two thousand six hundred square miles. The climate has been described by a

Area.

friendly observer as that of "a perpetual Turkish bath"; the average shade temperature varies from 80 to 85°F., the mean rainfall in the hilly interior from 100 to 200 inches. It is not, however, an unhealthy climate for Europeans who observe the necessary precautions.

Physical conditions.

The southern Malay Peninsula is a country of hills and forests. Down the centre of it runs a lofty range, with peaks rising to an altitude of 7,000 feet. The hills are rich in tin, and the lowlands are extremely fertile, producing various kinds of tropical foodstuffs, dyes and spices. Many considerable rivers have their source in this range, and flow east and west through the dense tropical forests and jungles that cover most of the country; many of them are navigable fifty miles from the sea for steamers of light draught, and form natural highways of trade. The main work of British administrators has been, after restoring order, to supplement the rivers by roads and railways, so that the natural resources of the country might be cheaply and easily developed. The population is mixed, owing to constant immigration from Malaya, China and India. The aborigines have retreated to the central forests. The Malays, who probably came from Southern India through Sumatra in the early middle ages, form the largest section of the population; they have professed the Mohammedan faith since the thirteenth century. The Chinese, who opened the tin mines and have done much to promote agriculture and trade, are as numerous as the Malays. The third important element in the population is that of the Tamil coolies from Southern India, who come to the peninsula in large numbers to work on the plantations.

Race and religion.

British intervention.

British intervention in the affairs of the Malay States began in the early seventies of the nineteenth century. The old native rule had degenerated into anarchy, largely owing to the presence of large and powerful bodies of Chinese tin miners, who quarrelled among themselves or promoted factions among the Malays. The Government of the Straits Settlements ignored the troubles of its neighbours until they began to affect British interests. In 1871 some Selangor pirates attacked a British trading boat and fired on a British warship, which promptly demolished their forts. At the same time, a violent struggle between two Chinese factions was proceeding in Perak; the Chinese in

Penang took an active part in this civil war, and the beaten party sought refuge on British territory, or resorted to piracy and preyed on British commerce. Sir Andrew Clarke, who took up his post as Governor of the Straits Settlements in November, 1873, was instructed to employ British influence for the restoration of order in the native States. In 1874 he induced the native rulers to accept British Residents—in the case of Perak by the treaty of Pangkor, in the cases of Selangor and Sungei Ujong, in the country now called Negri Sembilan (or Nine States) by a display of force against pirates. In Perak there was much disaffection and the first Resident, Mr. Birch, was murdered, November 2, 1875, by a local chief. A military expedition had therefore to be sent to pacify the country. A smaller expedition was sent at the same time to Negri Sembilan, with such good effect that six of the nine little States in that country agreed to federate under one ruler by 1877; the union of the nine was not completed till 1895. Selangor enjoyed comparative peace from the first. The fourth of the States now federated, Pahang on the east coast, accepted British protection under a Resident in 1888; a rebellion which followed was easily suppressed.

The sphere of British influence.

The whole of the peninsula south of the basin of the Menam has been regarded as lying within the British sphere of influence since the Anglo-French agreement of May, 1896, as to Siam. By a later agreement, of April, 1904, Great Britain disclaimed any wish to annex the northern Malay States which, including the territories of Kedah and Patani, are subject to Siamese control. The southern states fall into three categories. Kelantan and Trengganu, forming the north-east section, were recognised as independent by the Anglo-Siamese treaty of Bangkok, 1826, confirmed in 1856. Johore, at the southern end of the peninsula, has self-government under a British protectorate. The four other States—Pahang on the east between Trengganu and Johore, and Negri Sembilan, Selangor and Perak, named in their order as one goes northwards along the west coast—are protected States administered for their native rulers by British Residents.

Organisation of the Federated States.

Under these Residents, the four States rapidly advanced in prosperity, while retaining their native institutions. Uniformity and economy of administration were secured by the federation of the States from July 1, 1896. At

the head of the federation is a Resident-General, stationed at Kuala Lumpur, the chief town of Selangor. He controls the four Residents and is himself subject to the Governor of the Straits Settlements, who is High Commissioner for the Federated Malay States. The native rulers and their officials have been encouraged to take an interest in the administration, and two inter-State conferences have been held for them, in 1897 and in 1903. For many years the States have been entirely free from debt, and have built up an elaborate system of roads and railways out of revenue, mainly owing to the high prosperity of the tin-mining industry.

Population, revenue and products.

The estimated population of the Federated States in 1903-5 was 860,000—Perak having 400,000, Selangor 240,546, Negri Sembilan 119,454 and Pahang 100,000. In Perak and Selangor, the Chinese outnumber the Malays, as the tin mines in those States have been worked for a long period by Chinese immigrants. For the same reason those two States are the most flourishing of the four. Out of their abundant surplus of revenue over expenditure, Selangor and Perak have been able to make up the deficit in the revenue of Pahang, the only State that does not yet pay its way. The total revenue in 1875 of Perak, Selangor and Sungei Ujong, the first of the Negri Sembilan States to receive a Resident, was only £81,000. In 1905 the revenue of the Federated States was £2,795,869, as against an expenditure of £2,402,879, leaving a handsome surplus. Perak contributed slightly over half the total revenue, Selangor rather more than a third, and Negri Sembilan a tenth; Pahang's revenue was £61,642, showing a deficit of £79,310. The main source of revenue is an export duty on tin, which was exported to the value of eight millions sterling in 1905. A little gold is mined in Negri Sembilan and Pahang. The rubber industry is being developed in all the States with great rapidity.

Material and moral progress.

The Federated States own and work a railway system connecting the three western States with Province Wellesley on the north —Kuala Prai, opposite Penang, being the terminus—and with Johore Bharu opposite Singapore island on the south. A branch line from Malacca connects with this main trunk line, which will have a total length of about five hundred miles. A network of roads, thirteen hundred and fifty miles in length, has

been constructed, with eleven hundred miles of bridle paths. The Federated States possess a regiment, the Malay State Guides, nine hundred strong, recruited from Indians, and a body of Indian and Malay native police numbering two thousand three hundred. These armed forces have fortunately proved sufficient to maintain order; indeed, no serious disturbances have been reported for many years. Since the abolition of debt-slavery by Sir Hugh Low in Perak in 1884, the condition of the native population has steadily improved, and the demand for labour generally exceeds the supply. Education is spreading rapidly. The three older States were educating fifteen thousand children in about two hundred and fifty schools in the year 1905.

Johore.

The dependent State of Johore, at the southern end of the Malay Peninsula, is administered by its own Sultan, with the help of a few English employees. Great Britain has a treaty right, which it has never exercised, to appoint a British Agent. Johore has a coast line of two hundred and fifty miles and an area of about nine thousand square miles. The population is estimated at two hundred thousand, of whom three-fourths are Chinese. Johore is less mountainous than the States to the north, but, like them, is covered with forest or jungle. In the river valleys and on the coast near the capital of Johore, which faces Singapore island, pepper and gambier are grown by Chinese settlers, and rubber plantations have been started. The revenue is said to be about £150,000 a year. The new railway just built by the Federated Malay States through Johore is expected to develop the resources of this little-known country. Johore's exports to Singapore in 1906 were valued at about a million sterling, and comprised gambier, black pepper, areca nuts, copra, tapioca, tin ore and rubber. Its trade seems capable of very considerable expansion. Johore town, reached by steam ferry from the island, is a favourite place of resort for holiday-makers from Singapore

CHAPTER III.

THE FAR EAST.

The Far East is not an exact expression, but it may conveniently be used to distinguish lands washed by the Eastern Pacific from those washed by the Indian Ocean, and British possessions east, from those west, of Singapore. These far eastern lands of the empire fall under two heads—British Borneo and British possessions in China.

(1) British Borneo.

Physical Features and Native Inhabitants.

The island of Borneo, the largest in the world except New Guinea, is a mountainous country, especially towards the north. There the mountains approach so near the sea that the rivers are unimportant. Down the west coast, and notably in Sarawak, where the central range is at a greater distance from the sea, there are several large rivers, of which the Rejang is navigable for one hundred and fifty miles. The shores are low and marshy, and there are few good natural harbours, owing to the presence of sandbanks. The lowlands are mostly covered with jungle and forest but, where cultivated, prove extremely fertile. The country is rich in minerals, especially coal, gold and manganese. It is inhabited by a variety of races; Malays and Kadayans, who are Mohammedans, predominate near the coast, while pagan tribes, the Bisayas, Dusuns and Muruts, inhabit the interior. There are many Chinese immigrants, especially in the towns and the mining camps. The climate is hot and very moist, but not unhealthy for Europeans.

Political Organisation.

Borneo attracted both Dutch and English traders early in the seventeenth century. Neither nation made good its footing, and renewed efforts in the eighteenth century proved vain. Only in the nineteenth century did both Great Britain and Holland succeed in establishing permanent colonies in Borneo,

which divide the island unequally between the two Powers. Great Britain controls the north and west of Borneo, forming rather more than a fourth of the whole area. This is divided into (*a*) the State of Sarawak, with (*b*) the island of Labuan lying off the Brunei coast, (*c*) the Sultanate of Brunei, and (*d*) the State of North Borneo, having in all an area of seventy-seven thousand square miles. The whole territory was formerly governed by the Sultans of Brunei, who by successive grants have ceded it into British hands. Labuan, a former Crown Colony, is now incorporated, for administrative purposes, with the Straits Settlements, from which it is distant seven hundred and twenty-five miles. Brunei is governed, like the Federated Malay States, with the advice of a British Resident, controlled from Singapore. North Borneo is governed by the British North Borneo Company and Sarawak by its Rajah, Sir Charles Brooke; both are under British protection.

(*a*) Sarawak.

The oldest of these British settlements is Sarawak founded in September, 1841, by James Brooke. After retiring from the Indian army, Brooke had gone on a yachting tour in Malaya, in search of adventure such as might serve the interests of his country. He visited Sarawak, then a province of Brunei, in 1839 and, on his return the following year, helped the Malay ruler Pangeran Muda Hassim, a nephew of the Sultan of Brunei, to suppress a revolt. For his services Brooke obtained the governorship of the district of Sarawak, and established himself at Kuching, on the Sarawak river. Supported by the Malays, land Dyaks and Chinese, and encouraged by the occasional visits of British warships in quest of pirates, Brooke held his own. In 1843 the Sultán granted him the Sarawak govenorship in perpetuity. An insurrection at Brunei was crushed in 1846 by a naval force under Sir Thomas Cochrane. As a result of this, the Sultan ceded the island of Labuan to Great Britain by treaty, and Sir James Brooke, or Rajah Brooke, as he was now called, was appointed Commissioner, and later Governor of the new Colony. In 1851-3 the rajah's methods of rule were so sharply criticised by a section at home that Lord Aberdeen appointed a commission to inquire into the subject. Its report, presented in 1855, was on the whole favourable.

Rajah Brooke.

Extension of Sarawak.

Meanwhile the Sultan granted the Rajah another slice of territory, bringing Sarawak rule northward to the Rejang river, for

a subsidy of £1,000 a year. A Sarawak Council, of two English officials and four native chiefs, was nominated in 1856 to assist the Rajah, and a company was formed in London to exploit the abundant resources of the State. All the Rajah's work was almost undone in February, 1857, when the Chinese gold miners, excited by the intrigues of a secret society at Canton, rose in revolt, sacked and burnt Kuching and killed some Englishmen. The Rajah fortunately escaped and, on the arrival of a ship with supplies, was able to take the offensive and drive the rebels across the border. Since that time there has been no serious disturbance in Sarawak. Its bounds were further enlarged in 1861 by the acquisition of the Sago districts. In 1862 Great Britain formally acknowledged the independence of Sarawak. Rajah Brooke retired to Devonshire and died in 1868, bequeathing Sarawak to his nephew, the present Rajah, Sir Charles Johnson Brooke. Under his rule the State has grown considerably. A hundred miles of coast line northward up to the Baram river were acquired in 1882, and further annexations in 1885, 1890 and 1905 absorbed most of what remained of the Sultanate of Brunei. The area of the State is now estimated to be forty-two thousand square miles, and its coast line is three hundred and eighty miles in length. In 1888 all doubt as to the status of Sarawak was removed by its being placed under British protection.

Present Conditions. Sarawak is still, as it has always been, an absolute monarchy, with an administrative council. The Rajah Muda, Charles Vyner Brooke, administers the government for his father, the Rajah. The population, roughly estimated at half a million, is mixed. The capital, Kuching, has twenty-five thousand inhabitants; Sibu, a large Chinese settlement on the Rejang river, and Muka, on the river of that name, are also important places. The principal industry is gold mining, carried on by Chinese labour under European supervision at Bau and Bidi in Upper Sarawak. The rubber trade is being developed. The other chief products exported in 1907 were sago, white pepper, gutta and gambier. Antimony ore is also exported from time to time in large quantities, but is no longer smelted in the country. The foreign export trade for 1907 was valued at £751,280, the import trade at £573,019. The State has a revenue of about £150,000; the taxes on opium and arrack sellers, gambling houses, and pawnshops are farmed, as in the Malay States. There are no railways and few roads. The many rivers, large

and small, give easy communication by boat with almost every part of the territory.

(*b*) Labuan.

The Crown Colony of Labuan island lies six miles away from the Brunei coast, off the mouth of Brunei Bay. It has an area of about thirty square miles, and its population in 1901 was 8,411, of whom a fifth were Chinese. Labuan is noted for its excellent port, Victoria Harbour, and for its coal mines, which are now supplemented by the coal from a mine at Brooketon, on the opposite coast. There is a railway, ten miles along, between the coal mines and the harbour, which serves as a collecting station for Borneo produce destined for the Singapore market and as a port of call. Since 1869 Labuan has been self-supporting. From 1889 to 1905 it was administered by the Governor of North Borneo. In 1906 it was placed under the Governor of the Straits Settlements, and at New Year, 1907, was definitely incorporated with that Colony. Labuan had in 1905 a revenue of £5,489, against an expenditure of £7,216. Its export trade was valued at £150,000, and ships of a total tonnage of 320,404 were entered and cleared. It is a small but useful outpost of the Empire.

(*c*) Brunei.

Next to Sarawak, as one goes north-eastwards along the coast, comes the protected State of Brunei. Repeated annexations by Sarawak in the south and North Borneo on the north have left to this Sultanate only about three thousand square miles of territory, and a population estimated at twenty-five thousand, mostly Malays and Kadayans. It has a coast line of about fifty miles round Brunei Bay. In 1888 the Sultan placed himself under British protection, and on January 2, 1906, he signed a treaty, similar to those concluded with the Malay States, agreeing to govern with the advice of a British Resident. The first work of the Resident has been to remove the monopolies that fettered all trade, except in rice. A loan of 200,000 dollars from the Federated Malay States formed the basis of the new system. The soil is fertile, but little cultivated. The Brooketon coal mine, already mentioned under Labuan, is in Brunei, but has been worked by the Rajah of Sarawak for twenty years past. The capital, Brunei, has ten thousand inhabitants.

(*d*) North Borneo.

The northern end of Borneo, from Brunei on the west to St. Lucia Bay on the east, is governed by the British North Borneo

Company, under a Royal Charter of November 1st, 1881. This company was formed, with a capital of two millions sterling, to acquire the territorial rights which the Sultans of Brunei and Sulu had ceded to a syndicate in 1877-8. It has since extended its sphere, and now controls an area of thirty-one thousand square miles, with a coast line of nine hundred miles. The southern boundary was fixed by agreement with Holland in 1891. Like Sarawak, North Borneo was placed under British protection in 1888. It is administered for the London Court of Directors by a Governor, who must be approved by the Colonial Secretary. The Company does not engage in trade.

Economic conditions.

North Borneo is very mountainous; there is one peak, Kinabalu, thirteen thousand seven hundred feet high. The interior is mostly forest and jungle. There are several good harbours on the coast, especially Sandakan on the east and Jesselton on the west. Sandakan harbour runs inland for seventeen miles, and has a comparatively narrow entrance. On its shore stands the capital, Sandakan, which is almost midway between Hong Kong and Singapore, each about one thousand miles away. North Borneo is estimated to have a population of only one hundred and eighty thousand, including eighteen thousand Chinese. Consequently its resources are not yet fully developed. Gold has been found, and coal and manganese are being worked in considerable quantities. Tobacco, rubber and cocoanut plantations have been developed with success, and a trade in timber, salt fish and birds' nests has sprung up with Hong Kong and Singapore. A railway has been built on the west coast from Brunei Bay through Beaufort to Jesselton, and an inland line from Beaufort to Tenom is to be extended across the island to the east coast. The annual revenue is about £120,000, apart from the proceeds of land sales. The exports were valued at £505,400 in 1907. They have grown steadily for many years, and point to the increasing prosperity of the State.

(2) The British in China.

Though constantly visited by European traders since the early sixteenth century, China proved impregnable to would-be settlers. The little island of Macao, near Canton, was held by the Portuguese on sufferance, and the Dutch settlement in Formosa was a failure.

Hong Kong.

The first real European colony in China was Hong Kong. This desert island, off the mouth of the Canton river, was ceded to Great Britain in January, 1841, as part of the spoils of victory in the war that broke out in 1840. A piece of the mainland, half a mile away, the peninsula of Kowloon, was acquired in 1860 by the treaty that closed the war of 1857-60. This mainland territory, then less than three square miles in area, was greatly extended in 1898. The whole district facing Hong Kong, from Mirs Bay on the east to Deep Bay on the west, with all the islands round, was then leased to Great Britain for ninety-nine years. Within this area of three hundred and seventy square miles lay the Chinese city of Kowloon; it was stipulated that this should continue to be governed by Chinese officials, but the stipulation soon ceased to be operative.

The Port.

Hong Kong is a hilly island, stretching eleven miles east and west, and having a width that varies from two to five miles. Its area is about twenty-nine square miles. Its granite hills rise to a height of 2,000 feet, sheltering the harbour that is formed by the island on the south and Kowloon peninsula on the north. At the foot of the hills, along the harbour, is the city of Victoria, one of the greatest ports in the world. Hong Kong has no history, apart from its trade. As a free port it has progressed with the gradual development of Chinese commerce, and Chinese merchants have settled there in large numbers to enjoy the security of British rule. It has long been a centre for the vast emigration traffic from China to all the Malay ports and further afield. Its shipping trade has developed rapidly in the last ten years. The total tonnage of ships entered and cleared was given as 32,747,268 in 1906, or almost twice as much as the tonnage for 1897. Hong Kong, according to the latest official figures, is ranked as one of the six greatest ports of the world.

Its Political Situation.

Hong Kong is administered by a Governor, with an Executive Council of six official and two unofficial members, and a Legislative Council of seven official and six unofficial members—three of whom are Crown nominees. The population in November, 1906, numbered 319,803—all Chinese, except 12,415, of whom a third were British, and another third European or American subjects; in addition there were 8,835 soldiers and sailors.

The population of the leased territory, New Kowloon, was estimated at 89,000 additional to the figures just given. The revenue in the same year was slightly over 7,000,000 dollars (or £700,000) and the expenditure was a little less. The Colony had a debt equal to two years' revenue. Its political and military importance is obvious. It is the headquarters of British power in the East, being the chief British naval station in those waters and having a garrison of four thousand men.

Weihaiwei.

China also leased to Great Britain the territory of Weihaiwei on the coast of the province of Shantung, on July 1, 1898, for so long a period as Russia should hold Port Arthur on the opposite northern side of the Gulf of Pechili; but the substitution of Japan for Russia as tenant of Port Arthur has apparently not affected the British title to Weihaiwei. The leased territory lies in latitude 37°30′ N., longitude 122°10′ E., and comprises the Island of Liu-Kung and a belt of land ten English miles wide along the entire coast line. The total area is about two hundred and eighty-five square miles, and the estimated population is one hundred and fifty thousand. In addition to the leased territory there is a zone of influence lying east of the meridian 121°40, extending over an area of fifteen hundred square miles, which has been reserved for defensive purposes, but which is administered by China..

Weihaiwei is very picturesque, and has proved to be an admirable sanatorium both for naval men and for Europeans resident in North China. At first under the Admiralty, and then under the War Office, it was transferred to the Colonial Office in 1901, and has since been ruled by a civil Commissioner. A deficiency of revenue has been made up by Imperial grants. The chief port in the territory has been named Port Edward, and there is regular steam communication with Shanghai.

Shanghai.

It would seem natural to include Shanghai, for to the prosperity of its foreign settlement Englishmen have contributed very largely indeed. But the settlement is an international institution, under the protection of the Consuls, and does not form part of the British Empire.

III.

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES

Situation and Physical Conditions.

When Columbus discovered the New World, in October, 1492, he believed that he had reached India, and he died in that belief. By a Papal Bull of March 2, 1493, an imaginary line was drawn from the North Pole to the South Pole, starting one hundred degrees west of the Azores, and discoveries to the east of that line were to belong to Spain, and those to the west of it were to belong to Portugal. This arrangement was modified by the treaty of Tordesillas, signed June 7, 1494, whereby Pope Alexander's line of demarcation was moved three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Azores. By the terms of this agreement the frontier of Northern Brazil ended at the Oyapok river, and there the "Indias Occidentaes," or West Indies, began. Hence a great part of America came within the latter designation. By degrees the application of the name has been narrowed down until it has come to include only the islands of the Caribbean Sea and the neighbouring countries on the mainland.*

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*An elaborate West Indian atlas was compiled by Thomas Jefferys, geographer to George III., and published in 1780. In a "General View of the West Indies" which accompanies the maps, the following statement is made respecting what is called the Gulf of Mexico, but ought, the writer holds, to be called the West Indian Sea:—

"To this vast gulf the Spaniards have retained the name of West Indies, leaving that of North and South America to the two opposite continents, Under this name they comprehended all the coast of the mainland which lies adjacent to it, as well as all the islands, the chains of which seem to keep back the sea which beats with violence against this part of America. It is in one of these islands of the most northern chain, the little isle of Guanahani, at present uninhabited, that the discovery was first made of the West Indies. This gulf is the centre of the most extensive as well as most precious trade of America, and which surpasses, at least in riches, that of the East Indies. The appellation of West Indies, in its whole extent, has been adopted by the English, the Dutch, and all other navigators; and the merchants, in conforming to it, have obliged geographers to divide America into three parts, North America, the West Indies, and South America."

The West Indian possessions of Great Britain lie scattered between latitude 10 deg. to 27 deg. north and longitude 57 deg. to 85 deg. west. They are grouped under eight separate governments, as follows :—

1. The Leeward Islands, viz., Antigua, St. Kitts (or St. Christopher's), Nevis, Anguilla, Montserrat, Dominica, Barbuda, Redonda, and the Virgin Islands including Tortola and numerous islets (Capital, St. John's, Antigua).
2. Barbados (Capital, Bridgetown).
3. The Windward Islands, comprising the colonies of (i.) Grenada (Capital, St. George's); (ii.) St. Vincent and the Grenadines (Capital, Kingstown, St. Vincent); and (iii.) St. Lucia (Capital, Castries).
4. The Bahama Islands (Capital, Nassau in New Providence).
5. British Honduras (Capital, Belize), on the Bay of Honduras.
6. British Guiana (Capital, Georgetown), on the north-east of South America.
7. Trinidad, with Tobago. (Capital, Port of Spain, Trinidad.)
8. Jamaica, with the Cayman Islands and the Turks and Caicos Islands (Capital, Kingston).

Volcanoes.

The British islands in the Caribbean Sea are mainly of volcanic origin.* Some, like St. Kitts and Antigua, are partially covered by coral limestone. The rocks in Barbados are of the tertiary period, and coral reefs skirt the greater portion of the coast of the island for three miles seawards. The Bahama islands have accretions of long coral reefs. Most of the islands have mountain ranges rising to considerable heights. The Western Peak of the Jamaica Blue Mountains is 7,423 ft. high. Even Barbados, regarded relatively as a flat country, attains a height of 1,104 ft. On the islands, rivers, streams and springs abound, and in Jamaica the Black and Cabanitta Rivers are navigable by small craft for some miles. Numerous picturesque waterfalls, especially in Jamaica, and one or more sulphur springs, are to be found in almost every island. The craters of volcanoes, extinct or dormant, exist in many of the colonies. In 1692 a terrible earthquake engulfed Port Royal in Jamaica; and on January 14th, 1907, Kingston, was wrecked in a few seconds, in an appalling way. In 1902

* The late Professor Angelo Heilprin, the American scientist, called the Caribbean Sea the American Mediterranean, a name which seems likely "to stick," as an alternative to that which is almost the only survival of the predominance of the Caribs in those parts.

the Soufrière at St. Vincent devastated a large part of the colony, killing 2,000 people.* As in 1812, when there was a like eruption, the volcanic dust was, in 1902, blown over to Barbados, for a time obscuring daylight there. On the other hand, the Soufrière of St. Lucia has continued mildly active with remarkable equableness for centuries. The Pitch Lake of Trinidad covers an area of 114 acres, providing asphalt for the streets of many European and American cities, and bringing in a revenue of £40,000 a year to the Government of the colony. Dominica has a boiling lake on its Grand Soufrière, and Grenada has the Grand Etang and Lake Antoine. The Pitons, two conical rocks on the south-western coast of St. Lucia, lift their peaks to heights of 2,461 ft. and 2,610 ft. respectively.

Climate. Lying within the Tropics, in the very deep waters of the Caribbean Sea, the islands enjoy one continuous summer varied only by rainy and dry seasons. The mean temperature is 78°F. at sea-level, where each capital town is situated, the heat being tempered by sea-breezes called "The Doctor" in "Tom Cringle's Log." In the higher lands, of course, a cooler atmosphere is found throughout the group; but it is only in Jamaica that these lands are inhabited or cultivated to any extent. Over five hundred square miles of that island are at an elevation of more than 2,000 ft., and they are traversed for the most part by excellent roads. Here the temperature rarely falls below 60 deg. or rises above 75 deg. The Bahama Islands, situated farthest to the north, although low-lying, have a "winter," when the thermometer goes as low as 54 deg. The average rainfall varies from 46 in. in Antigua, which is subject to drought, to 112 in. in St. Vincent and 120 in. in Dominica. In Barbados the mean annual rainfall is a little over 50 in. and this island enjoys an excellent water supply, distributed by subterranean watercourses.

Hurricanes. The hurricane season is supposed to commence on 1st, and to last until the end of October. During that period the premium for insurance upon ships is doubled. From time to time terrible devastation has been wrought by those violent storms, which have destroyed much property and have caused many deaths, as did that at Barbados in 1831.

The rich soils of the various islands are well adapted to the cultivation of most of the products of tropical countries. The

* This eruption was concurrent with the awful calamity at Martinique when the town of St. Pierre was wholly destroyed, with 35,000 people.

sugar-cane grows in every island. Cocoa is now largely produced in Trinidad, Grenada, Jamaica, Dominica, and St. Lucia. Cotton flourishes in Barbados, St. Vincent, St. Kitts, Antigua, Montserrat, Anguilla, Nevis, and other islands. Bananas, oranges and other fruits form staple products of Jamaica. Limes are largely exported from Montserrat and Dominica. The Bahamas export pines and other fruits, and sisal hemp, but the main industry of the colonists is the sponge fishery. Salt is the chief product of the Turks and Caicos Islands. Jamaica rum is famous as a high-class spirit. Manjak and tar are products of Barbados, and petroleum is found in Trinidad.

Soil and Products.

British Guiana (90,500 square miles) and British Honduras (7,560 square miles) have much in common with the island colonies in climate, soil, and natural features, but, from their larger size, their possibilities are on a far greater scale. British Guiana abounds in rivers; some, like the Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice, are considerable in size and give their names to three divisions (once separate Colonies) of the Colony. Among many physical features of interest are the Kaieteur Falls, on the Potaro River with a sheer drop of 740 ft. and a further fall of 60 ft.,* and Mount Roraima, 8,000 ft. high, the top of which was long believed to be inaccessible, but which has been scaled of late years by Sir Everard im Thurn and a few others. The mean temperature is 82 deg. The rainfall has been as low as 50 in. in 1891 and as high as 132 in. in 1893.† The greater part of the cultivation of the Colony is on the low-lying lands of the sea-coast, where sea defences at the front and dams at the back to keep off the waters from the savannahs, with the need also for a system of drainage, add to the cost of cultivation. Hitherto, only the slightest of shocks of earthquake have been known in British Guiana, and it has also been free from devastation by hurricanes.

Physical Conditions of British Guiana and Honduras.

British Honduras, like British Guiana, has a low-lying coast line, with high lands in the interior of the Colony. Its principal rivers are the Belize, Hondo and New River.

* The word Kaie*teur* is given above as the name in common use. Dr. Carl Bovallius, of the University of Upsala, who has for years lived among the Indians of Central and South America, says that the name should be Kaie*tuk*, *tuk* being the Indian word for fall. The word signifies "Old Man's Fall."

† A rainfall like that in 1893 gives point to the local saying that the year is divided by two long rainy seasons and a short one. In the first six months of 1907 98 in. of rain fell at Georgetown.

Mahogany, logwood and tropical fruits are its principal exports. The temperature ranges from 50 to 98 deg., but the heat is tempered by sea-breezes. The average rainfall is 81 in. The Cockscomb mountains rise to a height of 4,000 ft.

Breaking up the Spanish Monopoly of the New World.

Philip II's annexation in 1580, of Portugal and the Portuguese possessions to the Spanish Crown, seemed to complete the Spanish claim to a monopoly of the New World and its trade. From the time of the discovery, however, that claim had not been admitted by the kings of France and England, and towards the end of the sixteenth century the revolted Hollanders also disputed it.

The fame of the vast wealth that was being poured into Spain from the New World excited the enterprise of the mariners of England, and of those of Devonshire especially. Of the latter, Capt. John Hawkins made voyages to the coast of Guinea, where he freighted his ship with Africans, then carried them to the island of Hispaniola and sold them into slavery to the Spanish colonists, and thus began the English trade in African slaves. Things went fairly well with the English adventurers until 1568, when Hawkins and his kinsman, young Capt. Francis Drake, were treacherously set upon by the Spaniards at St. John d'Ulloa or San Juan de Ulua (fifteen miles south of Vera Cruz in Mexico) and despoiled of their goods. Drake on this occasion narrowly escaped with his life. Failing to obtain redress for the loss he suffered, Drake vowed that he would right himself by his own hand, and this he did full well. With the help of others who adventured their money, while he found the men and led the expedition, the future naval hero plundered the Spanish settlements and otherwise inflicted great injury upon them. This was all done at his own personal risk, for it was not until 1585 that he commanded a fleet in the Caribbean Sea by virtue of a commission from Queen Elizabeth.

Drake.

Philip II. of Spain gave as one of his reasons for sending the Armada of 1588 against England, the depredations by the English upon the Spanish settlements in America. When the Spanish fleet did arrive in the Channel, besides the Admirals Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, there were several captains of ships who had taken part in the struggles in the Caribbean Sea, and had made it a training place for the English Navy. After the Armada many an English adventurer sailed for the West Indies, where plunder was sought with varying

success. The general result was the weakening of the power of Spain in that region, by inflicting heavy losses upon the settlements, by capturing Spanish vessels, and by keeping the colonists in a constant state of alarm. Fortune, however, forsook the expedition which sailed in 1595, under Drake and Hawkins, when an unsuccessful attack was made upon San Juan in Porto Rico. Into the sea near that town the body of Hawkins was dropped on November 15, 1595. On January 29, 1596, Drake's body was also consigned to the deep, to the eastward of the Castle of St. Philip, at Porto Bello. It is notable that in 1596, the year after the failure of Drake and Hawkins at San Juan, George Clifford, the adventurous Earl of Cumberland, took Porto Rico and shipped the garrison off to Cartagena.

Ralegh.

In 1595 Sir Walter Ralegh visited the West Indies in search of *El Dorado*. He spent some time at Trinidad, where he left his ships while he and others found their way up the Orinoco River in barges and boats. The friendly relations with the aborigines established by Ralegh on this occasion and on his subsequent voyage to the West Indies in 1617-18, were of great service to the English, when they sought to found colonies in Guiana. Ralegh intended to start an English colony on the banks of the Orinoco. His purpose was frustrated by a series of adverse events, culminating in his imprisonment in the Tower of London. Even when there immured he sent messages to the Indians of Guiana.

The attempts of Charles Leigh, in 1604-05, and of Robert Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, in Oxfordshire, in 1609-17, to found settlements on the Wiapoco, or Oyapok, in Guiana, proved failures, although the colonists were welcomed by the Indians for Ralegh's sake. Between 1620 and 1632 Capt. Roger North, who had been one of Sir Walter Ralegh's comrades in that fatal voyage of 1617-18, made various attempts to colonise on the left bank of the River Amazon, but without success.

The Mother Colony of the West Indies.

Capt. Thomas Warner was one of those who accompanied Capt. Roger North to the Amazon in 1620. When North left the Amazon for England he appointed Capt. Thomas Painton as deputy-governor of the settlement. Painton, in friendly talk, advised Warner to attempt a settlement at St. Christopher's Island, in the Caribbees; and there in 1623 Warner founded the Mother Colony of both the English and the French dominions in the Caribbean Sea.

(1) The Leeward Islands.

This mother colony now forms one of the Leeward Islands which comprise the Presidencies of Antigua, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Dominica, Montserrat, and the Virgin Islands. The Islands, which formerly were separate Colonies, each having its own Government, were constituted into a single Federal Colony in 1871 by Act of Parliament (34 and 35 Vict., cap. 107). There is a Federal Legislative Council, consisting of eight officials and eight electives—three for Antigua, three for St. Kitts-Nevis and two for Dominica. There are no electives for Montserrat and the Virgin Islands, which are represented by their Commissioners, who sit in the Council as two of the officials. The Governor-in-Chief, whose headquarters are at Antigua, is President of the Federal Council. Besides the Federal Council there are local legislative bodies, excepting in the Virgin Islands, for which the Governor-in-Chief makes the laws.

Disestablishment and disendowment are being gradually carried out in the Leeward Islands. Elementary education is denominational and State-aided, and except in the Virgin Islands and Montserrat, provision is made for secondary education. The Imperial Department of Agriculture, under Sir Daniel Morris, has done much to promote the cultivation of cotton and other products.

St. Kitts.

St. Christopher's Island, commonly called St. Kitts, was settled in 1623 by a party of Englishmen under Capt. (afterwards Sir) Thomas Warner, who "thought it would be a very convenient place for ye planting of tobaccoes, which then was a rich commoditie." In 1625 a Norman gentleman, Pierre Belain, Sieur d'Esnambuc, put in at St. Kitts after having had a severe fight near one of the Cayman Islands with a Spanish vessel. He was invited by the English to settle on the island, as the Caribs were expected from the neighbouring islands to avenge the expulsion of their countrymen by the English. The Caribs came, as expected, and were defeated by the Europeans. In 1627 the Island was divided between the two parties, the English taking the middle portion and French the two ends. It was further agreed that, should war break out between the parent States, the colonists should remain at peace. In 1629 a Spanish fleet, under Admiral Frederigo de Toledo, attacked the colonists, carried off some and shipped away others, while a remnant fled to the woods and others escaped to neighbouring islands, later on to return to their plantations.

Notwithstanding some differences, the two nations lived peacefully together until 1666. From that time until 1713, when, by the Treaty of Utrecht, the whole of the Island was ceded to Great Britain, there were frequent struggles for mastery, with varying success. In 1782 St. Kitts was captured by the French, but was restored to Great Britain in the following year.

The chief town of the island is Basseterre with a population of about ten thousand. Tobacco, cotton and indigo were the articles first cultivated by the colonists; but in time, as in the other West Indian Colonies, sugar became the great staple.

Nevis. Nevis was first settled in 1628 by some planters from St. Kitts. Its prosperity was interrupted in 1629 by the Spanish fleet, which visited it before attacking St. Kitts. It subsequently suffered much from French invasions, while of hurricanes and earthquakes it has had its share. On April 30, 1680, Jamestown, its first capital, was engulfed with its inhabitants; in 1737 a terrible blight destroyed vegetation of all kinds; and in 1772 was the *great* hurricane. On the other hand, in spite of all its trials the Colony prospered highly during the days of slavery. The Royal African Company made Nevis the slave market for the Leeward Islands, and the island was for a short time the seat of government for the group. In little Nevis was born Alexander Hamilton, the archbuilder of the Federal Government of the United States, and at Nevis Horatio Nelson was married, in March, 1787, to Frances Woolward, then the widow of Dr. Nisbet. The chief town is Charlestown with a population of about fifteen hundred.

Antigua. Antigua was settled in 1632 by colonists from St. Kitts, led by Capt. Edward Warner, eldest son of Sir Thomas Warner. The settlers were for many years harassed by incursions of the Caribs, who, in 1640, carried off the Governor's wife and two children. After the triumph of the parliamentary party in England, a large number of Royalists found a home in Antigua, as well as in St. Kitts and Nevis.

The French captured Antigua in 1666, but restored it in the following year. Its colonists subsequently joined those of Barbados in several expeditions against the French settlements.

The most terrible earthquake that visited Antigua was that on February 8, 1843, when most of the sugar works were thrown down, and the cathedral in St. John's and several churches and chapels in the island were destroyed, besides

houses and other buildings innumerable. Distressing droughts were frequent in former times. So great was the scarcity of water in 1731 that a single pail of it sold for 3s. In 1789, rain did not fall for seven months, causing the destruction of the canes, while animals perished for want of water. A system of water conservancy has since greatly benefited the island.

On December 7, 1710, Daniel Park, Governor of the Leeward Islands, was slain at St. John's, in an uprising of the colonists. In view of the ill-fated man's outrageous misconduct, the Home Government issued a general pardon to all concerned in his death. At English Harbour, where a dockyard was maintained down to the latter years of the nineteenth century, and where Nelson, Prince William Henry (afterwards William IV.), and many a naval hero foregathered, another tragedy was enacted in 1798. There Lord Camelford, as superior in rank to Lieut. Peterson, of the navy, shot the latter dead on his refusing to obey an order. At a subsequent court-martial the deed was held to be justified in the cause of discipline.

The sugar industry of Antigua had been reduced to extremities, but a revival has taken place since the abolition of bounties and the introduction of the central factory system.

Montserrat. In 1632, Montserrat was settled by colonists from St. Kitts, most of whom were Irishmen and Roman Catholics. The island was for years regarded as an Irish rather than an English colony.

Montserrat was from time to time taken by the French, who were welcomed by the Irish. Many Irish names are yet borne by the inhabitants, including those of mixed race and the blacks. It was of the blacks of this island that the story used to be told how, as a ship came into port with passengers from Ireland, the latter were hailed by black boatmen who had caught the Irish brogue: "Ah, Paddy, how are you?" "Oh! Y're become black already," exclaimed one of the newcomers.

The cultivation of the lime-tree has brought Montserrat world-wide fame for its lime-juice; and sea-island cotton is rapidly becoming another substantial item of its exports.

The Virgin Islands. Some of the Virgin Islands belong to Denmark. Of those belonging to Great Britain the principal is Tortola. There the Commissioner resides, and administers the affairs of the

group, under the direction of the Governor-in-Chief at Antigua. Prince Maurice, brother of Prince Rupert, lost his life in 1652 in a hurricane off these islands.

Dominica.

The right to the possession of Dominica was long in dispute between France and Great Britain. At last, in 1748, the island was declared to belong to the Caribs, and to be "neutral" between the two European Powers. Then, from 1756 to 1805, there was fighting for it at intervals, it being in the end retained under the British flag. Survivals from the French rule are to be found in the observance of the Roman Catholic religion and the use of a *patois* of the French language by a majority of the inhabitants. It was off Dominica, on April 12, 1782, that Rodney gained his victory over De Grasse, thereby enabling the British Government to make peace with its enemies on honourable terms (*see* p. 77).

The cultivation of cocoa, limes, spices, and tropical fruits has taken the place of sugar; and this fine island seems again to have entered upon a period of prosperity.

(2) Barbados.

Barbados is noted on several maps of the sixteenth century under the name of Bernados, San Bernado, and, as early as 1542, as Barbudoss. It was never a dwelling-place of the Caribs, though they visited it from time to time to hunt wild hogs, which came from swine left at the island by the Portuguese mariner who is said to have given the island its name.

First Settlement.

In 1605 a vessel, named the "Olive Blossom," stopped at Barbados, and those on board landed and took possession of the island for the King of England. No settlement was made there, however, until February, 1627, when a vessel called the "William and John," fitted out by Sir William Courteen, a leading London merchant, arrived with a batch of colonists. After landing the party, Capt. Henry Powell sailed to Essequibo, in Guiana, where he obtained from an old Dutch comrade, named Groenewegel, seeds and roots and plants of cassava, yams, Indian corn, sweet potatoes, plantains, bananas, oranges, limes, pineapples, sugar-cane, tobacco, cotton and annatto. With these, and a family of Arrawacks to teach the colonists how to plant them, Powell returned to Barbados.

Tobacco, said to be then worth 20s. a lb. in England, was the principal article of cultivation, but cotton, ginger, and

indigo were also grown. About 1642 sugar-making began, and by 1648 several plantations had been established.

Meanwhile, there had been a hot dispute as to proprietary rights in the island between James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, and Philip Herbert, then Earl of Montgomery, and subsequently Earl of Pembroke also. Lord Keeper Coventry decided on April 18, 1629, in favour of Carlisle, who thereupon exercised his rights of Lord Proprietor, with the powers of a Palatine, as enjoyed by the Bishop of Durham within his county.

Civil War in the Island.

The colony prospered rapidly and received a large number of colonists. A number of Royalists resorted to the island when the Parliament had triumphed, and found warm welcome there. Under the leadership of two gentlemen of the Devonshire family of Walrond, the colonists proclaimed Charles II., in May, 1650, as King of England, Scotland and Ireland They set aside the governor, Capt. Philip Bell, and in his place received Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham. Those colonists who were in sympathy with the Parliament were fined and banished from the island; and Barbados, by its Governor, Council and Assembly, declared against the Commonwealth and in favour of Charles II. The authorities at home thereupon proclaimed the colonists traitors and despatched Sir George Ayscue, with a fleet, to reduce Barbados to obedience. Ayscue arrived there on October 15, 1651. He found Lord Willoughby and the Cavaliers very resolute and in greater force than he could overcome. He blockaded the island, and let it be known that he would give good terms if the colonists would surrender and accept the authority of the Commonwealth. After a while he landed forces, who had engagements with the islanders, without making any serious impression. At length Col. Thomas Modyford, a cousin of Gen. Monk, with a large body of colonists, decided to accept good terms from Ayscue rather than have Barbados ruined. This formidable party declared for the Commonwealth and made common cause with Ayscue "to bring Lord Willoughby to reason." That warlike baron at length yielded, though very unwillingly. Excellent terms were granted to Lord Willoughby and the Royalists by the Articles of Capitulation, signed on January 11, 1652, and confirmed by Parliament on August 18, 1652.

When Ayscue sailed from Barbados, on March 29th, he carried with him several Dutch vessels which he had taken prizes for trading with the colonists contrary to the Acts

of Parliament passed on October 3, 1650, and October 9, 1651. It was the latter law that was re-enacted with additions by Act of 12 Charles II., cap. 18, and entitled "An Act for Encouraging and Increasing of Shipping and Navigation" (*see* pp. 52, 144, 311). These were the famous Navigation Acts. The colonists of Barbados were said to "dote on the Dutch trade," and well they might. The Hollanders and Zealanders had furnished them with many of the things needed for subsistence, for cultivation and for sugar-making, and had given long credit. The Dutch also bought the coarse sugars made by the colonists and refined them in Holland.

The Restoration.

At the Restoration the planters of Barbados, and those of the Caribbee Islands that were included in Lord Carlisle's grant, apprehended that they had no good title to their lands, but were merely tenants at will. In order to get rid of the claims of the representatives of the Lord Proprietor, and to be governed directly by the King, the colonists, through their Legislatures, passed laws imposing a duty of four and a half per cent. upon produce exported from Barbados, Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis and Montserrat. They bitterly regretted the step in after years. The moneys so raised were grossly misapplied. Only in August, 1838, did Parliament abolish the duty, which, by that time, had taken about £7,000,000 sterling from those small Colonies.

The Naval importance of Barbados.

From the advent of Penn and Venables in 1655, until the day when Sir Alexander Cochrane and Sir George Beckwith set out on their victorious expedition against the French islands in 1809, the inhabitants of Bridgetown, the capital of the island, have seen fleets and squadrons assembled in Carlisle Bay for the protection of the English Colonies in the West Indies and for expeditions against those belonging to foreign Powers. In some of these expeditions the Barbadians played an active part, and in 1804 the merchants of the Colony made a present to the British Government of the "Barbados" frigate, which did good service in capturing French privateers. From Sir George Ayscue to Lord Dundonald, most of the famous admirals of Britain, including Benbow, Hawke, Rodney, Jervis, Collingwood and Nelson, have anchored in Carlisle Bay. It was here that Nelson in 1777, as a middy in the "Lowestoffe," first saw service in the West Indies. Here it was that, annoyed with some of the local authorities for their not supporting him, when captain of the "Boreas," in enforcing the Navigation Acts, he dated his

letters from "Barbarous Island" to his "Dearest Fanny" the little widow Nisbet at Nevis; and here it was that, as Admiral Lord Nelson, in the "Victory," he anchored in June, 1805, on his arrival from Europe in chase of the combined French and Spanish fleets: and hence he sailed, after the briefest stay, for Trinidad, where he had hoped to make the Gulf of Paria as famous as the Nile. Carlisle Bay, called for a short time Doncaster Bay, after another title of the Lord Proprietor and also called Hawley Bay during the Commonwealth, is thus a classic spot in British naval story.

Barbadian Institutions.

Barbados has possessed representative institutions and annual elections from its earliest settlement; and, with the single exception of the Bahamas, is the only colony in the Caribbean Sea that retains the once prevalent constitution of Governor, Council and Assembly. In 1660 the annual election of the Assembly was established by statute. To bring the Legislature into touch with the Government, an Executive Committee was instituted in 1881, which includes, besides the Governor's Privy Councillors, four Members of Assembly and one Member of the Legislative Council, nominated by the Governor. The privilege of appointing the Treasurer of the Colony was confirmed to the Assembly by Queen Anne.

Barbados being now one of the most thickly peopled spots in the world, with an abundant supply of labourers of African descent, it is hard to realise the extent to which, in the seventeenth century, white bond-servants were employed and with what severity they were worked. Besides these, numbers of English, Scotch and Irish, taken prisoners during the Civil War and after Monmouth's rebellion and the Jacobite risings, were shipped to Barbados and other plantations. Taken altogether, the planters seem to have treated their African slaves well, which may account for the fact that there is to-day no more patriotic person than the Black Barbadian.

The Church of England, established and endowed, continues to be the State Church of "Little England" as of Old England, and Barbados has a bishop of its own. Education, elementary, secondary and first grade, is State-aided, and Barbados has been singularly fortunate in having enjoyed the presence of such educators as Pinder, Rawle, Mitchinson and Horace Deighton, and such institutions as Harrison College, the Lodge School and Codrington College.

Agricultural Products.

Barbados, like its neighbours, was almost crushed down by the operation of bounties upon foreign sugar. The abolition of that

system of fiscal warfare, more destructive than military warfare, has given a chance of life to the sugar industry. A great many years ago, writers about Barbados used to foretell that the productiveness of the island would shortly cease, as the soil would be soon worn out. On the contrary, by the application of science to agriculture, the island has produced much larger crops than in those days. A crop of 22,000 tons was considered very large at the time of the emancipation of the slaves; now anything under 50,000 tons is considered only moderate. Excellent sea-island cotton is now grown there, and this may ere long become a considerable item of export, as it used to be in the seventeenth century. Whatever changes may take place in the agriculture of the Colony, however, Barbados, by its outstanding situation in the Caribbean Sea, will always be a centre of commerce in the West Indies.

Barbadians abroad.

From its overflowing population—in 1907 over twelve hundred to the square mile—this Colony has helped to people the neighbouring Indies, foreign as well as British. Since 1665, when Sir John Colleton and Sir John Yeamans, two leading planters of Barbados, took a number of colonists to found a settlement at Cape Fear, in Carolina, numbers of the islanders have removed to the United States. And here it may be noted that Barbados was the only place ever visited by the father of his country, George Washington, outside of the United States.

While Barbados has sent her sons to fill the highest places in the neighbouring colonies, and also in the East, she has given many officers to the British Navy and Army, while others have adorned the learned professions. Two Barbadians —Hampden of Hereford, and Hinds of Norwich—sat as bishops in the House of Lords at the same time. A head master of the Charterhouse (Elder) and an editor of *The Times* (Chenery, the Arabic scholar) were Barbadians; and Sir Arthur Pigott, Attorney-General of England in "All the Talents" Ministry (1806), was of Barbadian parentage.

(3) The Windward Islands.

The Government of the Windward Islands includes Grenada, St. Vincent and St. Lucia, with their dependencies. The islands are not federated like the Leeward Isles, but are separate Crown Colonies, grouped together under a Governor-in-Chief whose headquarters are at Grenada. St. Vincent and

St. Lucia have their own administrators, subordinate to the Governor. Grenada and St. Vincent formerly enjoyed representative government, but St. Lucia has always been a Crown Colony.

The three islands were at one time inhabited by Caribs, with St. Vincent as their stronghold. There a race of black Caribs also grew up from the intermixture of the aboriginal Caribs with some Africans who were shipwrecked on the island in the seventeenth century. In St. Vincent alone is there now a remnant of the Caribs, and even those are of mixed descent.

The struggle between the French and British for the possession of these islands, and especially for St. Lucia, lasted for years. In 1795 and 1796 all the three islands suffered the horrors of an insurrection stirred up by Victor Hugues, who had come out to Guadeloupe as a representative of the National Convention. In St. Lucia and Grenada French possession has left its mark upon the religion and the language of the peasantry, the majority of whom are Roman Catholics and speak a French *patois*.

The Windward Islands form a See of the Anglican Church, which is administered by the Bishop of Barbados. The Roman Catholics of these islands come within the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Port of Spain in Trinidad. Disestablishment and disendowment have been carried out in Grenada and St. Vincent; but in St. Lucia both the Roman and Anglican Churches receive grants from the Legislature. Elementary and secondary education are state-aided in these islands, but Grenada has some Government schools for elementary education.

Grenada.

An attempt to found an English colony at Grenada was made by some London merchants in 1609. The Caribs, however, instigated by the Spaniards at Trinidad, set upon the colonists and killed some, and those who survived returned to England.

Du Parquet, a nephew of d'Esnambuc (*see* p. 666), founded a French colony at Grenada in 1650. The Caribs were soon decimated by the French, and the name *la Morne des Sauteurs*, or Leapers' Hill, which survives to this day in the name of the town of Sauteurs, bears testimony to the determination of some of the Caribs to cast themselves into the sea rather than remain subject to the French. By 1762, when it surrendered to a British force under Commodore Swanton, Grenada had begun to flourish, and it continued to prosper under British rule. In 1779 the island was retaken by the French, after a

gallant resistance by the Governor, Lord Macartney, who afterwards declined the Governor-Generalship of Bengal; but it was restored to Great Britain in 1783. Grenada suffered extremely from the terrible insurrection of 1795-6, during which Lieutenant-Governor Ninian Home and several of the principal inhabitants were slaughtered.

The famous case of Campbell *versus* Hall, in which Lord Mansfield delivered judgment against the Crown, originated in this island. The result was that Grenada and the other islands ceded in 1763 escaped liability to pay the 4½ per cent. duty, which Barbados and the older British islands had to pay till 1838 (*see* p. 671).

The cultivation of cocoa and spices has made Grenada one of the most prosperous spots in the Empire. Its happy condition is, in part, due to the presence of a large body of peasant proprietors. Like St. Lucia, it has several good harbours. St. George's, its capital, was at one time the headquarters of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company.

St. Vincent. In 1660, an agreement was made between the French and English on the one hand, and the Caribs on the other, that the latter should be left in possession of St. Vincent and Dominica, while the Europeans might make settlements on the other islands. The French and English, nevertheless, kept nibbling at St. Vincent, even though in 1748 they agreed, at Aix-la-Chapelle (p. 669), that the island should be "neutral." When it was captured by the British in 1762, it contained eight hundred whites and three thousand slaves.

Like Grenada, St. Vincent suffered greatly from the insurrection of 1795-96. When the revolt was suppressed, five thousand Caribs were transported to Ruatan, off the Mosquito Coast.

Besides having its share in the hurricanes that have ravaged other colonies, such as those of 1780 and 1898, the island has suffered from two appalling eruptions of the volcano known by its French name of Soufrière, in 1812 and 1902. Latterly the Soufrière has been quiescent, and the island is rapidly recovering from the devastation of 1902.

Long famous for its arrowroot, St. Vincent promises to produce a considerable quantity of sea-island cotton, the cultivation of which has been fostered by the Imperial Department of Agriculture.

St. Lucia. The long-continued and fierce struggle for the possession of St. Lucia between the French and the British nations ended only on June 22, 1803, when Morne Fortunée was carried by storm and

the island was surrendered unconditionally to Commodore Sir Samuel Hood and General Grinfield. The "Faithful" Island, as the National Convention had styled it in 1791, was held by Lord Rodney to be of high strategical importance; and General Nogues, Governor in 1803, had suggested to Bonaparte, then First Consul, that St. Lucia might be made "the Gibraltar of the Gulf of Mexico." In quite recent times the fine harbour of Castries was made a naval station and was fortified accordingly; but in 1906 the Imperial troops were withdrawn from the Colony. The port of Castries is much frequented by steamers in need of coal.

Only a comparatively small portion of the island has hitherto been brought under cultivation: and, though the central factory system was introduced several years ago, sugar has not been largely exported. The cultivation of cocoa is, however, on the increase. Roads are much needed for the development of St. Lucia's abundant resources. Her geographical situation and good harbours are bound to give this island increased trade, as the commerce of the West Indies develops.

English commercial law was introduced in 1827, and a new Charter of Justice was granted in 1831. English procedure and rules of evidence in criminal cases were adopted in 1833, and trial by jury in criminal cases was instituted in 1848. The use of the French language in the Courts was abolished in 1848. In 1879 a code of civil laws, framed upon the principles of the old French law of the island, with local modifications, came into force. Its authors were Sir William Des Voeux, then Administrator of the Government, and Chief Justice Armstrong, both of whom had been members of the Canadian Bar. In 1851 an Electoral Municipal Council was granted to Castries; this has since been replaced by a Town Board.

(4) The Bahamas.

Their History. Although the Bahamas were the first part of the New World discovered by Columbus in 1492, the Spaniards did not occupy them, but carried away the Indians to San Domingo to work in the mines or to dive for pearls. It was not until the seventeenth century that the islands were frequented by vessels from Bermuda, for the gathering of salt at Eleuthera. In 1670 the proprietors of Carolina obtained a grant of the islands from Charles II., on a favourable report of them made by Capt. Sayle, who had been shipwrecked at one of the islands, named

by him New Providence. On it is situated the present capital, Nassau.

After being plundered by the Spaniards in 1684, New Providence was re-settled in 1690. In 1703 the colony was plundered by French and Spaniards, who carried off the Governor and many negroes; returning later in the year they abducted the remaining blacks. In 1708 the settlement was deserted, and the Bahamas then became a nest for pirates.

In 1718, however, Capt. Woodes Rogers, who in 1709 had rescued Alexander Selkirk from the island of Juan Fernandez, was sent out as Governor of the Bahamas, with a sufficient force to suppress the pirates, a service which was promptly effected by that old buccaneer. In 1776 New Providence was taken by an American Revolutionary squadron under Commodore Hopkins, but no garrison was left behind. The Spanish took the island in 1781, but in 1783 it was re-taken by American Loyalists under Col. Devaux. During the American Civil War, Nassau was much used by blockade-runners. It is now a fashionable winter resort for Americans from both North and South.

Products. The exports consist mainly of sponges, fruits and sisal hemp. Little cotton is cultivated, although cotton grown in the island has long been held in the highest estimation. Its cultivation was carried on by American Loyalists from Georgia, who settled in the Bahamas after the peace of 1783 (*see also* pp. 79, 263, 278). In 1786 seeds of the cotton so grown were sent to Governor Tatnall of Georgia, and to others of that State. The Bahama plant "adapted itself to the climate, and every successive year, from 1787 onwards, saw the long staple cotton extending itself along the shores of South Carolina and Georgia."

Institutions. The Bahamas have a representative Legislature of the old kind, a Governor, Council and Assembly; there is also an Executive Council. Nassau is the seat of an Anglican bishopric, but disestablishment and disendowment have almost been completed. Unsectarian elementary schools are provided by the Government where education is free. Some other schools receive State aid, and there are three schools for higher education in Nassau.

(5) British Honduras.

British Honduras is the outcome of a settlement on the River Belize, made by retired buccaneers, under Willis, who in 1640 was driven by the French out of Tortuga, of which

"Bulletin No. 33 (1896) of the Department of Agriculture, U.S.A."

he had been elected Governor by his English comrades in 1638. The settlers cut mahogany and logwood and traded with the North American Colonies and with the Dutch of Curaçoa. Subject in a measure to the intervention of the Governor of Jamaica, the settlers lived for a number of years under a primitive system of self-government. When serious trouble arose the Governor of Jamaica sent a warship to Belize to restore order. The Spaniards highly resented the settlement by the Baymen, and time after time they tried to destroy it. The Baymen at one time were so filled with despair by these frequent attacks, that they contemplated abandoning the settlement. In 1798, however, under the leadership of Colónel Thomas Barrow, their Superintendent, assisted by Capt. Moss, of the sloop-of-war *Merlin*, and a small number of soldiers, the colonists inflicted a decisive defeat upon a Spanish force of two thousand troops sent in thirty-one vessels under Field-Marshal Arthur O'Niel, Captain-General of Yucatan, for the capture of Belize. From that fateful September 10, 1798, British Honduras has remained undisturbed under the British flag.

History.

Trade and Commerce.

Besides mahogany, logwood, and cedar, Honduras produces much tropical fruit, the marketing of which is arranged by two syndicates. The trade of the Colony is steadily growing. The colonists are naturally anxious to get at the rich lands and forests of the interior and are desirous of developing the country by means of railways. In 1907 a line to Stann Creek was begun by order of the Secretary of State.

Institutions.

The settlement was governed by a Superintendent, subordinate to the Governor of Jamaica, until 1862, when it was declared to be a Colony, to be administered by a Lieutenant-Governor, under the Governor of Jamaica. In 1884 it was made an independent Colony. There is a Legislative Council, consisting of five unofficial members and three officials besides the Governor, who presides. The affairs of Belize and of other towns are administered by local boards.

The Anglican and Presbyterian Churches have been disestablished and disendowed, and no grants are made for religion. During the episcopate of Dr. Ormsby, from 1884 to 1907, the number of clergy increased from two in priests' orders in the Colony and two on the Isthmus of Panama, to eighteen in priests' and four in deacons' orders. Elementary schools are State-aided, the denominational system prevails, and provision is made for secondary education.

(6) British Guiana.

Its History. The country known since 1831 as British Guiana, which consists of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice, had been three several times in the temporary possession of Great Britain before it was finally ceded by Holland in 1814. The old Dutch settlements therein comprised had made little progress until the middle of the eighteenth century, when Demerara and Essequibo were thrown open to all nations. Many persons then came from the British West Indies, and especially from Barbados, who established plantations of sugar-cane, coffee and cotton on the rich coast lands and the banks of the rivers. Many more came when in 1783 Tobago was ceded to France. By 1803, when the settlements capitulated to a British force, colonists in Guiana owed British merchants about ten millions sterling.

Area and Development. The boundaries of British Guiana having been settled with Venezuela by the award of the arbitration tribunal at Paris in 1899, and with Brazil by the award of the King of Italy in 1904, the area of the Colony is now estimated at nearly ninety thousand five hundred square miles. Of this only one hundred and thirty square miles are under cultivation, or thirty-six square miles less than the area of Barbados.* One of the causes of this lack of development was the restrictive Crown Lands regulations which existed from 1839 to 1887. During the forty-eight years of the continuance of that system, besides grants of small plots in towns, only twenty-two grants of Crown land were made in out-districts, of which two were to sugar plantations. Not a single East Indian or Chinese name appeared among the grantees. During that period about thirty thousand coolies returned to India, some of whom might have remained in the Colony had land been easily obtainable. They took with them about £500,000 in cash, and it cost about £300,000 to send them back. At the instance of Sir Charles Bruce, then Government Secretary, more liberal regulations came into force in April, 1890. Under these two hundred and fifty-seven grants were issued within eight years. Under regulations made in 1898, one thousand seven hundred and forty grants had been issued to March 31, 1907, while the taking up of Crown lands has since been

* Sir Charles Bruce stated the case admirably when he pointed out that, while British Guiana is as large as Great Britain, the area cultivated is only equal to the size of the Isle of Wight.

continuous. In these regulations provision was made for grants of homesteads, at the instance of Sir Henry Bovell, then Attorney-General. The reduction in the price of Crown lands has, at the same time, had its influence upon the price demanded by private owners. The establishment of peasant proprietors now goes steadily on, many of the holdings being planted with rice. With a population of only three souls to the square mile, the chief want of British Guiana is immigration.

Church and Education.

British Guiana is the See of an Anglican Bishopric, established in 1842, and filled for fifty years continuously by Dr. William Piercy Austin, the first Bishop; but since 1899 the Church has been disestablished and disendowed. Elementary education is denominational and State-aided. Secondary education is provided at the Queen's College, which is maintained by the Colony, at a grammar school carried on by the Roman Catholic clergy, and by private enterprise.

Products.

In the early years of the nineteenth century cotton and coffee were extensively cultivated; but, in the course of time, the vast production of cotton in the United States and of coffee in Brazil led the planters of Guiana to substitute the sugar-cane for those products. Thenceforward sugar-making became the great business of the Colony, and Demerara "crystals" became a standard for high-class sugar in the markets of the world. The planters of the Colony have continually adopted mechanical and other improvements in the tillage of their fields and in the manufacture of their sugars. The aid of chemistry is also utilised, and in this direction good service has been rendered by the Director of Science and Agriculture in the colony.

The export of timber dates from 1804. Among the woods of the Colony is the world-famous Greenheart, which is much in demand for harbour works. Balatta, allied to rubber, has been an item of export since the 'sixties of the nineteenth century. Rubber itself (*sapium*) is indigenous to the country and its cultivation has been begun. When the French occupied the Colony in 1782, they planted rice in Essequibo to feed the troops. The rice industry of the Colony must, however, be regarded as an outcome of the immigration of East Indians, which since 1842 has been promoted by the planters for the supply of labourers to the sugar estates. Rice promises to be a rival of the sugar industry. The mining industry was

long kept back on account of the question of boundaries with Venezuela. From 1886, however, when Governor Sir Henry Irving obtained the authority of the Home Government to issue licences for gold-seeking, the gold industry has become an important factor in the opening up of the interior of the Colony. Want of means of transit and want of capital have delayed the development of the gold and diamond industries, but that gold and diamonds do exist has been demonstrated beyond dispute.

Institutions. The Legislature of British Guiana is a survival from Dutch rule. The Court of Policy makes the general laws of the Colony, but, when expenditure has to be provided for, six Financial Representatives elected by qualified voters join the Court of Policy, and the body thus assembled is called the Combined Court. The Court of Policy consists of eight electives and eight officials. The Governor is one of the latter and is the President of each Court. There is also an Executive Council. Roman-Dutch law, modified by Orders in Council and Colonial ordinances, prevails in civil matters. The law of inheritance of North Holland rules in Demerara and Essequibo, and that of South Holland in Berbice. The English language was substituted for the Dutch in legal proceedings in 1812. The first trial by jury in a criminal case took place on January 26, 1847.

Local Government. Georgetown, the capital of the Colony, was constituted a municipality in 1837. It has a population of about sixty thousand. Lying about 5 ft. below high-water mark at spring-tides, and within a few degrees of the Equator, the sanitary condition of the city is exceptionally good for a tropical town, thanks to the vigilance and good management of the municipality and its town superintendent. New Amsterdam, the second town of the Colony, is the capital of Berbice. It was made a municipality in 1891. Village councils were established in 1892, under a law framed by Sir John Carrington, then Attorney-General, and sanitary districts have been worked under the supervision of the Central Board of Health. A Local Government Ordinance was passed in 1907, at the instance of Dr. Godfrey, the Surgeon-General. This measure materially extended the scope of local administration. Village administration has in recent years been greatly improved, under the watchful control of the Central Board of Health and its officers.

(7) Trinidad and Tobago.

Trinidad and Tobago were united into one colony from January 1, 1889, by Order-in-Council under Act of Parliament 50 and 51 Vict., cap. 44. Tobago became a ward of the united Colony from January 1, 1899, by virtue of an Order-in-Council of October 20, 1898.

Trinidad.

After its discovery in 1498 the Spaniards made various attempts to settle upon the island, but were driven off by the Indians, three nationalities of which dwelt there, namely, Caribs, Arrawacks and Sapoyes, or Nepoyes. In 1587, however, there was a great battle fought between the Caribs and the other Indians, when the Caribs suffered a crushing defeat and the victors were themselves exhausted. Then, in 1592, came Don Antonio de Berrio y Oruna, who made a settlement at St. Joseph, and kept it by playing off the Indians against one another. The English and the Dutch attacked the Spaniards from time to time, and Sir Walter Ralegh spent some weeks at the island on his two voyages to the West Indies. In the first half of the seventeenth century two unsuccessful attempts to found English colonies at Trinidad were made by agents of the Earl of Warwick, who had obtained from the Earl of Pembroke an assignment of the latter's grant of the island.

Spaniards, French, and English.

The Spanish settlers achieved a high reputation for their cocoa and tobacco; but, otherwise, the Colony did not make much progress until 1783, when it was thrown open to settlers from all countries, with the sole condition that they must be Roman Catholics. Numbers of persons thereupon resorted to Trinidad: and at the French Revolution colonists poured in from San Domingo, Martinique and Guadeloupe, making the island a French, rather than a Spanish, colony under Spanish rule. In 1797 Trinidad surrendered to a British force under Sir Ralph Abercromby and Admiral Harvey, and Sir Thomas Picton was appointed Governor of the island. He was one of the most efficient Governors Trinidad ever had, but his services there have been quite overlooked on account of the case of Luiza Calderon, who unhappily was put to the torture by the operation of the Spanish law which was then in force.

Economic Conditions.

Trinidad is a solidly prosperous Colony. It has a large sugar industry and a larger and more profitable cocoa industry. There is a considerable body of peasant proprietors. Its famous Pitch Lake yields a handsome revenue to the Government.

Its railways, begun by Sir James Longden and pushed on by Sir Henry Irving, are a valuable asset and a prospective source of income. Its situation near the mouths of the Orinoco must eventually make this noble island a centre of commerce. The establishment of a peasantry was much fostered during the government of Sir Arthur Gordon (Lord Stanmore), and especially so in the ward of Montserrat, where Mr. Robert Mitchell, then chief of the Crown Lands Department, did excellent service in causing a number of squatters to get legal titles for their holdings.

As in British Guiana, the question of labour supply has been an important one in Trinidad. In 1806 a shipload of Chinese was imported, but the venture proved a signal failure. Since 1845 a regular supply of coolies has been obtained from the East Indies, while a temporary revival of Chinese immigration was more successful. Some liberated Africans and many labourers of African descent from Barbados, Grenada, and other Colonies have found a home in the island.

Institutions. From the time of its cession Trinidad has been governed as a Crown Colony. The Legislative Council consists of the Governor, as President, and ten officials and ten non-officials. There is also an Executive Council. As might be expected in a Colony where so many of the early settlers came from Spain and France, the majority of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics, and the city of Port of Spain is the seat of a Roman Catholic archbishop, whose diocese includes Grenada, St. Lucia and Tobago. Trinidad has, however, an Anglican bishop. French is spoken by many of the upper classes and a *patois* of that language by a large number of the labouring classes.

A large number of schools—some secular, but the majority denominational—provide elementary education. The Royal College, maintained by the Colony, with its affiliated institutions, supplies the higher education, and valuable scholarships are awarded from the public revenue.

Tobago. Two attempts to found an English colony at Tobago were made in the early years of the seventeenth century, but both were frustrated by the Caribs. The Dutch, the French and the English fought strenuously for the possession of the island in the second half of the seventeenth century. In the latter part of the eighteenth century there was more fighting between French and British. Surrendered to a British force in 1762, it was ceded to Great Britain in 1763. Captured by the French, after a gallant resistance, in 1781, it

was ceded to France in 1783. In defending the cession of Tobago on that occasion, in the House of Lords, the Earl of Shelburne said: "The cession of Tobago, it had been said, would be the ruin of the English cotton manufacture. He replied that the English cotton manufacture had been great before Tobago was an English possession, while the islands restored to England were just as well adapted to the cultivation of cotton as Tobago." In 1793 Tobago was captured by a British force, but was restored to France in 1802. In 1803 it was again taken, and was finally ceded to Great Britain in 1814. Since then it has experienced the ups-and-downs of most of the British West Indian Colonies. Its union with Trinidad has given Tobago a fresh start and a hopeful outlook for the development of its plentiful resources.

Although Juan Fernandez was the island of Alexander Selkirk, the colonists of Tobago claim, and with good reason, that theirs is Robinson Crusoe's island as depicted by Defoe. Certainly Juan Fernandez is not an island near the Orinoco, while Tobago is.

(8) JAMAICA.

Its History.

After their lamentable failure at Hispaniola, Penn and Venables, to save their expedition from being abortive, took possession of Jamaica with but slight resistance from the Spanish settlers. Cromwell at first undervalued Jamaica, but the more the Spaniards showed a disposition to retake it, the more active was he in providing for its retention and colonisation. His appeal to the New Englanders to settle there met with scant success, but colonists were obtained from England, Scotland, Ireland and the West Indian Islands. Disease played havoc among the troops, for it was the rainy season when, in 1655, the conquest was made. There was also a want of food, and, altogether, the pioneers of settlement had a very hard time of it. In these circumstances the right man appeared in Col. Edward D'Oyley, an old Cavalier who had taken service under the Protector. That resolute soldier not only suppressed mutiny and kept order among the colonists, but dealt Spanish invaders from Cuba a swashing blow in 1658 at Rio Nuevo, and so cleared the island for English colonisation, while, at the same time, he wiped out the disgrace of the failure at Hispaniola in 1655.

Fear that Charles II. would restore Jamaica to Spain retarded the settlement of the island for a short time after the Restoration; but, the Merrie Monarch determined to

retain, and showed anxiety to foster, it. On July 8, 1670, by the Treaty of Madrid, Jamaica, which was regarded by the Spaniards as "the navel of the Indies," was finally ceded to England.

Economic Vicissitudes.

Cocoa and indigo were the chief cultivation of the earliest colonists, but in a few years sugar became the staple product, and long continued to be so. In the eighteenth century a number of valuable plants, including coffee and breadfruit, were introduced into the Colony, and when the troubles of the French Revolution befell San Domingo a great impetus was given to the production of sugar and coffee in Jamaica. In the days of slavery vast wealth was acquired by planters and merchants alike, but when the emancipation took place the planters and freedmen did not adapt themselves to the changed conditions, and there was a great falling off in the staple products. From 84,756 hogsheads of sugar and 17,725,731 lb. of coffee exported in 1834 the shipments had fallen in 1850 to 37,188 hogsheads of sugar and 3,430,228 lb. of coffee. The fortunes of Jamaica had sunk very low when in 1868 Governor Sir John Peter Grant decided that the Colony should subsidise a line of steamers for the development of the fruit trade with the United States. The result has been far-reaching and of great advantage to the Colony, although the idea of restoring prosperity to Jamaica by the cultivation of bananas was much ridiculed at the time. In 1901 the Imperial Direct Line of steamers was subsidised in order to establish a fruit trade between Bristol and Jamaica. For this service payment of £40,000 a year is made, half by the Imperial Government and half by the Government of Jamaica. The benefits of the fruit trade are largely shared by the peasant proprietors, who now form an important part of the community.

Much has been done in recent years to advance agriculture. At Kingston, Hope, and Castleton cinchona gardens have been established, and at the Hope Gardens a limited number of young men are trained in the elementary principles of agriculture and in its practice. Jamaica now produces the best cigars made within the Empire.

The Buccaneers and the Slave-trade.

In the seventeenth century and the earlier years of the eighteenth Jamaica had other resources than agriculture. In time of war Governors issued commissions to privateers, notably to Sir Henry Morgan; and in time of peace as well as war buccaneers freely resorted to Port Royal. When, by the

Treaty of Utrecht, Great Britain obtained the right to supply the Spanish colonists with slaves, Jamaica was made the *entrepôt* for this business, which added much to the commerce of the Colony by giving facilities for disposing of British manufactures to the Spaniards. But, while the Colony prospered mightily, it had its trials and troubles. From time to time there were insurrections among the slaves. There were risings of the Maroons, or runaway slaves, and their descendants, who had established themselves in mountain fastnesses.* Besides other storms, some fifteen violent hurricanes have ravaged the island from 1712 to 1903. The hurricane of 1780 was accompanied by an earthquake, and a tidal wave, the joint effects of which simply wiped out the little seaport of Savanna-la-Mar. Of earthquakes there have been several. Two of them have been appalling catastrophes. In 1692 Jamaica was visited by an earthquake which not only engulfed the greater part of Port Royal, built on a sandbank, but did even greater damage proportionately throughout the island. The wreck of Kingston by earthquake on January 14, 1907, is too recent to need description. On that occasion the inhabitants of Kingston, under the leadership of Sir Alexander Swettenham, met their calamity with admirable orderliness and fortitude. The way in which yellow fever decimated the white inhabitants and swept off the Imperial troops in old days is graphically described in "Tom Cringle's Log," a book that gives a picture of Jamaica life in the days of slavery.

Hurricanes and Earthquakes.

From 1664, when the first Assembly met, down to 1866, when Jamaica became a Crown Colony, the colonists enjoyed representative government. During the government of Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, 1678-1680, the Legislature successfully resisted his endeavours to impose upon the colonists the system known in Ireland as Poynings' Law. For fifty years the Assembly refused to grant a permanent revenue to the Crown, but yielded in 1728, when the Home Government conceded, what the colonists had long sought, that the laws of England which had up to that time been applicable to Jamaica, should be and continue laws of Jamaica for ever. The House of Assembly claimed and exercised the powers of the British House of Commons. It impeached Governors; it summoned to its bar a Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Hugh Lyle Carmichael, and, with the support of the Imperial Government, compelled

Constitutional Development.

* The Spaniards seem to have regarded the fugitive slaves as *Marans*, or Moors.

his unwilling attendance and an apology. It also called before it the Chief Justice, but gained nothing by its motion in that case; for Judge Jackson appeared at the bar and firmly but respectfully declined to give his reasons for his decision in a cause affecting a member of the House. Only after five dissolutions of the House itself and the intervention of the Home authorities, did it cease actively to resent what it considered a grave breach of its privileges, when bailiffs executed a writ against one of its members by seizing his coach-horses. Time after time did it expel members of its body, sometimes in batches and including more than one Attorney-General of the Colony. The Assembly established its right to initiate Money Bills and would not suffer the attempts made from time to time by the Council to amend them. In 1775 it petitioned the Crown on behalf of the North American colonists and boldly deplored the policy of the British Cabinet.

The Abolition of Slavery.

As the abolition of slavery approached, the Assembly grew extremely sensitive about the intervention of the Home Government in matters of a domestic nature; it resented interposition, on behalf of missionaries, with regard to registration of slaves, and the application of Canning's resolution for the amelioration of their condition.

Differences with the Home Government.

When the wretched condition of the prisons in Jamaica forced Parliament to pass the Act of 1838, "for the Better Government of Prisons in the West Indies," the Assembly resolved that it was an infringement of their rights, that they would vote no more supplies than were necessary to maintain the public credit, and that they would not pass any more laws until the imperial Act had been repealed. A deadlock in public business followed. Whereupon Mr. Labouchere, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, on April 9, 1839, introduced into the House of Commons a Bill to suspend the Constitution of Jamaica. The measure was opposed by Sir Robert Peel, who quoted Canning's opinion, that "nothing short of absolute and demonstrable necessity should induce him to moot the awful question of the transcendental power of Parliament over every dependency of the British Crown, for that transcendental power was an arcanum of Empire which ought to be kept back within the penetralia of the Constitution." Counsel was heard at the bar of the House of Commons on behalf of the Assembly. On a division the majority for the Bill was only five. Lord Melbourne thereupon resigned, but returned to office almost immediately on Sir Robert Peel

being unable to assume the Government in consequence of "the Bedchamber Plot." An Act was soon passed enabling the the Governor of Jamaica in Council to legislate, if the Assembly did not within two months from the date of its reassembling enact such measures as were necessary. Sir Lionel Smith was replaced by Sir Charles Metcalfe as Governor, and the Assembly resumed its functions. In 1853 there was another deadlock, when, for reasons stated in a resolution of May 20th in that year, the Assembly "declined to do any business with the Honourable Board of Council." By a law passed in 1854 the constitution of the Council was changed so as to admit a larger number of non-official members, the Assembly gave up its right to initiate money votes, and an Executive Committee, consisting of members of the Legislature, was constituted to advise the Governor and to act as intermediaries between the Legislature and the Government. Such was the constitution when, in 1865, the Morant Bay insurrection took place, for which Gordon and others were executed.

Jamaica made a Crown Colony.

Before Governor Eyre was recalled, on account of undue severity in suppressing the insurrection, the panic-stricken colonists had committed political suicide, and Jamaica passed under the Crown Colony system of government in 1866. Since that date some modifications of the constitution have been made by Orders-in-Council; an elective element has been introduced into the Legislative Council, which now consists of fourteen electives and sixteen officials. Of the latter the Governor is one, but he has a casting vote only. A Privy Council takes the place of the Executive Council in other Colonies.

Church and Education.

An Anglican bishopric of Jamaica was created in 1824. Disestablishment and disendowment have almost been completed; but the Church in its impoverished condition has, under the able guidance of Archbishop Nuttall, shown more signs of vitality than in the days of its temporal prosperity. Elementary schools, both secular and denominational, are State-aided. There is provision for secondary education, and several schools for the training of teachers have been established.

Dependencies of Jamaica: Turks and Caicos Islands.

There have been incorporated from time to time with the Colony of Jamaica various dependencies. The Turks and the Caicos Islands, formerly part of the Bahamas Colony, were made a separate Colony in 1848 with a President of their own subordinate to the Governor of Jamaica, and in 1873, by Act of Parliament, were annexed to Jamaica.

Grand Turk was for a long time a claimant to the honour of being the San Salvador of Columbus. Practically the only industry is the production of salt from sea-water by distillation; and the royalty of the salt thus produced forms the chief source of revenue. There are also (in the Caicos Islands) plantations of sisal hemp and a sponge fishery. Free elementary education is provided by the Government.

Morant Cays and Pedro Cays. These islets and coral reefs were annexed to Jamaica on May 9, 1882. They form part of the magisterial district of the parish of Kingston. Leases of the islets have from time to time been granted; sea-birds' eggs, turtle, and guano are collected there, and cocoanut trees have been planted.

Cayman Islands. The Cayman Islands were a haunt of buccaneers in the seventeenth century. In 1863 they were annexed to Jamaica. The climate is very healthy, and the principal industry is turtle-catching off the coast of Central America, the boats for which are built in these islands. The religious and educational interests of the islanders are looked after by the Baptist and Presbyterian denominations.

IV.

BRITISH EAST AND WEST AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

We have already dealt with the expansion of British dominion in Africa from its southernmost point towards the centre of the continent (*see* pp. 472-548); and in a future chapter we shall have to describe British rule in the north (*see* pp. 714-35). Here we are concerned with the east and the west. Geographically British East Africa may be said to consist of four political divisions, namely, the Protectorates of (1) British East Africa, (2) Uganda, (3) The islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and (4) the isolated Protectorate of Somaliland, situated further north.

(1) East Africa Protectorate.

Physical Features.

The East Africa Protectorate extends from the Umba to the Juba River, and inland as far as the borders of Uganda. The Uganda railway, passing through the country from the sea, crosses seven well-distinguished belts parallel to the coast, namely, the coast strip, the jungle belt, the volcanic plains, the great Rift Valley, the Mau-Kamasia plateau, the basin of the Victoria Nyanza, and the valley of the Nile. The country, therefore, affords great variety of climate and products.

Previous History.

When the Portuguese first visited the coast in 1498 they found a number of petty Arab chieftains existing in political independence, of whom the sultan of Mombasa was the chief. During the sixteenth century they established their authority over

these Arabs, without displacing them, and maintained the system of ruling through native chiefs until 1631, when the Sultan of Mombasa massacred the Europeans dwelling in his capital. From that time the Portuguese appointed a European governor for the district. About 1660 the inhabitants of the coast towns invited the Imam of Maskat (or Muscat) and Oman, whose dominions are situated in the south-west of Arabia, to expel the Portuguese. After nearly forty years warfare the Imam captured Mombasa on December 12, 1698, and drove the Portuguese out of all their possessions, except Mozambique. The real power passed into the hands of the Arab family of Mazrui, who, from representing the authority of the Imam, became practically independent. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Bu Saidi replaced the Yorubi as the ruling family in Oman, and in 1832 Seyyid Said, after breaking the power of the Mazrui, transferred his capital to Zanzibar, which soon became the principal town in East Africa, north of Mozambique. On his death in 1856 his dominions were divided between his two sons, and Zanzibar ceased to be connected politically with Oman.

Expulsion of the Portuguese.

From about the middle of the nineteenth century the interior of East Africa began to be known to Europeans. In 1848 the German missionary, Rebmann, discovered Mount Kilima'njaro, and in the following year his colleague, Krapf, discovered Mount Kenia. In 1858 John Hanning Speke and Captain (afterwards Sir Richard) Burton reached Lake Tanganyika, and in 1863 Speke and James Augustus Grant made their way to the Victoria Nyanza and then on through Uganda, and down the Nile to Egypt.

Exploration of the Interior.

The connection of Britain with East Africa goes back some time. So early as December, 1823, the Mazrui rulers of Mombasa had endeavoured to obtain the protection of England against the rulers of Oman, had promised to abolish the slave trade, and had even proceeded without authority to hoist the British flag at Mombasa. The British Government refused to sanction this arrangement with Mombasa; but British influence was also very strong in Zanzibar itself, and in 1845 a treaty was signed to restrict the traffic in slaves. After the death of Seyyid Said in 1856 a dispute between his sons as to their dominions was referred to the arbitration of Lord Canning, the Governor-

British connections with East Africa.

General of India, and Seyyid Said's Asiatic and African dominions were divided between his sons; Seyyid Thuwaini was declared Imam of Maskat or Muscat, while Seyyid Majid succeeded his father as Sultan of Zanzibar. During the reign of his brother Seyyid Burgash, a prudent and able ruler who succeeded in 1870, British influence developed rapidly in Zanzibar. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 stimulated European interest in East Africa, and in 1872 the British India Steam Navigation Company established regular communication between India, Zanzibar and Europe. In 1873 and in 1875, after the Sultan's visit to Europe, further treaties were concluded against the slave trade, and in 1879 the Eastern Telegraph Company's cable was opened between Zanzibar and Aden. In 1878 Sir William Mackinnon, the head of the British India Steam Navigation Company, opened negotiations with the Sultan Seyyid Burgash for the lease of a territory stretching eleven hundred and fifty miles along the coast, from Tungi to Warsheik, and extending inland as far as the Eastern Province of the Congo Free State. The district comprised at least five hundred and ninety thousand square miles and included Lakes Nyasa, Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza. The British Government, however, declined to sanction the concession, which, if ratified, would have secured for England the whole of what is now German East Africa. As it was, the "Society for German Colonization" secured a large part of the Sultan's dominions on the mainland, and in 1885 obtained from the German Emperor a charter of protection. In 1886, by an agreement between England and Germany, the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar were defined and restricted to the distance of ten miles inland from the coast. That part of the *hinterland* between the Umba and Tana rivers was declared to be within the British sphere of influence.

The British East Africa Company.

In 1887 the British East Africa Association was formed, and obtained from Seyyid Burgash a grant of his possessions on the mainland from the Umba to Kipini; on September 3, 1888, the Association was constituted the Imperial British East Africa Company, and was granted a royal charter. The Chairman was Sir William Mackinnon. Difficulties arose with the Germans, who held the protectorate over the country south of a line between the mouth of the Umba and the point where the first degree of southern latitude cut the eastern shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza, and had also established themselves at Witu, just north of the Tana.

These difficulties were settled by a fresh agreement concluded between Great Britain and Germany on July 1, 1890. By this treaty, in return for the cession of Heligoland, Germany renounced all claim to Witu, and agreed to the extension of the English protectorate northwards to the Juba, recognising also the English protectorate over the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. Previously, on June 14, 1890, the Sultan had accepted the British protectorate, and on August 5, France recognised it in exchange for the recognition by Great Britain of the French protectorate over Madagascar. In 1891 Benadir, the Sultan's territory to the north of the British Protectorate, was leased to Italy until 1906, when it was bought outright by the Italian Government, and the boundary was fixed at the mid-channel of the Juba up to latitude 6°N. Thence it was to run along the parallel of latitude to longitude 35°E., and thence to follow the meridian up to the Blue Nile. On May 12, 1894, the eastern frontier was determined by an agreement with the Congo Free State.

The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890.

The establishment of the Protectorates.

The British East Africa Company found the task of developing the immense country under their charge exceedingly heavy, and they made little advance beyond the territory originally granted them by the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1887. Elsewhere the absence of roads and railways, and the warlike character of the Arabs, made progress almost impossible. In 1893 the Company retired from Witu, and in March, 1895, they relinquished their charter and sold their remaining rights to the English Government for a sum of £250,000. On August 31, 1896, all the British territories in East Africa, except the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba and the Protectorate of Uganda, were formed into the East Africa Protectorate. In 1895 the outbreak of the Mazrui rebellion proclaimed the discontent of the Arabs with British rule, and its suppression in 1896 marked the definite substitution of European for Arab domination. In 1902 all the territory between 36° longitude and Lake Victoria Nyanza was transferred from the Uganda to the East Africa Protectorate; and on April 1, 1905, the Protectorate was removed from the authority of the Foreign to that of the Colonial Office. Towards the close of 1906 it was placed under the control of a Governor with nominated Legislative and Executive Councils. In effect its constitution is that of a Crown Colony. It consists of seven provinces and a tract of country (Boran) to the north which is not yet organised. The provinces, which are

each under a provincial commissioner, are divided into districts and sub-districts. The Uganda railway, which was commenced in January, 1896, extends from Mombasa through Nairobi to Port Florence on the Victoria Nyanza. It is worked as a State railway, is more than five hundred and eighty-four miles long, and cost over five millions to construct.

(2) The Uganda Protectorate.

The Uganda Protectorate is bounded on the west by the Congo Free State, on the south by the German East African Protectorate, on the East by British East Africa, and on the north by the Egyptian Sudan. Besides Uganda proper it includes Unyoro, Usoga, Kavironda, Ankoli and Toru, countries differing very essentially from each other in climate and inhabitants. The Bantu inhabitants of Uganda proper are among the most advanced African races; those in Unyoro and Usoga approach them in civilization, whilst the northern districts are inhabited by some of the most primitive tribes in Africa; these are of the Wichwezi people, negroid in race and deep black in colour. In the southern districts of Ankoli and Toru are the Wahuma race of Asiatic invaders, who some four or five centuries ago came from the north-east and settled there.

The Natives.

The first foreigners to penetrate the interior in modern times were the Arab traders. In 1862 Speke and Grant were the earliest Europeans to reach Uganda, where they found a clothed and comparatively civilized people, governed by a cruel pagan despot, named Mtesa. In 1872 Sir Samuel Baker, who was in the Egyptian service, invaded Unyoro, but was forced to retreat, and in 1875 Stanley, arriving in Uganda, found that Mtesa had come under the influence of Islam. In the following year Colonel Gordon annexed the northern part of Unyoro to Egypt, and in May, 1877, he sent Emin to visit Kabarega, the king of Unyoro.

British Pioneers in Uganda.

In July, 1877, the Church Missionary Society established a mission in Uganda and early in 1879 two French Roman Catholic missionaries appeared. From this time violent dissension arose between the missions, while at the same time the Islam propaganda was hostile to both. The king, Mtesa, though for a time inclined to Mohammedanism, eventually remained a pagan until his death in the autumn of 1884. He

Missionaries and Mwanga.

was succeeded by the well-known Mwanga, whose love of blood was greater than his father's. Early in 1885 the advance of European influence alarmed the new king, and a vigorous persecution of the native Christians began. In October Bishop Hannington was murdered, and the remaining missionary, Alexander Mackay, found himself in great danger, and was forced to retire south of Lake Victoria Nyanza. Mwanga, however, made the mistake of attempting to carry out a pagan reaction, and thus united Mohammedans and Protestants against him. They drove him out of the country and made king his eldest son, Kiwewa; and then the Mohammedans, surprising the Christians, put them to flight and sacked both Protestant and Catholic missions. A new king, Kalema, was placed on the throne, and a fanatical Mohammedan rule commenced. In 1889 the Christians, who had taken refuge with Ntali, the ruler of Ankoli, joined the refugee, Mwanga, and after four obstinate engagements, succeeded in routing the Mohammedans, and restoring Mwanga on October 11, 1889. This success was but temporary. A few days later Mwanga was overthrown by Kalema and driven into the islands of Lake Victoria Nyanza. Early in 1890, however, he again defeated the Mohammedans and seized the throne.

The Germans in Uganda.

In March, 1890, Karl Peters, a German agent, arrived in the country and endeavoured to secure it for Germany by means of a treaty, which was afterwards disavowed by his Government. This alarmed the Imperial British East Africa Company, which had recently obtained its charter, and desired to extend its trade beyond Victoria Nyanza. Apprehensive of Peters' machinations, the Company hastened to despatch Captain (now Sir Frederick) Lugard to secure its interests. On his arrival in December he found the English and French religious factions at violent feud. He insisted on changing their designations to those of Protestant and Roman Catholic, thus emphasising the fact that both Germany and France had recognised the English right of control in the agreements concerning East Africa drawn up in July and August (*see* p. 693) He endeavoured to preserve neutrality in the religious quarrel, although he was seriously menaced by Mwanga and the Roman Catholic faction. On Christmas Day he obtained the signature of a treaty by Mwanga, giving him the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the country,

Captain Lugard's Mission.

and in May, 1891, he routed the Mohammedans who had been aided by Kabarega of Unyoro. In September, feeling the necessity of a larger armed force, he recruited a considerable body of Sudanese, left by Emin at Kavalli's on Lake Albert Nyanza. In January, 1892, the Roman Catholic faction attacked Kampala, where Captain Lugard was stationed, but were defeated and driven to seek refuge in the islands, where they also carried Mwanga, whom Captain Lugard endeavoured to induce to return. The king was not unwilling, but he was held virtually a prisoner and forced to accompany the Roman Catholic missionaries to German territory. In March, 1891, however, he escaped, and returned to Uganda, when Captain Lugard received him courteously, and restored him to the throne. A general settlement followed. The province of Buddu was given to the Roman Catholic chiefs and three minor provinces to the Mohammedans, and thus friction was avoided by a geographical separation of the factions.

Restoration of Mwanga.

But though tranquillity was thus temporarily restored, the country was threatened with a change which would at once have plunged it again into conflict. In December, 1891, the directors of the British East Africa Company informed Captain Lugard that they could not afford to maintain their hold on the territory, and that he must be prepared to abandon it by the close of 1892. He felt that it was morally impossible to leave those Waganda, who had fought for him, unprotected, and in June, 1892, returned alone to England to appeal to the nation, leaving Captain Williams in command. The influence of the Church Missionary Society and of other philanthropic bodies was exerted against withdrawal, and the English government, after sending Sir Gerald Portal to report on the best means of dealing with the country, finally declared a Protectorate over Uganda proper.

Establishment of the Uganda Protectorate.

Before this determination was reached, other provinces had been brought under English control. In May, 1891, Captain Williams had partly conquered and organised Usoga, to the east of Uganda, and in October, 1892, after Captain Lugard's departure, he sent Grant to control the province. In February, 1893, he subjugated the Buvuma islanders residing on the northern shore of Victoria Nyanza. On March 17, Portal arrived on his mission of inquiry and shortly afterwards

Extension of British influence.

Williams left for the coast. Portal departed after a visit of two months, and entrusted the administration to Major James R. L. Macdonald. Trouble almost immediately arose with the Mohammedans, which was intensified by the disposition shown by Emin's Sudanese to make common cause with them. By firm measures Major Macdonald repressed the insubordination in Uganda, but Major Owen, in command of detached Sudanese garrisons which had been placed in southern Unyoro, was in great danger, and only averted mutiny by his coolness and resource. The garrisons were then withdrawn from Unyoro and concentrated in western Uganda.

In November, 1893, Colonel (afterwards Sir Henry) Colvile and took over the command. He found that Kabarega, the ruler of Unyoro, had invaded the friendly province of Toru, south of West Unyoro. Organising an expedition, he occupied Kabarega's capital, and after driving him out of the country, returned to Uganda in February, 1894, leaving Captain Thurston in command of the conquered country. Fighting went on in the northern districts of Unyoro for the rest of the year, at the close of which Colonel Colvile was invalided. In June, 1895, he was replaced by Mr. E. J. L. Berkeley, the first commissioner of Uganda, who was appointed as a consequence of the formal proclamation of the Protectorate in August, 1894.

Troubles with Mwanga and the Sudanese.

The years 1895 and 1896 were a period of peace and economic progress, which was unbroken except by desultory fighting on the frontiers. Two European trading firms established themselves at the capital, and the cultivation of rice, wheat, cotton, and tobacco was vigorously undertaken. In July, 1897, however, King Mwanga suddenly fled from the capital, after the discovery of a plot to raise a revolt. He went southwards to the Roman Catholics in Buddu, on the west shore of Victoria Nyanza, but failing to maintain himself there was driven into German territory, where he was made a prisoner by the Germans. The trouble seemed over in August, when suddenly about six hundred of the Sudanese mutinied. This force, which had fought very well, both in Unyoro and against Mwanga, had long been overworked and underpaid, and in addition their pay was six months in arrear. On October 19, they were defeated in a hard fought action, near Luba's, on the Nile, by Major Macdonald at the head of a force of Zanzibaris, and the same night they murdered three European officers, whom they had previously made prisoners. Constant skirmish-

ing followed without decisive results, and in January the situation was made more serious by the escape of Mwanga, who reappeared in Buddu. Fortunately the remaining Sudanese remained loyal, but it was necessary to disarm them, and in consequence the forces at Macdonald's disposal were too scanty to deal simultaneously with the whole of the insurgents. He defeated Mwanga with a force of Swahilis and Baganda, but this diversion gave the mutineers at Luba's an opportunity of marching northwards with a view of rallying to their aid their countrymen stationed in Unyoro. On February 24, 1898, after the opportune arrival of a reinforcement of one hundred and fifty Indian troops, a decisive engagement was fought at Kabagambi, when Captain Harrison succeeded in carrying the mutineers' fortified position with the bayonet. This success saved the situation. In April large reinforcements of Indian troops arrived, and the insurgents, whom Mwanga had succeeded in joining, were confined to North Unyoro. In June they were driven across the Nile into the Wakedi country, and by October their power was finally broken. But they continued to give annoyance until, late in 1899, Lieut.-Colonel J. T. Evatt captured Mwanga and Kabarega, both of whom were deported; Mwanga died in 1903.

The Uganda Railway.

The Protectorate was gradually enlarged in 1896 and the succeeding years, until it extended over the whole area, included in the sphere of influence accorded to England by the treaties with France in Germany in 1890 (*see* p. 693). The commercial development of the country was materially assisted by the completion of the railway from Mombasa to the east shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza in April, 1900, and by the launch of the Protectorate steamer "William Mackinnon" on Lake Victoria, on June 4, 1899. In 1902 the two provinces of the Uganda Protectorate, east of Lake Victoria Nyanza—Naivasha and Kisumu—were made over to the East Africa Protectorate, chiefly in order to bring the whole of the country traversed by the railway under one authority. The present Protectorate consists of five provinces—the Eastern Province, the Rudolf Province, the Nile Province, the western Province, and the kingdom of Buganda. Most of the districts are more or less directly under English administration, but the native rulers are encouraged to govern their own subjects. The province of Buganda is recognised as a native kingdom under a Kabaka, Daudi Chua, grandson of

Mtesa, and he is assisted in the government by a native assembly or Lukiko.

(3) The Zanzibar Protectorate.

The dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, which had originally stretched from Mozambique almost to Somaliland, had gradually, by grants to the British and German East Africa Companies and by the leasing of Benadir to Italy (*see* p. 693), been confined to the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and a strip ten miles broad extending along the coast of the British East Africa Protectorate; and these were in 1890 themselves placed under British protection, the coastal strip on the mainland being transferred to the administration of the British East Africa Protectorate. In 1891 a regular system of government was formed, and on February 1, 1892, Zanzibar was declared a free port. It only remained so until October, 1899, when a 5 per cent. *ad valorem* import duty was imposed, and this was increased to 7½ per cent. in January, 1908. The Sultan remained the titular sovereign, and the seizure of the palace at Zanzibar by Seyyid Khaled bin Burgash in 1896 led to the bombardment of the city by British warships, and to the establishment on the throne of Seyyid Hamoud, whose son, Seyyid Ali, is the reigning Sultan, though a minor and under the control of the Britsh Agent and Consul-General. In 1897 the legal status of slavery was abolished.

(4) The Somaliland Protectorate.

The Somaliland Protectorate extends from Lahadu, west of Zeila, to Bandar Ziyada. In 1884 the territory was transferred from Egyptian control to the government of India. In 1894 the limits of the protectorate were defined by an agreement with Italy, but after the defeat of the Italians by the Abyssinians a fresh arrangement was made with Abyssinia by which about fifteen thousand square miles were ceded to that country. On October 1, 1898, the control was transferred to the Foreign Office, from which it passed to the Colonial Office on April 1, 1905. Considerable trouble was given for some years by the incursion of an Arab Mulla, known as the Mad Mulla, who successfully evaded the troops sent to crush him. In 1905, by an arrangement with Italy, he received a tract of country within the Italian protectorate, and the expeditionary troops were withdrawn.

CHAPTER II.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

The British possessions in West Africa are five in number. Taken in order, beginning from the north, they are (1) the Gambia Colony and Protectorate; (2) the Sierra Leone Colony and Protectorate; (3) the Gold Coast Colony, with Ashanti and the Northern Territories; (4) the Northern Nigeria Protectorate; and (5) the Southern Nigeria Colony and Protectorate. Of these, the two last mentioned, which we shall consider together under the name of Nigeria, although the most recent, are by far the most important, both politically and commercially. The Gold Coast also, with its extensive *hinterland*, gives promise of great development, while the colonies of Gambia and Sierra Leone are of less value and extent.

(1) GAMBIA.

Portuguese and English.

The colony of Gambia, the most northern of the English possessions on the west coast of Africa, derives its name from the river on the banks of which it is situated. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to obtain a knowledge of the West African Coast in the course of their explorations during the fifteenth century, but they made no serious effort to take possession of any territory near the Gambia. During the following century English traders began to visit the river, and in 1588 Elizabeth granted a charter to a company to trade with Gambia. In 1618 the Company of Adventurers of London trading into Africa, was formed, and under their auspices a sea captain named George Thompson formed a trading station at Oranto upon the river Gambia. He was murdered by the natives, and a second expedition in 1620,

under Richard Jobson, produced no permanent results. The river, however, from its accessibility, gradually became a centre of trade with England and in the course of the next hundred years a number of trading stations were founded, and Fort James was erected in 1664, eighteen miles above Bathurst. In 1723 the Royal African Company sent Captain Bartholomew Stubbs to examine the river and subsequently assisted to develop further the trade, which consisted chiefly in slaves and ivory.

Establishment of the Colony.

In 1783 Gambia was recognised as an English possession by the treaty of Versailles. The river acquired new importance in 1791 and 1795, when the African Association attempted to penetrate to Central Africa by means of expeditions proceeding up the Gambia, the second being under the famous traveller, Mungo Park; but the base was found to be unsuitable for such explorations. In 1807 Gambia was placed under the government of Sierra Leone, and in 1816, after the abolition of the slave trade, the town of Bathurst was founded as a settlement for liberated slaves and for British traders expelled from Senegal by the French. In 1823 McCarthy's Island, one hundred and fifty miles above Bathurst, was bought from the natives as a trade depot, and named after the governor of Sierra Leone (p. 704).

In 1843 Gambia was constituted a separate colony, but in 1866 it was again annexed to Sierra Leone. In December, 1888, it was finally erected into a separate colony. Its limits were determined by the Anglo-French Boundary Commission of 1891, which gave the Colony dominion over a strip of territory ten kilometres in breadth on each bank of the river from the mouth to the Barraconda Falls, two hundred and fifty-seven miles above Bathurst, and in addition the navigable waters of Vintang Creek.

Its Government.

The Government of the Colony of Gambia is controlled by a Governor, assisted by an Executive and a Legislative Council, both nominated by the Crown. With the exception, however, of the Island of St. Mary, on which Bathurst stands, the territory is administered on the protectorate system. There are five travelling commissioners, whose duty it is to make themselves acquainted with native affairs by visiting the villages and towns of the interior and holding courts of justice, where appeals may be heard against the native chiefs.

(2) Sierra Leone.

The territory of Sierra Leone has a seaboard extending roughly from the ninth to the seventh degree of northern latitude, between French Guinea on the north and the republic of Liberia on the south. The discoverers of the river and the earliest traders therein were the Portuguese, who gave it its name, but in the seventeenth century English merchants established a trading station on Bunce Island. This settlement was not suffered to exist unmolested, for in 1704 it was captured by the French, and in 1721 was plundered by a famous pirate, Bartholomew Roberts.

A Colony of Freed Slaves.

After the conclusion of the American War an attempt was made in 1787 by Wilberforce and other opponents of slavery to found a settlement named Freetown on the peninsula of Sierra Leone, for negroes discharged from the army and navy, and refugee slaves. This settlement was, however, a failure, and Freetown lay deserted until 1791, when the Sierra Leone Company, formed in that year, re-occupied it. In 1794 it was plundered by the French during the governorship of Lord Macaulay's father, Zachary Macaulay, and in consequence the Sierra Leone Company sold it to the English government, by whom it was placed under the management of the African Institution, promoted by the opponents of slavery. The Sierra Leone Company continued to trade with the settlement, and in 1808 the administration was resumed by the Crown. Sierra Leone has always been administered in a manner peculiarly favourable to the black races, and in no other English settlement have they the same position and authority. The population of its capital is composed largely of freed slaves, and is therefore drawn from a great variety of tribes and races. In consequence its commercial development has not been remarkable, and for almost the whole of the nineteenth century it was financially a burden on the English Government.

Expansion of Sierra Leone.

For a long time the Colony was confined to the immediate neighbourhood of Freetown, but after 1860 it became clear that it was necessary to control the neighbouring coast in order to prevent the diversion of trade to other routes. In 1861 the district of Quiah and the island of Sherboro were acquired, and in 1877 Sir Samuel Rowe occupied the island of Kikonkeh, at the mouth of the Great Scarcies River. In

1886 the annexation of the coast line from the Great Scarcies to the Liberian frontier was completed. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the territory of the colony was also extended inland until it was stopped by French annexations. On December 22, 1893, an accidental collision occurred at Waima in the eastern frontier, between a French and an English force in search of a body of Sofas or Mohammedan freebooters, for whom each force was taken by the other. In January, 1895, the boundary between French and English territory was fixed by an agreement made in Paris. In August, 1896, a protectorate was proclaimed over the *hinterland* of the Colony, and Ordinances have been issued providing for the administration of this Protectorate, which is divided into five districts, and is peopled by eleven distinct tribes who are generally peaceable. In 1904 the Los Islands and some territory on the Gambia were ceded to France as compensation for her rights in Newfoundland (p. 324). The Colony is ruled by a Governor, with nominated Executive and Legislative Councils. The capital, Freetown, was granted municipal rights in 1895, and a narrow gauge railway has been constructed thence to Baiima, near the frontier of Liberia, the first railway in West Africa; a light railway also runs to Wilberforce. The products of the Colony and Protectorate which constitute its principal exports are palm kernels, palm oil, kola nuts, indiarubber, copal, hides and ginger.

French and British.

Organisation of the Colony and Protectorate.

(3) The Gold Coast.

The Gold Coast includes the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, between 2°W. and 1°10′E., being bounded on the west by the French Ivory Coast, and on the east by the German Colony of Togoland. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to visit its shores in 1471, when two of their seamen obtained gold from the coast of La Mina; and in 1483 the fort of Elmina was founded by King John II. In deference to the Papal grant to Portugal the English King Edward IV. prohibited merchants from visiting the Guinea Coast. In 1553 it was visited by Thomas Wyndham, and in 1554 by John Lok, who returned with a large quantity of gold and ivory. The Portuguese, however, alarmed for their monopoly, succeeded in driving traders of other nations from the district until 1595,

The Portuguese.

when the Dutch formed trading stations and forts on the Gold Coast. In 1637 they captured Elmina by stratagem, and in 1642 the whole of the Gold Coast was ceded to them by Portugal, which was just beginning its war of independence against Spain.

Dutch and English.

At this time the large profits of the slave trade had caused the almost complete abandonment of other forms of commerce, and the English, in order to obtain a share in it, founded a station at Cape Coast Castle. In the reign of Charles II. it was surprised by the Dutch, but shortly afterwards retaken by Captain Robert Holmes. This dispute resulted in war between the two nations, and at its close in 1667 Cape Coast Castle was confirmed to England by the treaty of Breda. Soon afterwards the Royal African Company established forts at Dixcove, Sekondi, Anamabo, Winnebah, and Accra, while the Danes, Brandenburgers, and French also erected stations. On the outbreak of war in 1780, several Dutch settlements were captured by the English, but restored in 1784 after the conclusion of peace.

The Ashantis.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century the *hinterland* of the Gold Coast was occupied by the powerful Ashanti people; in 1719 they conquered the Denkeras, on whose territory the Dutch stations were situated, and inherited the monthly rent received from those traders. During the latter part of the eighteenth century they were extremely successful in war, and in the early years of the nineteenth they attacked both the English and the Dutch. By 1816 they were masters of all the coast from Assinie to the Volta. In 1821 the Royal African Company became bankrupt, surrendered its charter, and transferred its forts to the Crown, Sir Charles McCarthy being appointed first governor of the Gold Coast. McCarthy resolved to repress the aggressions of the Ashantis; but, undervaluing his opponents, he was defeated and killed at the battle of Asamanko, his head being preserved as a trophy (1824). Two years later, however, the Ashantis were severely repulsed in an attack on Accra at Katamansu, and in 1831 the Tripartite Treaty, usually known as Maclean's treaty, was signed, by which the Ashantis gave up Denkera, Assin and other provinces.

After this war the English Government abandoned the idea of maintaining the Gold Coast as a separate Crown Colony, and in 1843 annexed Cape Coast Castle and Accra to Sierra Leone.

The affairs of the Gold Coast were entrusted to a Lieutenant-Governor with a council, and a small military garrison. In 1850 the Danes, whose earliest settlements dated from the middle of the seventeenth century, left the coast, ceding to England their forts at Christiansborg, Ningo, Adda, and Keta. This was followed by an arrangement with the Dutch, whose forts were intermingled with the English, by which Holland received all the English possessions west of the Sweet River, and ceded to England all the Dutch possessions east of the same river. Unfortunately the natives were ill-contented with the arrangement and the affairs of the colony were in consequence much disturbed, until in 1872 the Dutch made over all their possessions to England.

Acquisition of the Danish and Dutch Settlements.

In the meantime the Ashantis, after twenty years' peace, began again to give trouble. By the treaty of 1831 they had been guaranteed free access to the coast for trade. Their traders were, however, frequently robbed by the intervening tribes, and the English Government took no measures to secure the safety of the routes. In consequence, in 1853 the Ashantis invaded Assin, one of the provinces which they had ceded in 1831. They were driven back, but in 1863 they attacked the Fantis, and Governor Pine, after endeavouring to repel them with an insufficient force, was obliged to retreat. The Ashantis naturally regarded this as a triumph, but no further hostilities took place until 1873, when the Ashanti King, Kwofi Kari-Kari, incensed that England, by the withdrawal of the Dutch, had become the protector of all the coast tribes, invaded the protectorate in three columns directed on Denkera, Assin, and Akim. There was no force in the colony capable of repelling the Ashantis, and they laid siege to Elmina. Before that place, however, they suffered a serious defeat in June, at the hands of a small relieving force, despatched in haste from England. In October Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived at Cape Coast Castle, and finding the Ashantis defiant, endeavoured to organise a native force and sent for English troops. In December the English forces arrived and Wolseley commenced to advance on Kumasi. After heavy fighting he reached the Ashanti capital on February 4, 1874, and burnt it to the ground. The Ashantis, who were further terrified by the advance of a detachment under Captain Glover from another direction, then sued for peace. At the conclusion of

Renewal of the Ashanti Wars.

the war the Gold Coast and Lagos were separated from Sierra Leone and formed into the Gold Coast Colony, but in 1886 the Gold Coast lost Lagos, which was constituted a separate colony (*see* p. 712).

Annexation of Ashanti.

This loss was more than repaired ten years later by the acquisition of the Ashanti *hinterland*. Owing to the activity of the French in West Africa, it became necessary to obtain effective control over Ashanti. In 1895 King Prempeh was summoned to carry out the terms of the treaty of 1874, which he had broken repeatedly, and to receive a British resident. On his refusal an expedition numbering about three thousand men under Colonel Scott invaded Ashanti in January, 1896; Prince Henry of Battenberg accompanied the expedition and died of fever. Kumasi was occupied without resistance, Prempeh deposed, and the country of Ashanti placed under a protectorate in August. In September, 1901, it was definitely annexed, the governor of the Gold Coast being appointed governor of Ashanti, and in the same year the territories lying north of the parallel of 8°N. latitude were placed under a chief commissioner of the Northern Territories, who was subordinated to the Governor.

Economic Conditions.

In the Colony and Ashanti gold is found in quartz, in banket, and in alluvium, and the output is rapidly increasing. The Northern Territories are also said to contain large gold-bearing districts. The soil is perhaps the richest in West Africa, and a large and flourishing industry has sprung up since the introduction of the cocoa plant, about twelve thousand tons being exported annually. A railway has been constructed from Sekondi, on the coast, through Obuassi to Kumasi, and road construction is proceeding rapidly, while a second railway is being built from Accra northwards. The Colony proper is administered by the Governor with the aid of nominated Executive and Legislative Councils.

(4) and (5) British Nigeria.

Physical Features.

British Nigeria, including Lagos, comprises the countries situated between French Dahomey on the west, the French Sudan on the north, and the German Cameroons on the east. It is a country whose coastline is intersected by a network of waterways which effectually masked for centuries the great

rivers behind. When these, with their dense vegetable growth, are passed, the land presents a series of plateaux rising one above the other from the sea level, and affording in consequence great varieties of climate. Through it flow two great rivers, the Niger and the Benué, which, with their affluents, furnish a system of waterways pervading the country. On the north-east corner is situated the great Lake Chad.

Native Tribes.

The present territory of British Nigeria comprises a variety of native states. To the north-east is the former Mohammedan kingdom of Bornu. Westward are the old Hausa states, while to the south and west lives the Fulah people, a brown race quite distinct from the negroes, who founded a great Mohammedan empire. Nearer the coast the races sink in the scale of civilization, until we reach the swamps and impenetrable forests of the Niger delta, inhabited by pagan tribes, given in many cases to cannibalism and human sacrifice.

Bornu and the Fulahs.

In contradistinction to these, the Bornu state has a civilisation going back nearly a thousand years. The people have a tradition that they were of Berber origin, and they are probably a mixed race, arising from the conquests of the Arabs in the early days of Mohammedanism. In the sixteenth century Bornu reached the height of its power, and for more than two hundred years it had no rival. Early in the nineteenth century, however, the Fulahs, hitherto a peaceable pastoral people, became inflamed with zeal for Islam, attacked and subjugated the pagan Hausas, and extended their empire as far south as the Niger and Benué. Their leader, Sheik Othman Dan Fodio, established his capital at Sokoto. They then assailed the kingdom of Bornu, but in 1808 they were defeated and driven out, and from this time until the changes of very recent times, northern Nigeria was divided between the kingdom of Bornu and the empire of the Fulahs, subsequently subdivided into the states of Sokoto and Gando.

Exploration of the Niger.

Although the existence of the Niger was long known, no European traveller had seen this great river, hidden by the multitude of its estuaries, before the latter years of the eighteenth century. In 1788 a number of Englishmen, among whom was Sir Joseph Banks, formed the African Association, in order to explore the Niger country. After several unsuccessful attempts by various explorers, a young Scot, Mungo

Park, starting from the Gambia river, reached the Niger on July 21, 1796, at Segu, the capital of Bambarra. In August, 1805, he found it a second time at Bambaku and embarked with a view to tracing the river to its mouth, believing it to be an affluent of the Congo; but unfortunately, after passing Timbuctoo and entering the Hausa country, he was drowned with his companions at the cataract of Boussa. In 1821 a government expedition under Dr. Oudney, Lieutenant Clapperton, R.N., and Major Denham, starting from Tripoli reached Bornu, where they were well received by the Sultan at his capital, Kuka. Denham took part in an expedition against the Fulahs and narrowly escaped when it was defeated, while Clapperton and Oudney visited the Hausa States, where Oudney died in January, 1824. In January, 1825, Clapperton and Denham regained Tripoli, having obtained for the first time reliable knowledge of what is now known as Northern Nigeria. Clapperton, when visiting the Hausa States, had pushed on to Sokoto; there he formed a friendship with the Fulah Sultan, Bello, who promised to send an escort at a certain date to Whydah in the Bight of Benin to conduct him to Sokoto. In consequence a second expedition under Clapperton's charge was sent to the Bight of Benin in November, 1825, but found no news of the escort. Undeterred, he set out through the Yoruba country for Sokoto, and on April 1, 1826, reached Boussa, where Mungo Park met his death. Proceeding through Nupe and Kano, he joined the Sultan of Sokoto on a war expedition on October 15, and six months later died at Sokoto. His work was taken up by his famous servant, Richard Lemon Lander, who had accompanied him on this expedition. In March, 1830, Lander, with his brother John, struck inland from Badagry, on the Lagos coast, arrived at Boussa in July and sailed down the Niger. On October 25 they reached the confluence of the Benué, and a month later they were taken on board an English vessel at Brass, having at last discovered the secret of the course of the river.

Mungo Park.

Denham and Clapperton.

Richard Lander.

In 1832 a Liverpool merchant, Macgregor Laird, impressed by Lander's account of the resources of the new land, determined to attempt to develop a trade with the inhabitants. He fitted out two steamers, which ascended the Niger

Macgregor Laird and Commercial Development.

as far as Rabbah, but the attempt was commercially a failure, and the dangers of the climate were made clear: of forty-eight Europeans who took part only nine remained alive in 1834. In 1841 an effort was made by government to substitute other forms of commerce for the trade in slaves which was the curse of Southern Nigeria, but the attempt again resulted in complete failure, chiefly in consequence of the fearful mortality. In 1854 Macgregor Laird, who had disapproved of the method of conducting the expedition of 1841, succeeded in persuading government to countenance another attempt, which successfully explored the Benué, and owing to Laird's experience of the climate, returned without the loss of single member of the expedition. The result was that in 1857 Laird was granted a large annual subsidy to enable him to develop trade. Trading stations were established on the Niger, the highest being at Ghebe, below the confluence of the Benué. By the time of his death in May, 1861, he had laid the foundation of a great trade, and in 1865 the old coast merchants began to send small steamers up the Niger with goods likely to attract the natives. This state of affairs continued until 1879, when, under the influence of Mr. Goldie Taubman (now Sir George Taubman Goldie) the merchants united to form the United Africa Company, a name shortly afterwards changed to that of the National African Company. There was the more reason for this union, because the British merchants were seriously threatened by French competition. Two French commercial associations established themselves on the lower Niger, but were eventually bought out by the National African Company in October, 1884. In addition, commercial and political relations were established with chiefs far in the interior.

The National African Company.

Early in 1885 an agreement was made with Germany by which the British sphere of influence was defined. It gave to Great Britain the line of coast between the British Protectorate of Lagos and the western bank of the mouth of the Rio del Rey. Great Britain also received the territories on both banks of the Niger as far as the confluence of the Benué, and on both banks of the Benué as far as Ibi. This roughly determined the limits of English influence on the east, where the German colony of Cameroons had been established, and the boundary was afterwards more exactly defined by the Anglo-German Agreement of July 1, 1890 (*see* p. 693).

Anglo-German Agreements.

In July, 1886, the National African Company received a royal charter, and a little later in the year it took the name of the Royal Niger Company. By its charter it received power to administer and protect the territories of native chiefs, with whom it had concluded "sovereign rights" treaties, and to acquire new territories on its own behalf between the Lagos Protectorate and the frontier of the German Cameroons to the north-west. On these territories it might levy customs and other taxes, sufficient to defray administrative expenses. It was, however, prohibited from setting up or granting any trade monopoly, and the Secretary of State had a veto upon any of its acts. The Company, at the time it received its charter, had concluded treaties with about two hundred and fifty native chiefs, by which it had acquired various rights and privileges in exchange for annual subsidies ranging from £2,000 to a few shillings. The highest concession was that of the "sovereign rights," already referred to, which established the political authority of the Company over the district ruled by the chief who granted them. The Company had concluded treaties with the two great Fulah states, Sokoto and Gando, and with all the pagan countries on the Benué as far as the English sphere of influence extended. In addition it possessed a number of trading stations and a fleet of river steamers. In order to enable it to perform its administrative duties a force of Hausa police was raised, commanded by European officers, and a high court, presided over by a chief justice, was established at Asaba on the Lower Niger. During its existence of thirteen years the Royal Niger Company did valuable work for the British Empire by developing new markets of immense value, and by preparing the way for direct imperial control. It was instrumental in adding more than three hundred and fifty thousand square miles to the possessions of Great Britain.

The Royal Niger Company.

French Development.

The chief difficulties of the Company arose not from internal causes, but from the rapid territorial advance of the French from the north and north-east, which threatened to prevent the development of the colony by cutting it off from its *hinterland*, much as the French in Canada and Louisiana had threatened to circumscribe the English colonies in North America before the Seven Years' War. In August, 1890, an agreement was concluded with the French Government by which the northern

limit of Nigeria was determined to be a line between Say on the Niger and Barua on Lake Chad, drawn in such a manner as to include all that fairly belonged to the kingdom of Sokoto. From the sea so far as 9°N. the western frontier was conterminous with Lagos, but north of that point it was entirely unsettled. Between 1890 and 1892, therefore, the French agent, Monteil, made strenuous efforts to conclude new treaties with natives chief in Western Nigeria, who had already concluded treaties with the Niger Company, while a young naval lieutenant, M. Mizon, penetrated up the Benué to Adamawa, in the German sphere of influence eastward, in order to establish French influence there. Between 1892 and 1894 Dahomey and Timbuctoo were also definitely annexed by France.

Acquisitions by the Company.

Meanwhile the Niger Company had not been inactive. Besides strengthening its hold on the country by treaties it had made some positive acquisitions. In January, 1897, an expedition was sent against Nupe on the middle Niger, which reduced that country, and afterwards the neighbouring district of Ilorin, to submission, while in the same year Benin, in southern Nigeria, was annexed. The defeat of the Benis and the consequent annexation of the kingdom of Benin had a great effect upon the negro tribes of Southern Nigeria and Lagos. From the fourteenth century, if not earlier, the king of the "Great Benin" had been recognised as the paramount chief, and the overthrow of the Benin power was a great step towards the pacification of the present Colony of Southern Nigeria. In the spring of 1898 the French and English posts on the western frontier were in several places in actual contact. Such a state of affairs was full of danger to peace, and both countries were anxious for a settlement. On June 14, 1898, the western frontier was determined by agreement. Starting from the ninth degree of north latitude in a northerly direction it reached the Niger, ten miles above the town of Gere.

Benin.

Establishment of the Nigerian Protectorates.

In the meantime extraordinary international complications (*see* p. 734), together with the remarkable internal development of the possessions of the Niger Company, led the English Government to consider it expedient to relieve it of the administration. The Government took over the property and liabilities of the Company, and on January 1, 1900, formed its territories into the Protectorates of Southern and Northern

Nigeria. The Anglo-French boundary from Lagos to Lake Chad was subsequently considerably modified by the Convention of May 29, 1906. On February 16, 1906, the Colony of Lagos (*see below*) was united to the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, which thus became the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria; it is divided into three provinces, the Western or Lagos Province, the Central or Niger Province, and the Eastern or Calabar Province. Northern Nigeria remains a Protectorate simply, with sixteen administrative provinces.

Economic Conditions. The chief products of Southern Nigeria are palm kernels and oil, rubber, various woods and gums, ivory, and hides. Naturally the trade of Northern Nigeria is less developed owing to difficulties of transport, but the comparatively civilised Mohammedan races of the north offer a promising market for English goods; the importation of spirits is, however, prohibited. Roads and bridges are being made, and there is a light railway of twenty-four miles length, extending from Zungeru to Bari-Juko.

Lagos. The river and channel of Lagos were originally owned by the Portuguese, but the island remained uninhabited until late in the eighteenth century, when the Yorubas and Benins put it and the neighbouring island of Iddo under cultivation. Under the stimulus of a flourishing slave trade it grew into a distinct kingdom, and about 1830 threw off its previous dependence upon Benin. As the slave traders were driven from their former haunts it became the centre of a continually increasing traffic, until the close of 1851, when the town of Lagos was captured by the English and a ruler imposed who was bound by treaty to prohibit the trade. This arrangement failed to put an end to the slave business, and in 1861 the port, island, and territories of Lagos were ceded to England by the reigning King Docemo for a life pension of £1,000 a year. In 1863 the districts of Palma and Leckie were added to the colony as well as Badagry, while a protectorate was established over the native states of Adda, Poora, and Okeodan. On its first annexation, in 1861, Lagos was constituted a separate colony, but in 1866 it was subordinated to Sierra Leone, retaining a separate Legislative Council, and a Lieutenant-Governor. In 1874 it was incorporated with the Gold Coast, but in 1886 it regained its independent existence. In the previous year, 1885, the colony reached its eastern limits along the coast by the cession of the native territory of Mahin. Its inland boundaries were

adjusted by Anglo-French Agreements in 1889, 1896, 189 and 1906. The Colony of Lagos is now included in the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, and is ruled by its Governor with the aid of a nominated Executive and Legislative Council. In March, 1901, a railway was opened from Lagos to Ibadan, which has since been extended to Jebba on the Niger in Northern Nigeria; there will be connected with it a line to Zungeru, the present capital of Northern Nigeria, and another which is being constructed to Kano.

V.

BRITISH RULE IN EGYPT AND THE SUDAN.

Anomalous Position of the British in Egypt.

Officially, Egypt is a state tributary to the Sultan of Turkey and governed by its hereditary line of Viceroys. Great Britain, in common with other European nations, claims certain rights in the country to safeguard creditors and to protect the liberties of her subjects, but has established no protectorate or even a formal predominance. It may at first sight then seem strange that any account of Egypt appears in a history of the British Empire. The reason is that for the last quarter of a century we have given "advice" to such purpose in every branch of government that we have actually ruled the country. No survey therefore of the British Empire would be complete which did not take into account the work of British administrators and soldiers in the land of the Pharaohs, of the Ptolemies and Cleopatra, and of the Mamelukes.

Physical Conditions.

A few preliminary words of history are necessary to make clear how we found ourselves in such a position in Egypt. Unlike the other states of Northern Africa, the importance of which has generally been due to their commercial enterprise or their piratical exploits, Egypt has almost invariably played a passive rôle. Instead of preying upon other nations, it has constantly been the object of their covetousness either for its extraordinary productiveness or for its geographical position. This productiveness is entirely due to the Nile, the chief feature of the land. Whereas the greater part of the country is a barren, sandy desert, visited only by wandering tribes of Arabs, the narrow strip lying on each side of the river and profiting annually by its flood-waters is thickly

populated and one of the richest tracts of country in the world. The easy fertility of its soil seems to have unmanned its people, and its earliest monuments, while attesting the wealth and glory of its rulers, point to the tame servility of the ruled. The Bible dwells on the flesh-pots of Egypt and shows the difficulty with which the Israelites broke away from the slavery that accompanied them. The Romans used the country simply as a granary, while almost immediately after the establishment of the Mohammedan religion Moslem conquerors turned their eyes on its wealth, vanquished it, and have remained there ever since. Early in the sixteenth century the Ottoman Turks established themselves in Egypt. For the three succeeding centuries it had no history, and was almost stripped of its wealth by the greed and cruelty of passing Viceroys.

History.

The French Invasion.

It was not its wealth but its geographical position that next attracted attention to the country. Egypt, it will be remembered, occupies the north-eastern corner of Africa, and thence stretches over the isthmus of Suez to take in the Sinaitic peninsula in Asia. It thus stands between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, on the high-road from Europe to the East. During the eighteenth century England, having consolidated her power in India, had acquired a special interest in highways to that dependency. But it was left to our great enemy first to recognise the new importance thus gained by Egypt. In 1798 Napoleon, casting his eye over the vulnerable points of his island rival, saw that Egypt by its position commanded the shortest route to India. He therefore conducted an expedition thither and defeated the Turkish Vizier's army. Ten days later, however, Nelson destroyed his fleet in the Battle of the Nile, thereby making the French prisoners in Egypt. Napoleon himself escaped to France, but his army was forced to surrender to 1801.

Mehemet Ali.

The state of anarchy in which the country was left after the French invasion was turned to profit by Mehemet Ali, an Albanian adventurer in the Turkish service, in order to establish his own predominance. The British Government of the day judged his power dangerous and attempted to suppress him. But our troops were disastrously defeated in 1807 and forced to evacuate the country. The only obstacle then left to Mehemet Ali's supreme power were the Mamelukes, a close corporation of mercenary soldiers recruited chiefly from

Circassia, who had alternately bullied and cajoled successive Turkish Viziers. But they found their master in Mehemet Ali, who in 1811 massacred them to a man. Egypt subdued, the new Viceroy conquered the Sudan, a vast country to the south, twice as large as France and Germany. He also sent his victorious armies to suppress an insurrection in Arabia, became master of Greece until his fleet was destroyed at Navarino in 1827, overran Syria, and even advanced close to the walls of Constantinople. At this point England and other Powers, alarmed at his inroads on the Turkish Empire, interfered to stop his career of victory. After 1840 he was confined to Egypt and the Sudan, though at the same time he gained recognition from the Sultan as the hereditary Viceroy of those dominions. In 1849 Mehemet Ali died. His two immediate successors, Abbas and Said, achieved nothing noteworthy. But the next Viceroy, Ismail, who succeeded in 1863, inherited many of his grandfather Mehemet Ali's grandiose ambitions.

Ismail.

The story of Ismail's reign of sixteen years sounds like the blending of some gorgeous tale from the "Arabian Nights" with the sordid revelations of a fraudulent bankruptcy case. With his own people he had all the autocratic methods of a Haroun Al Raschid, to Europe he posed as the cultured monarch with constitutional methods and as the enlightened patron of the arts and sciences. In both capacities he was obliged to spend money largely. To gain prestige among his subjects, he secured at great cost the new title of "Khedive" from the Sultan and a more rigid scheme of succession for his heirs, and he expended large sums in acquiring the private ownership of nearly all the best agricultural land in Egypt. He embarked on considerable public works, some of very doubtful utility, and on schemes of advanced education wholly unsuited to the capacity of the Egyptians, and also lavished money on gorgeous entertainments, on grand operas and on various wild projects. Part of the labour or money required for these purposes was wrung out of the miserable *fellaheen*, the blue-bloused peasantry of Egypt, who, under the lash of the *kurbash*, contributed their own forced labour to public works, or paid up even to the last sheaf of the year's crop. After fourteen years of Ismail's reign an observer writes, "There is probably no peasant now existing whose condition is worse than that of the long-suffering Egyptian fellah." But even the richest country cannot be bled indefinitely, and Ismail was forced to borrow money, almost exclusively from European creditors. He found this process so easy that in the twelve years

between 1863 and 1875 the Egyptian debt grew from little over three millions to eighty-nine millions pounds sterling.

The Suez Canal.

It may be asked how a country with an annual revenue of only nine millions could have been thought sufficient security for such a debt. Ismail's own sunny assurance was partly the reason; a more important cause was the construction of the Suez Canal. Already in Mehemet Ali's reign Lieut. Waghorn, a naval officer in the East India service, had organised an overland route from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, whereby the journey from India to Egypt was reduced to thirty days. To obviate the objectionable double transhipment necessary by this route, in Said's reign the Frenchman Ferdinand de Lesseps took up the idea of cutting a canal across the isthmus of Suez. A company was formed, capital was largely subscribed in France, and Egypt agreed to contribute most of the labour required by the *corvée*, or forced services, of the fellaheen, whose ancestors raised the Pyramids. Everybody imagined that the construction of the Canal would add greatly to Egypt's wealth, and its completion in 1869 was the crowning moment of Ismail's reign. The Empress of the French, the Emperor of Austria, and a host of other distinguished persons of every nationality came as his guests to the inauguration and were entertained with memorable magnificence. Then came the crash. Though Egypt had sunk over sixteen millions in the Canal, she received no profit from it. Money became more difficult to obtain and creditors more pressing, till finally in 1875 Ismail had to obtain £4,000,000 by selling his remaining Canal shares. This sale is of peculiar interest to us, since our Prime Minister, Disraeli, bought them, thereby securing for us an important voice in the management of this new highway to India and an additional interest in the good government of Egypt.

In spite of this windfall, Ismail a few months later, in 1876, was obliged to repudiate his debts. Europe at once took alarm for her bondholders. An international Caisse de la Dette, or Debt Commission, was estab-

The Dual Control.

lished, charged with the duty of receiving enough of the revenue of Egypt to satisfy the claims of interest on the debt. Shortly afterwards, England and France, whose subjects held most of this debt, and who were chiefly concerned in the safety of the Suez Canal, each appointed a controller to supervise Egyptian finance. The Caisse and the Dual Control were thus the first inroads made upon Egyptian autonomy.

Ismail from the first intrigued against the Dual Control and soon rendered it impossible: but he had reckoned without his suzerain. On June 26th, 1879, the Sultan, at the instance of France and England, sent a telegram to Cairo addressed to the *ex*-Khedive Ismail, informing him that his son Tewfik now reigned in his stead. Ismail collapsed, left Egypt within a month, and wandered about Europe for the rest of his life.

Tewfik.

Tewfik himself gave no trouble to the controllers in the exercise of their economical propensities, but he found, after the loss of prestige occasioned to the Khedivate by Ismail's fall, that he was unable to suppress the discontent of his subjects. The Egyptian officers especially, aggrieved at Christian interference, and disgusted at the favour shown to their Turkish colleagues and at the reduction of regiments and commands, passed out of control. Their ostensible leader was an

Egyptian Discontent.

Egyptian named Arabi Bey, though he seems really to have been a tool in the hands of cleverer men. At the beginning of 1881, he and his coadjutors obliged the Khedive by a display of military force to entrust them with the government. Their first action was to give life to the Chamber of Notables, a sort of Egyptian Parliament, for whom they claimed a voice in the framing of the budget. The controllers, M. de Blignières and Mr. (afterwards Sir Auckland) Colvin, took alarm at this claim, from a reasonable fear that it might jeopardise the arrangements made for paying the interest on the debt, and imparted their fears to the French and English Governments.

French and English Action.

The English ministry of the time was that of Mr. Gladstone, who had been brought to power largely because his countrymen were tired of Lord Beaconsfield's adventurous foreign policy, and who was himself genuinely opposed to any action likely to bring on war. The French Prime Minister was Gambetta, one of the heroes of the struggle against Germany of 1871, a man far more inclined to strong measures. Accordingly, France at first took the lead in dealing with the troubles in Egypt. The French controller adopted a more decided attitude of opposition to the claims of the Notables than his English colleague, and the joint protest made by England and France with the object of supporting the Khedive against the policy of Arabi and the military party was entirely due to Gambetta's initiative. But Gambetta's resolute policy found little favour with his countrymen. France was then

isolated in Europe, she had not recovered confidence after the staggering blow of 1871, and the republic itself rested on very insecure foundations. When her one strong man fell from power in January, 1882, his successor, de Freycinet, found it impossible to carry on his policy owing to the timidity of his supporters in the Chamber.

The Anglo-French protest of January, 1882, had no effect in strengthening the Khedive's hand against the military party, because it was quite obvious that neither Power was inclined to follow words with action. However, in May the two Governments agreed to send men-of-war to Alexandria, not with any defined purpose, but in the hope that a display of force might restore the Khedive's authority. In spite of their presence, a riot, fatal to many Europeans, was allowed by Arabi to rage in Alexandria on June 11th. Still nothing was done beyond the assembling of an International Conference to deliberate on measures to be adopted, while Arabi, emboldened by impunity, repaired the fortifications of Alexandria and trained guns on the fleets. Then, at last, the British admiral ordered the guns to be dismantled, and, as this order was not obeyed to his satisfaction, bombarded the fortifications and silenced the Egyptian batteries. Two days later parties of marines and blue-jackets were landed to keep order in the streets and protect the Europeans from further rioting. On the eve of the bombardment the French fleet had sailed away.

Bombardment of Alexandria.

As a result of the British admiral's action the Khedive had plucked up heart of grace to dismiss Arabi and thrown himself into the hands of his European advisers. But the army looked to Arabi, who now abandoned all semblance of loyalty and, backed by several regiments, assumed an attitude of open defiance to his master. The remaining European Powers then felt that some action should be taken for the protection of their interests in Egypt; but, though unwilling to interfere themselves and unable to persuade the suzerain power Turkey to pacify the country on reasonable terms, they would not commit themselves to an express sanction of such action by France and England. France, for the reasons already explained, refused to risk Continental jealousy by acting without such sanction. The burden therefore fell upon England.

Arabi's Revolt.

After one more unsuccessful attempt to induce France to co-operate, if only by patrolling the Suez Canal, the British Government, convinced that the safety of India might be

jeopardised by anarchy in Egypt, sent Lord Wolseley with a force of twenty-five thousand British soldiers and an Indian contingent of seven thousand to restore order. The Suez Canal was secured, and on August 21, 1882, an advance made on Cairo. On September 13th the British troops easily turned Arabi and his mutineers out of their entrenched position at Tel-el-Kebir, and two days later were in possession of the capital.

Tel-el-Kebir.

Arabi's attempt at innovation had thus been suppressed with comparative ease, but it was obvious that the root of the troubles had not been touched. The Khedive's authority, already shaken by Ismail's curt dismissal, was still further weakened by Tewfik's submission to Arabi's exigencies and his dependence on British bayonets. The country was in a ferment of discontent as a result of Ismail's exactions and of Christian interference by means of the Caisse and the Dual Control. Lastly, the state of affairs in the Sudan was becoming most disquieting. Under the circumstances, to have left Egypt directly Arabi was defeated, would only have been to court a fresh outbreak. Much against his will, therefore, Gladstone felt constrained to leave troops temporarily in Egypt, not from any desire to acquire fresh possessions, but in order to finish the work already begun. A garrison of ten thousand British troops remained after the withdrawal of Lord Wolseley and the rest of the army; at the same time Europe was given to understand that the occupation was purely temporary and would cease as soon as the Egyptians were capable of managing their own affairs.

British Occupation.

Moreover, since France, in spite of pressing invitations, had refused to co-operate with England at the most critical time, her claims to continue sharing in the financial administration were considered to have lapsed. The Dual Control was abolished, and England, through her agents, assumed the sole responsibility of advising the Egyptian Government.

The Dual Control Abolished.

Lord Dufferin, in a famous report written in 1883, laid down the general lines of action to be adopted in our attempt to teach the Egyptians to govern themselves. But the one name which will always be associated with our work in Egypt is that of Sir Evelyn Baring, better known as Lord Cromer. During the later years of Ismail's reign Baring had gained his first insight into Egyptian affairs as a member of the Caisse and afterwards as a Joint Controller. After a brief term of office

Lord Cromer.

in India, he was in a happy moment for Egypt selected for the post of British Agent and Consul-General, vacated by Sir Edward Malet in January, 1884. Thenceforward for more than twenty years he devoted himself quietly and unostentatiously to the task of reform in Egypt and raising the most downtrodden peasantry in the world to material comfort and moral self-respect.

Difficulties of the Position.

One of Lord Cromer's greatest difficulties arose from England's anomalous position in Egypt. Not only did we abstain from proclaiming a regular protectorate, but for many years persistently announced that our occupation would be short-lived. Moreover, France, and to some extent the other Powers, for a long time viewed our presence in the country with distrust and in many ways attempted to thwart our efforts for its regeneration. Twice during the first five years after Arabi's defeat we tried to put a term to our occupation, and on both occasions were frustrated chiefly by France's jealousy of necessary stipulations for re-occupation in case fresh disturbances arose. After these two failures, English statesmen, though always ready to admit our readiness to evacuate Egypt as soon as she could stand alone, felt less inclined to limit our occupation to any definite period; for, as the years went on, it became more and more obvious that the reforms we had inaugurated would require a long period of careful supervision before they could be said to have taken root. Meanwhile France was able to interfere to some effect in our work. Her

The Attitude of France.

interests in the country were considerable and her colonists numerous; by treaty rights she had representatives on many important boards, and, perhaps not unnaturally, she felt that her previous good work for Egypt was not adequately recognised. Finally however, a quasi-recognition of England's paramount position was obtained by the Convention with France of 1904. It was therein stipulated that no fixed date should be named for the evacuation and that England should be the sole judge of the fitting time. The difficulty with France once removed, the other Powers soon followed suit. During the twenty-two years that preceded this Convention of 1904 Egypt was, without doubt, a source of weakness to England. Our ill-defined position caused friction and was a most convenient excuse for diplomatic bickerings. Indeed, from a purely selfish point of view, the only defence for our occupation during these years was that Egypt in a state of disorder or in the occupation of any other Power would have been to us an even greater source of weakness.

Lord Cromer's Task.

Even had there been no diplomatic difficulties, the task of setting right the Egyptian Government would not have been light. Reforms were needed in the financial and judicial administration, in the army and the police, in local government and, not least, in the distribution of the Nile waters. But that was not all. Lord Cromer, at any rate, realised from the first that the real magnitude of our self-imposed task lay in the fact that for the regeneration of Egypt something more was needed than good systems or wise and clean-handed officials: the downtrodden peasantry with the souls of slaves must be raised by prosperity and justice to become a nation determined to insist for themselves on good government. To achieve such an object certainty and length of occupation were essential.

Financial Situation.

A most troublesome inheritance of Ismail's reign was the international system of finance then instituted, which was admirably suited to restrain a nation anxious to repudiate debts, but proved a heavy clog on officials eager to develop her resources. Not only was the service of the debt made a first charge on revenue, but even after the deduction of that sum the amount available for current expenditure was limited, and the greater part of any surplus receipts had to be handed over to the Caisse de la Dette. Some slight improvements in this system were made by the London Convention of 1885, whereby the Caisse might sanction special expenditure from the surplus on objects likely to be of permanent benefit to Egypt.* There were also almost insurmountable difficulties in raising any new loan The result was that, although after a few years of our occupation Egypt was not only solvent but usually had a surplus, she was always hard put to it to pay for necessary improvements in organisation or in administration, while new capital charges had somehow to be met out of current revenue. This irksome arrangement only came to an end in 1904, under the French Convention already alluded to, whereby Egypt was allowed to spend her surplus when all claims for the debt had been satisfied.

* By this arrangement an "authorised" expenditure was laid down for current expenses in addition to expenditure on the debt. When both these charges had been satisfied, any remaining surplus had to be divided equally between the Caisse's reserve and the reserve of the public Treasury. Obviously, therefore, if the Egyptian Treasury required a sum for extraordinary purposes, it would be obliged by careful management to show a surplus of double that sum, since the Caisse would claim half of it.

Fiscal Reforms.

In spite, however, of these difficulties a great alleviation was made in the burdens on the poorer classes in Egypt. In the first place, the iniquitous *corvée* was abolished. Nubar Pasha, the most enlightened of Egyptian statesmen, and his equally patriotic rival, Riaz Pasha, had long advocated this reform, but had always found Ismail a determined opponent of such an inroad on his perquisites. One of the earliest results of the English occupation was that Riaz Pasha was enabled to carry through this remedial measure with the hearty support of the British agent. The annual cost of the free labour to replace the forced was £250,000 in the first year, but though the Treasury was almost bankrupt at the time the money was somehow saved for this purpose. Secondly, the burden of the land-tax was readjusted. In former days the rich had generally escaped with trifling payments, while the poor had sometimes seen the whole fruit of their year's labour carried off by one tax-collector after another; and land barely watered was often as highly taxed as land receiving the full tide of the Nile flood. This inequality has been gradually set right after a careful system of valuation, chiefly by reduction of the poor man's tax rather than by any large increase of the rich man's. During the period of Lord Cromer's agency direct taxation chiefly on land, has been reduced by over a million and a half annually, and the salt tax by forty per cent.; various other vexatious taxes have been suppressed, and the total abolition of the *corvée* has finally cost the Government £400,000 a year. But in spite of all these concessions and in spite of the fact that only about half a million in new taxes has been imposed, the revenue of the country has progressively increased from about nine millions in 1883 to over fifteen in 1906. During the same period more than nine millions sterling of debt have been paid off and the annual debt charge reduced by nearly a million pounds.

This marvellous result of great reductions in taxation accompanied by a still greater increase in the revenue and a diminished debt charge is attributable to two causes: first, to the great inflow of foreign capital and the general improvement in trade due to the sense of security and of justice given by the British occupation; secondly, to the increased, wealth arising from improvements in the distribution of Nile water. Each individual's taxes are smaller, but more individuals are able to pay taxes without ruining themselves or heaping up arrears.

The Nile.

The prosperity of Egypt has always depended on the Nile. For many months of the year a sluggish and almost trivial stream, from the middle of July to mid-September the Nile comes down from the heart of Africa in a rushing flood which overflows its banks and covers miles of arid sandy tract with water and a rich crop-bearing soil. From the earliest days the Egyptian peasantry have tried to prevent the waste of this great flood's too early dispersal by storing the water in canals and reservoirs and gradually pumping it out upon the land parched by the rainless and floodless months of early summer. Since the advent of Mehemet Ali's dynasty efforts had been made, chiefly by French engineers, to establish a more scientific control over the flood waters and by a barrage just south of the Delta to distribute the water more satisfactorily over this the most fertile part of the country. But in spite of such attempts the methods of distribution were still in the main very primitive and subject to the radical defect of most oriental administrations, that the rich and powerful were unduly favoured at the expense of the poor and weak. One of the first acts of the Khedive's English advisers was to bring over one of the best irrigation officers in the Indian service Mr. (now Sir John) Scott Moncrieff, and to put him in charge of the Nile distribution. To him and to his colleagues and successors, Col. Ross and Sir William Garstin, is due the wonderful improvement in irrigation methods. Within a few years of his arrival the great Delta barrage, which had been allowed to fall into decay, was put into perfect order at very small cost, while the canals and basins of Middle Egypt were so modified that in one year fifty thousand more acres were brought under cultivation. But the most important of the irrigation works so far undertaken has been the great dam and reservoir built at Assouan, above the point where the Nile enters Egypt proper, supplemented by a lock and barrage at Assiout, some hundreds of miles further down stream. The object of these works is to store a reserve supply of water for the summer months, in order to raise a second crop and extend the cultivated area not only in the Delta but also in Middle Egypt. To the engineering difficulties were added those of raising capital for so huge a scheme under the international system of finance in Egypt. At length a plan of payment by instalments was arranged and the work was taken in hand by Messrs. Aird in 1898 and completed in 1902. The immense capacity of the Assouan reservoir may be estimated from the

The Assouan Dam.

fact that during two of the summer months of 1906 between twelve hundred and twenty million and four thousand four hundred million gallons were daily added to the river; in other words, the available supply of Nile water was doubled by its means. Further, for a cost of £6,500,000, which covers not only the reservoir but the expenses of considerable alterations in the drainage system of Middle Egypt, the annual rental of the lands improved has been raised by £2,500,000 and their sale value by £26,500,000.

Material Results.

These striking figures have been quoted, not because material wealth is the chief test of a nation's well-being, but because moral improvement is not possible without a greater material comfort and security than the Egyptian peasants previously possessed. These improvements in financial methods and land values are a step towards a higher civilisation.

In a more indirect way also the work of the English irrigation officers has helped on the cause of civilisation. Their daily task of inspection and of repairing old and planning new works has brought them into constant touch with the peasantry and convinced these, as nothing else would, of the value and disinterestedness of the British influence in Egypt. Instead of bad management and injustice, the fellaheen now find the water regulated with scientific accuracy and without fear or favour, they see the inspectors always alert, always resourceful, and in times of stress sleepless and untiring—and, above all, uninfluenced by *baksheesh*. In Lord Milner's book is a good illustration of this attitude of the peasantry. Two English engineers, by an audacious remedy carried through with great energy, saved a whole district from starvation during a period of low Nile. When the danger was past the peasants held a great ceremony of thanksgiving at their Mosque, and insisted that their saviours should attend the service. To a Christian this may seem nothing, but to a pious Mussulman it is sacrilege for an unbeliever to enter his house of God. These country folk, however, evidently thought that God could not be displeased at the uncleanness of men whom He had allowed to save a whole countryside of His faithful followers.

Moral Effects.

It is well that the benefits of our irrigation policy are so obvious as to counteract in some degree the unpopularity of our financial economies and of some of our other reforms. The merit of our rule is not usually that we make ourselves beloved of our

Characteristics of British Rule.

subjects, but that we introduce regularity and strict, even-handed justice. These characteristics are generally alien not merely to oriental systems, but even in some degree to oriental predilections. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that attempts to reform the administration of justice, the local government and the police system have often brought Lord Cromer and his advisers into conflict with Egyptian prejudices. But, on the whole, improvements have been effected, and have even been accepted by the population. How far they would survive if the English occupation ceased is a more doubtful question.

Egyptian Co-operation.

We have, it must be remembered, always held it up as our chief object to train the Egyptians themselves for self-government. The process is necessarily a very slow one, for various reasons. When first we came to Egypt certain reforms were so urgent that they could not afford to wait until the Egyptian statesmen were convinced of their necessity. Since then Lord Cromer has always tried to work through the agency of the ministers, but so long as we were morally, if not legally, responsible for Egypt's welfare he felt that in the last resort the English ideas of right and justice must prevail. It has thus happened that occasions have arisen when Egypt's most notable statesmen, Nubar and Riaz Pashas, have felt bound to resign rather than submit to European ideals. Their master, the Khedive Tewfik, who saw clearly that his own authority depended on England's support, was naturally loyal to our advice; but his son, Abbas II., who succeeded in January 1892, wished to govern for himself. Both directly and indirectly he attempted to thwart Lord Cromer, and at last was plainly told that he must yield to the expressed will of England. But these failures to work in all respects through the Egyptian authorities are only temporary impediments, if by our gradual policy of regeneration we are slowly making the nation more self-reliant. This policy involves something widely different from the short sojourn imagined by Mr. Gladstone, although it does not necessarily imply any definite period of occupation. However, within the last ten years we have undertaken a task, which makes it more than ever difficult for us to dissociate ourselves rapidly from Egyptian affairs. We have reconquered the Sudan and have formally assumed the administration of this vast province in conjunction with Egypt.

Abbas II.

It will be remembered that a revolt in the Sudan was already causing some anxiety in 1882. This country, twelve

hundred miles in length from north to south, and extending from the Red Sea on the east to the desert of the Sahara on the west, was peopled partly by negroes of a comparatively peaceful nature, partly by fierce nomad tribes of Arabs, fanatical Mohammedans, always ready for holy or any other wars. The Arabs were the traders of the country, finding their chief profit in slaves, obtained either by barter or by rapine. The Egyptian governors kept some control over the province by terrorising the more peaceful inhabitants and conniving at the slave-hunts of the Arabs. But Ismail, always anxious to pose as an enlightened ruler, decreed the abolition of the slave trade in the Sudan as well as in Egypt, and sent an Englishman, Col. Charles Gordon, to act as governor. Gordon took the new edict more seriously than was perhaps intended, waged a relentless war on the slave-hunters, and established energetic Europeans such as Gessi, Emin, Slatin and Lupton as governors of districts to continue the same policy. Unfortunately Gordon threw up his appointment in 1879 and was succeeded by an Egyptian governor. The country was by this time in a critical state. The negro tribes had always been discontented if passive, but now their dissatisfaction was shared by the more warlike Arabs who saw their most lucrative occupation threatened. Religious fanaticism also influenced them: good Mussulmans bear with considerable equanimity the tyranny of a powerful co-religionist; but subjection to a Christian dog touches their consciences.

The Sudan.

The Arabs and Slavery.

The Sudan was thus ripe for revolt when in August, 1881, Mohammed Ahmed, a holy man who had already gained great reputation as a teacher, proclaimed himself the Mahdi, or forerunner of the Messiah's second coming. He called on all true believers to amend their ways and to cast off the yoke of the lukewarm believers from Egypt who had dealings with the Christians. Those anxious for relief from the tax-collector and those eager to resume their slave-hunts equally welcomed the new prophet and the holy war which he proclaimed. A few early successes enormously increased his followers, who became known as Dervishes, and after he had twice successfully eluded the Egyptian armies sent to capture him, few disbelieved in his divine mission. Whole tribes and districts acknowledged the Mahdi, who, no longer eluding pursuit, began to take the offensive. By the beginning of 1883 the Egyptian authority in the Sudan hardly extended beyond a few isolated garrison-

The Mahdi.

towns, such as Khartoum, the capital, El Obeid in the west, Kassala on the east, the Red Sea towns of Suakin, Sinkat and Tokar, and the few posts in the far southern equatorial province held by Emin Pasha. In the late autumn of that year Egyptian reinforcements sent to relieve Sinkat and Tokar were annihilated by Osman Digna, a disappointed slave-trader who had rallied to the Mahdi's cause most of the Arab tribes on the Red Sea; while in the west an army of five thousand, under the Englishman Hicks Pasha, was exterminated almost to a man. Early next year Baker Pasha, the most brilliant soldier in the Egyptian service, was unable to prevent the slaughter at El Teb of over two thousand of his Egyptian soldiers by about one thousand Dervishes.

Weakness of Egypt.

Already it had become obvious that Egypt, if it wished to retain the Sudan, would have to reconquer it, and that for such an undertaking a large army and plenty of money would be required. But Egypt was then almost bankrupt and its army was not only small in numbers but of wretched quality, as had been proved at Tel-el-Kebir and at El Teb. With soldiers who had often to be driven to the front in chains it was impossible to overcome the fiery enthusiasm of the Dervishes' intense conviction. On the other hand, England had too much on her hands with Egypt to undertake such a task as the re-conquest of the Sudan and disclaimed all responsibility for that province.

It was therefore determined to abandon the Sudan. But even this policy had its difficulties. The garrisons still in the country could not be left to their fate, and, since they were mere isolated handfuls against the hordes of Dervishes, their withdrawal was not easy. Suakin, a port on the Red Sea, being too important strategically to be sacrificed, was permanently taken over by British troops, and a belated attempt was made under Sir Gerald Graham to rescue the neighbouring garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar. He advanced some way into the country with a British army, slaughtered a good many Arabs, but finding that after heroic defences these two Egyptian garrisons had been overcome, returned again to the coast. In the following year a similarly abortive expedition was made from the Red Sea coast in connection with the Gordon relief expedition. That was chiefly remarkable for the bravery displayed by the British troops at McNeill's zariba, a defence hastily constructed against a sudden attack by a superior Dervish force. Emin, in the south, had to be left to himself; he was

Withdrawal of the Garrisons from the Sudan.

too far away to be rescued and, it was hoped, too far to be attacked by the Mahdi. But Khartoum, the capital of the Sudan, with its garrison of seven thousand Egyptian troops and its population of thirty thousand could obviously not be abandoned without an effort. Failing an army to relieve it, the only remaining course was to employ a man of commanding influence in the Sudan to bring away the garrison and the loyal inhabitants.

Khartoum.

The anomaly and inconvenience of the British Government's attitude in disclaiming all responsibility for the Sudan and yet insisting on their advice in the matter to the Egyptian Government were never so apparent as at this conjuncture. Egyptian public opinion unanimously demanded that Zobehr Pasha, who had acquired immense power in the Sudan in the course of a long career as a slave-hunter, should be sent to Khartoum. The British Government refused to allow such a man to be sent and picked out General Charles Gordon. During his previous term as Governor-General he had inspired respect by his vigour and by his transparent truthfulness, and he knew the country well. But he was a Christian and a foreigner, and, as such, the object of all the lately roused fanaticism in the Sudan. However, he had no doubts as to his own capacity for the task. On January 17th, 1884, he was in Brussels; on the 18th he saw the Cabinet in London and on the same evening started on his memorable journey. A month later he was in Khartoum. Here he found the rising far more serious than he had anticipated and telegraphed that without Zobehr he could not bring back the garrisons. Zobehr was again refused by the British Government, and Gordon required to leave Khartoum while it was yet time. But this Gordon would not do. He sent back the sick in Khartoum to Egypt, but in other matters behaved as if he meant to carry on the government of the Sudan. He issued proclamations calling the population to their allegiance, sought to pacify them by sanctioning slavery, and put Khartoum into a posture of defence. He promised that relief should come from England, and naturally refused to desert a post to which he felt himself bound by the trust of the garrison and population in him and by their defenceless state. On March 22nd the Mahdi's hosts began to invest Khartoum, and it was soon too late to think of saving the garrison without a relief expedition. For three hundred and seventeen days Gordon held the town in spite of famine and treachery, the only European officer and almost the only

Gordon.

The Siege of Khartoum.

capable man in the place, with a garrison composed of men of a different race and creed facing an overwhelming horde of cruel fanatics.

Meanwhile Gladstone's Cabinet had no idea what to do. Having sent Gordon in order to obviate the necessity for armed intervention, they could not make up their minds that a relief expedition was necessary. The country, however, insisted that an effort should be made to relieve him and the Cabinet at last yielded. An expedition under Lord Wolseley was ordered, but, owing to various delays and discussions as to the best route, was not ready to start up the Nile till October. Wolseley divided his army into a lightly equipped desert column under Sir Herbert Stewart and a river column under General Earle. Both these commanders lost their lives in victories which they gained over the Dervishes at Abu Klea and Kirbekan respectively, and unexpected difficulties were found in making progress. At last, however, Sir Charles Wilson, with a few men of the desert column, embarked on some steamers sent down by Gordon to meet them and reached Khartoum on January 28, 1885. Instead of the shouts of welcome which he expected, he was greeted by a cannon shot from the town, which bore every aspect of calamity. He had arrived too late. But he had only missed success by two days. On January 26th, the Mahdi, partly to remove the impression of his defeat at Abu Klea, ordered a final assault on Khartoum before he retreated. There was then little power of resistance in the famished garrison and by 10 o'clock the town was the Mahdi's. Gordon met his enemies on the steps of his palace and fell pierced with countless wounds. Gordon, no doubt, miscalculated his own powers in the first instance; he accepted a task which was impossible of accomplishment and in some respects he exceeded his instructions. But at the same time he appealed to his country's heart by his high sense of duty and his unsullied honour, and, as long as we can respect a brave man who refuses to quit the post of danger and of responsibility to those trusting him, Gordon's name will be held high in the list of chivalrous Englishmen.

The Relief Expedition.

Too Late.

Shortly after Gordon's death and the fall of Khartoum the policy of abandoning the Sudan was carried out to the full. An English garrison remained at Suakin and the boundary of Egypt was fixed at Wady Halfa, some five hundred miles north of Khartoum. The only vestige of Egyptian rule left in the

Abandonment of the Sudan.

Sudan was in the Equatorial province seven hundred miles south of Khartoum, where Emin still kept some control over his semi-mutinous troops. An expedition organised by the famous explorer Henry M. Stanley started to rescue him from the West Coast of Africa in 1887. After an adventurous journey through the heart of the continent he met Emin on the Albert Nyanza in April, 1888. Even then it was nearly a year before the journey south could be begun. Stanley had to retrace his steps to bring up his rear-guard, and in the interval Emin was imprisoned by the mutineers of his force and only released on the approach of a Dervish army. At last, in February, 1889, Stanley and Emin, with their lieutenants, Jephson and Casati, were reunited and started on the final stage to Zanzibar.

Emin Pasha and Stanley.

Before any attempt could be made to recover the Sudan an Egyptian army had to be created. It was hardly wonderful that the army of Arabi's time should have been useless. The peasants from whom it was drawn had been so ground down by centuries of oppression that they had lost all warlike instincts. Those chosen for service by conscription had to be driven like sheep from their villages, and many mutilated themselves to escape the ordeal. Once in the army, they were ill-paid and ill-treated by officers as incompetent as themselves. The Sudan, where their qualities were generally put to the test, they regarded as a place of banishment and, more recently, of slaughter. There were, no doubt, exceptions, such as the heroic garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar, but they were quite overshadowed by such miserable levies as those who stood still to be slaughtered at El Teb.

The Egyptian Army.

One of the first tasks undertaken by the English after 1882 was the reorganisation of the army. English officers were secured to take over the higher regimental commands, and an English Sirdar, or commander-in-chief, was placed at the head. These officers by their patience and their devotion gradually brought out the better qualities of their men, who by degrees found their self-respect on discovering that, instead of being loaded with chains or coerced with the *kurbash*, they were treated like reasonable human beings. Material improvements were also introduced; decent hospitals and barracks were built and the pay became regular. To-day the soldier's profession, instead of being despised and loathed, has become almost an object of envy among the villagers. No better

Its reorganisation.

proof of the improvement in the Egyptian soldiers' *morale* can be found than in the history of frontier defence against the Sudan. At first this had to be entrusted to British soldiers, but as time went on the newly drilled Egyptian soldiers were introduced, until finally they were able entirely to displace their British comrades.

Meanwhile, soon after the fall of Khartoum, the Mahdi had died and been succeeded by his most powerful Vizier, the Khalifa Abdullah. For many years the Khalifa meditated an invasion of Egypt, against which he had proclaimed a holy war, but his intention was constantly frustrated by the turbulent condition of his own country. Border forays with the Abyssinians, and later with the Italians, who had obtained a footing in Abyssinia, occupied much of his attention. Moreover, the religious enthusiasm aroused among the Dervishes by the Mahdi was flickering out and was replaced by an indiscriminate lust for fighting. Insurrections against the Khalifa's tyrannical rule broke out in various parts of his immense dominions, and sometimes only ceased after the armies on both sides had been almost exterminated. The ruthless character of this internecine strife may be judged by this characteristic extract from a letter to the Khalifa. The writer, one of his lieutenants, remarks grimly, "It had been my intention to send the heads of all these chiefs to you, but," he adds, "as they have by this time decayed and would be heavy for the post, I must be satisfied in sending you only two heads."

The Khalifa.

When at last the expedition against Egypt started, in 1889, under the Emir Wad en Nejumi, the Egyptian troops, supported by some English regiments, were ready to repel it. At Toski, seventy miles north of the Sudan boundary, Wad en Nejumi and his host were so utterly routed that no further attempt was made to invade Egypt. Two years later, as a result of various expeditions under Colonels Kitchener and Holled Smith, Osman Digna was finally cleared away from the neighbourhood of Suakin and the fertile region of Tokar was recovered from the Dervishes.

For five years longer, however, English efforts were concentrated on the reorganisation of the Egyptian administration and on the further training of the Egyptian army. Though encounters of Egyptian and Sudanese outposts were of frequent occurrence, no attempt was made to attack the Khalifa. Suddenly, in March, 1896, telegraphic orders came from London to the Sirdar, then Sir Herbert Kitchener, to make an

The Reconquest of the Sudan.

immediate advance towards Khartoum. Various reasons dictated this decision. In the first place, it was felt that the supply of Nile water, the very life-blood of Egypt, could never be secure while its upper waters were controlled by an uncivilised and permanently hostile power; the population of the Sudan, who had begun by welcoming the Madhi's promises of spiritual and material regeneration, were now crying aloud to be released from the lustful and bloodthirsty rule of his successor, while the Khalifa's troops, exhausted by internecine strife, had lost much of the terror with which they had formerly inspired the Egyptians; the Italians who were occupying Kassala asked to be relieved by a diversion from the pressure of the Dervishes, and finally the French, it was discovered, had formed the design of seizing a portion of the Sudan by an advance from the Congo.

The recovery of the Sudan, which had been carefully planned by Kitchener, occupied three years. In 1896 the whole of Dongola, the northern province, was conquered by the Egyptian troops after defeating the Dervishes at Firket. In 1897 Kitchener reached Berber, less than two hundred miles from Khartoum. In this campaign he had saved four hundred miles of the tedious and difficult journey up the Nile by laying a railway across two hundred miles of desert in the short period of ten months. So far, the work had fallen entirely on the Egyptian troops, who thus amply proved the success of their fifteen years' training under British officers. But for the final stage it was determined to stiffen them with a contingent of British regulars. By August 26, 1898, the Anglo-Egyptian army of twenty-six thousand was concentrated within striking distance of Khartoum, and on September 2nd came up with the Khalifa's army of forty thousand at Omdurman, on the further side of the river. After a brave fight these forty thousand were almost exterminated, and with them the nightmare of Dervish rule in the Sudan vanished for ever. In the following year the railway from Cairo to Khartoum was opened, the Khalifa himself was overtaken in his lair and fell fighting, and in January, 1900, his formidable lieutenant, Osman Digna, was captured.

Omdurman.

Fashoda.

Meanwhile, a curious little incident had occurred which at one time seemed to threaten serious trouble between France and England. On arriving at Khartoum in September, 1898, Kitchener heard that a party of Europeans had established themselves at Fashoda, four hundred miles further up the Nile. He

immediately steamed up thither and found that this was the threatened French expedition from the Congo. A small party under Major Marchand had survived the perilous journey through Africa and were then momentarily expecting an attack from the Dervishes. Kitchener, after a friendly interview with Marchand, planted the British flag near the French flag and left the two Governments to settle the French claim to Sudanese territory. There could be but one result: Marchand was in a defenceless position and the French Government felt it difficult to justify their somewhat furtive expedition. The discussion, however, had this advantage, that it cleared the air of a good deal of misunderstanding between the two countries. By the Convention of 1899 France agreed to leave England a free hand in the Sudan in return for a similar concession to herself in Tunis. This arrangement and the patent advantage of England's work in Egypt led to the more comprehensive agreement of 1904, whereby England was to choose her own date for evacuation and Egypt was to be released from the intolerable trammels of the Debt Commission's control over her finances.

Anglo-French Agreement.

Since 1899 there has been little else to record in Egyptian or Sudanese history. By an arrangement made in that year the British and Egyptian Governments administer the Sudan jointly; the flags of both countries fly over all public buildings, and the Governor-General is appointed by the Khedive on the recommendation of our Government, without whose sanction he cannot be removed. For all practical purposes the Sudan is governed by English officials in accordance with English ideas. Progress can hardly be fast in so vast a country, which has been a prey to barbarism for so many years but during the ten years of our rule trade has begun to revive and oppression has ceased. A Gordon Memorial College has been opened at Khartoum for the higher education of the Sudanese; and there are primary schools at Omdurman, Halfa, Suakin and elsewhere. Khartoum is lighted by electric light, and there is a regular service of trains and steamboats between it and Cairo.

The Sudan in 1908.

One outstanding fact of the year 1907 remains to be chronicled. Lord Cromer, worn out by half a century of public service, more than half of which has been devoted to Egypt, felt himself compelled in May of that year to resign his post as British Agent and Consul-General. The preceding account of

Lord Cromer's Retirement.

Egyptian history during the last twenty-five years may give some small idea of what he has achieved. But the redemption of Egypt from bankruptcy, the establishment of public works, of reforms in justice and in education, are only the outward tokens of a work which has really reached far deeper. He has laid the foundations of the moral and intellectual regeneration of a people whom he found slaves and has left comparatively free and self-respecting men. The secret of his success has been his patience. He never tried short-cuts, but he made his plans far ahead, after gauging the character of the people, so different from ours, with and for whom he had to work. Thus, when the moment came, he was always ready, and he has had little to undo of what he had once begun. Not only in Egypt, but throughout the Eastern world his name is reverenced as that of a just and strong man, and through him the honour of England's name has been enhanced.

VI.

THE SEA-LINKS OF THE EMPIRE.

The Empire and the Sea.

With few exceptions the great empires of the past stretched continuously on land. It was possible for an army to march from one end to the other of the Assyrian, of the Persian, or of the Macedonian dominions, without ever embarking on board ship for a sea voyage. But the states of the British Empire are scattered over the two hemispheres, sundered by vast tracts of sea and ocean. Across these stretches of water lie their trade routes and their lines of communication by steamers and submarine telegraph cable. Without control of the sea and its highways the Empire would cease to exist and be split up into a great number of weak and comparatively feeble communities. Sea power is, then, the link of Empire.

The Importance of Sea Power.

Sea power depends on naval force. It depends, that is to say, upon the capacity of the British Empire to maintain a Navy which shall be able to defeat the navy or navies of any Power or Powers that may be hostile to the Empire. Nothing less will give the nation the control of the sea. And it is for this reason that the British people have for generations maintained or striven to maintain a navy superior in strength to any two foreign navies. Combinations more powerful than two foreign navies are conceivable but not probable, and the statesman has to think chiefly of the probable. But the greater the margin of strength the safer the position of the Empire will be.

Naval History.

An island can only be defended by a Navy, while a continental state must have a strong army to guard its frontier. The geographical fact that England was an island State and could only be reached by the sea compelled the English people early in their history to devote to their navy the same care which other states gave to their armies. In the days of

Henry VIII. the English fleet was one of the best in Europe. Under Elizabeth it defeated the Spanish Armada, because its ships were better built and better armed than the Spanish, and because its seamen were more skilful in handling the vessels of the time. The long and fierce struggle between the English and the Dutch navies filled the seventeenth century, and finally issued in the defeat of Holland (*see* pp. 51-2, 56).

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the foundations of the Empire oversea were laid very much at haphazard by the British mariners and traders. Sometimes by conquest, sometimes by settlement, they gained possession of places on the main sea routes which were necessary for the purpose of watering and reprovisioning ships. The vessels of that time could not remain long at sea, as they could not condense the sea water for drinking purposes and were very ill equipped with appliances for storing a supply of fresh water. The need of water limited their movements in much the same way that the need of coal limits the steamship of to-day. And thus it was as watering and provisioning stations that many of what are now British colonies and coaling stations were first acquired. In the final struggle with France, which lasted all through the eighteenth century and only closed with the decisive victories of Trafalgar at sea and Waterloo on land, many additional naval stations were obtained, and the peace of 1815 left England with an almost perfect line of positions on the great trading routes of that day (p. 61).

Coaling Stations.

The command of the sea rests upon naval force, but naval force, in its turn, is dependent to some degree upon bases and positions where coal can be obtained, without which the modern ship is helpless. No really trustworthy means of rapidly transferring coal from a collier to a large or small warship at sea has as yet been invented, and until such is perfected or the use of oil fuel becomes general, coaling stations are necessary. The immense difficulties confronting a navy without such stations were seen in 1904-5, when the Russian Baltic Fleet made its voyage to the Far East. But for the help which that fleet received from France and but for the use of the French coaling stations, the Russian ships could never have reached Japan. In wars of the future it is not likely that such assistance will be given by a neutral to a combatant.

The distance which a modern battleship can safely cover without shipping fresh coal is from two to three thousand

miles at moderate speed (fifteen knots or sea miles per hour), though many British ships can accomplish more than this, and many foreign ships cannot steam so far. In July-August, 1908, the "Indomitable," with all her war stores and heavy guns on board, averaged twenty-four knots from Canada to England, and at times ran nearly up to thirty. This is, however, exceptional. It follows, then, that coaling stations should be spaced not less than three thousand miles apart, and closer if possible. On all the great trade routes, except those of the Eastern Pacific, the British Empire has such stations at shorter intervals. There are two great gaps in the chain, between New Zealand and the Falkland Islands, where the intervening distance is six thousand sea miles—a sea mile is about two thousand yards—and between the Fiji Islands and Vancouver, where the distance is five thousand one hundred sea miles (*see* p. 761). Both gaps could only be crossed by the largest cruisers and battleships.

Modern Navies: Battleships. The navies of the present day contain four main classes of ships, apart from submarines, which are chiefly used for work near the coast line. The first class and far the most important consists of "battleships." These are thickly plated with hardened steel on their most vital parts. The "Dreadnought," for example, has 11 in. of armour on the greater part of her water-line and on the turrets containing her heavy guns. These turrets are five in number, each armed with two large weapons of fifty-nine tons weight, capable of firing a shell 12 in. in diameter, weighing 850 lb., twice a minute, and of hitting an enemy and piercing his armour at nine thousand yards. Battleships are large in size, to make them steady in a heavy sea and enable them to carry big guns and thick armour, and they generally steam from eighteen to twenty-one knots.

Cruisers. Similar to the battleship, but not so heavily armed or so thickly plated with armour, is the "armoured cruiser," which is from two to four knots faster than the battleship, and is really a very speedy battleship. Such a vessel is the British "Invincible," which steams twenty-five knots, carries eight of the same kind of gun as the "Dreadnought," and has armour 8 in. thick. The "protected cruiser," which forms the third class, has no upright or vertical armour, but a flat or slightly curved deck of thin steel plating to prevent splinters and fragments of shells from reaching her engines or the lower part of her hull. Such vessels are useless against armoured ships, but they are cheaper, smaller, and draw less water, and so they can go

where the battleships and large armoured cruiser cannot venture from the shallowness of the water.

Destroyers and Torpedo-boats.

To the fourth class belong the "destroyer" and "torpedo boat." The destroyer is a large torpedo boat, built for work at sea. Her weapon is not the gun, but the Whitehead torpedo, which is really a submarine boat containing a charge of from 100 lb. to 180 lb. of gun-cotton. The propeller and engine are driven by compressed air when the torpedo has been discharged from a torpedo tube into the water. The Whitehead has a range of 4,000 yds., though at a great distance it is by no means certain of hitting the target.

Relative Strength of the British Navy.

Taking the strength of the British Navy and the two strongest Continental navies as they stand in January, 1909, in modern ships, and omitting all old and unserviceable craft, the ships of the four classes are as follows:—

Navy.	British.	German.	French.
Battleships	52	29	16
Armoured cruisers	35	8	18
Protected cruisers	63	35	17
Destroyers	150	84	77

These were, then, the real fighting ships of the three navies and the elements upon which their sea power depended.

The use of the Navy to the Empire.

Inasmuch as the probable assailants of the British Empire are found in Europe, and inasmuch as they keep their fleets in European waters, the British nation must follow the same policy. If it can defeat the main fleets of an enemy in Europe the distant States of the Empire have little to fear. An occasional raiding cruiser might do damage to undefended ports, but could inflict no vital injury.

Commerce, however, would suffer greatly from hostile raiders, judging by the exploits of the Confederate cruiser "Alabama" during the American Civil War in 1862-4. She captured sixty-eight United States merchant vessels, most of which were destroyed. A large force of British cruisers will, therefore, be needed to defend British trade in distant waters, but the rest of the British fleet will be massed as near to the possible enemy as may be. Hence the thirty-two fully-manned British battleships are all in Europe, and most of them near the North Sea.

But though far away they protect Australia and Canada from foreign naval attack just as thoroughly and certainly as if they were anchored off the Australian or Canadian coast.

No hostile fleet can reach the distant States of the Empire without having to face their attack. If, however, the British fleet were defeated, every State of the Empire would lie open to the assault of the victor. There would be nothing to prevent him from embarking a large army and despatching it to attack and conquer the colonies one by one; nothing to stop his fleet from blockading the Colonial ports and destroying Colonial commerce (*see also* pp. 224-5, 241).

The links in the chains of coaling stations, naval bases and Colonies which bind together the British Empire, facilitate its naval operations and protect its trade routes, may be considered in four divisions: (1) the Mediterranean, (2) the Atlantic, (3) the Indian Ocean and (4) the Pacific, while (5) the submarine cables which connect them will demand a few words in conclusion.

(1) The Mediterranean.

In the Mediterranean the British Empire has two important fortified naval bases, Gibraltar and Malta, and a third base, Cyprus, which is not fortified in any way.

Gibraltar.

Gibraltar is distant one thousand and fifty sea miles from Plymouth, and is a position of unique importance. At this point the entrance to the Mediterranean through the Straits of Gibraltar narrows till it is only twelve sea miles wide, so that in war an enemy attempting to run through the Straits could hardly escape observation or attack by the torpedo boats which are stationed at Gibraltar. Gibraltar is also the nearest port in Europe to South America and the West Indies. From Barbados it is distant three thousand three hundred sea miles, and from New York the distance is about the same. It is thus of great value not only for ships watching the entrance to the Mediterranean, but also for cruisers patrolling the Central Atlantic. In virtue of this magnificent geographical position it has been most strongly fortified for two centuries.—On the heights of Europa Point, commanding the Straits, are now mounted modern 27-ton guns, firing 380-lb. shells, with a range of eight or more miles. Gibraltar itself is a high rocky promontory three miles long, joined to the mainland of Spain by a low, sandy isthmus. Between the British and Spanish frontiers on the peninsula is a narrow belt of neutral territory. To the west of the rock lies the harbour, which is now enclosed by breakwaters, so as to be perfectly secure from attack by torpedo boats or submarines. There are three naval docks, two of which are of enormous size. The town is near the

dockyard and had a population of twenty thousand in 1901, apart from the garrison, which numbers about four thousand.

Its History.

Gibraltar was seized during the war of the Spanish Succession by a small British force in 1704, under the command of Admiral Sir G. Rooke and Prince George of Hesse. Its importance was then comparatively slight, and the Spaniards had permitted the fortifications to fall into complete disrepair, and had garrisoned the works with only one hundred and fifty men. An attempt was at once made to recapture it, and it was strenuously besieged from October, 1704, to March, 1705, when the combined French and Spanish forces abandoned the enterprise. The Peace of Utrecht finally left it in British hands. A second siege began in 1727, but was so feebly prosecuted that the garrison was never seriously troubled. The third and by far the most famous siege was that which began in 1779 in the war between Great Britain and the European allies of the American revolution (*see* pp. 73-5).

This siege continued for nearly four years. Throughout 1781 projectiles were poured upon the British works, but the gallant Governor, General Eliott, and his garrison offered a desperate defence. Eliott silenced prophets of evil in the town by the most vigorous methods. A private who announced that Gibraltar would fall upon a certain day was confined by the provost-marshal till the appointed day came, and then was soundly flogged. Batteries were hewn out of the solid rock and equipped with furnaces for heating shot. In 1782 the French and Spanish armies attacking the place prepared for a supreme effort. Forty-seven allied ships of the line and ten floating batteries, which were built of stout timber and covered on the roofs with wet hides, opened a terrific bombardment; and on September 13th four hundred guns were showering projectiles upon the rock. The British gunners devoted their whole attention to the floating batteries, which were vaunted to be irresistible. For hours the British fired without result, until, in the afternoon, hot shot were used. This fearful fire continued with ever-increasing effect till after midnight one of the floating batteries began to burn furiously; and at 4 a.m. no fewer than six of them were ablaze. By daylight of the 14th all of them had been destroyed or were burning fiercely. The attack was an utter failure, and only caused the British a loss of eighty-four, while the enemy lost two thousand killed or drowned and three hundred and fifty taken prisoners. Less than a month

The Siege of 1779-1783.

later Admiral Lord Howe, with a great British fleet, hove in sight, and threw an immense supply of provisions into the fortress. But the siege was feebly continued by the enemy until February, 1783, when the preliminaries of peace were signed (*see* pp. 77, 324, 584). Eliott, for the devotion and heroism of his defence, received the thanks of Parliament. The famous portrait of him (now in the National Gallery, London), painted by Reynolds, after Eliott had become Lord Heathfield, shows "his rugged homely features, full of genial humour and dauntless resolution, and with the right hand closed firmly on the key of Gibraltar."

Proposals for its surrender.

From time to time the proposal has been made to exchange Gibraltar for the Spanish possession of Ceuta, which lies almost opposite to it on the Morocco coast. More than once in the past its surrender has been considered by British statesmen. After the great siege the British Government for a moment thought of acceding to the Spanish demand for its restoration, and, but for the determined opposition which Fox offered to that idea, Lord Shelburne might well have given up the great fortress which Eliott had so nobly preserved for the British flag.

Its present value as a fortress.

This was the last siege of Gibraltar and from that day to this it has never been seriously attacked. Owing to the enormous improvements effected in artillery its strength is no longer so great as it was, and almost every part of it is exposed to long-range fire. Shipping in the harbour could be destroyed by guns on Spanish territory, as was the Russian fleet in Port Arthur in 1904. Because of this it has been proposed to construct a new naval harbour to the east of the rock, where there is a point sheltered from such fire. But the cost would be prohibitive, and the improved relations between England, France and Spain would, at the present time, render such works of little naval value. More and more the force of the British Navy is being moved to northern European waters.

As a cable station.

Gibraltar is a great and important cable station, as from it run lines to England, the British South African colonies, Malta and Egypt. The steadily growing importance and value of wireless telegraphy may, however, in the near future, diminish its strategic interest from this point of view. It is within easy wireless signalling distance for the newer long-distance appliances of England, Malta and Southern France.

As a port and naval base.

Gibraltar is a free port and is much used by shipping passing through the Mediterranean. The tonnage of merchant vessels annually entering and clearing from it is nine millions, of which rather more than half is British; and it is a place of call for the mail steamers on the eastern routes through the Suez Canal. It is, moreover, one of the bases of the British Mediterranean fleet and a strong torpedo flotilla is stationed there. The garrison is under the Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean, whose residence is at Malta; while the government is in the hands of the Governor, who is always a distinguished general. The batteries hewn in the rock are one of the great sights of the place; they have a total length of over two miles and lie to the north and north-west, on the side fronting Spanish territory.

Malta.

Nine hundred and eighty sea miles east of Gibraltar lies the next British possession, the island group of Malta, which in the old days of rivalry with France was a position of immense importance. Half-way between Gibraltar and Egypt, its geographical situation at the point where the Mediterranean narrows between Sicily and the coast of Africa gives it great value as the base of a large fleet. It is strongly fortified, modern heavy guns having replaced the old weapons in its batteries. Large sums have been spent in recent years in improving its harbour by building a breakwater across the entrance and constructing dry docks to hold the largest modern battleships and cruisers. Of such large docks it possesses three, with three of smaller size, besides a hydraulic dock capable of lifting smaller craft. It is the residence of the Commander-in-Chief of the British troops in the Mediterranean garrisons and in Egypt, and the headquarters of the British fleet in the Mediterranean, which has, however, been much reduced of recent years, owing to the understanding with France.

History.

The islands of the group are principally two, Malta and Gozo, with a few uninhabited islets. Their total area is only one hundred and seventeen square miles, or about the size of the English County of London. But small though they are, they support a very large population, numbering in 1906 two hundred and five thousand, who speak a dialect of Arabic, intermixed with European words. English is the official language, though Italian is the language of the law-courts. The islands have had a great and famous history from the days when they were a Phœnician colony to modern times. They passed in

succession into the hands of the Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Saracens and Normans of Sicily, falling to the people whose navy commanded the Mediterranean; so that from time immemorial Malta has been the prize of sea power. In the sixteenth century the islands were granted by Charles V. to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, whose mission it was to make war upon the Turks; and by the Knights they were fortified with extreme care at vast expense. The Order was a great and wealthy one, and with the money which flowed into its coffers the city of Valetta was adorned and beautified and its colossal forts built. The Knights were not left unmolested by the Turks in their island fortress. In 1565 Malta was besieged by the Turkish Admiral Piali Pasha and General Mustapha Pasha with a powerful fleet, an army of forty thousand men, and the assistance of the corsair Dragut of Tripoli, but after four months of fierce fighting the Turks were repulsed. At this date the Knights of St. John numbered some eight thousand five hundred fighting men. For more than two centuries they continued in possession of Malta with ever-declining power and wealth. In 1798 the French expedition to Egypt under the command of Napoleon Bonaparte suddenly attacked the place and captured it through the feebleness and treachery of the last of the Knights, who could only muster two thousand troops to man the nine hundred and ten cannons which were mounted in its forts and batteries. The promise of a large payment to be made by Bonaparte to the Order hastened the surrender, and thus this stronghold of the Mediterranean passed, almost without a struggle, into French hands and received a French garrison. But Bonaparte had still to reckon with the British Navy at Aboukir Bay.

Its Acquisition by Great Britain.

Valetta was blockaded by Nelson, after his victory over the French fleet at the Nile, and besieged by a force of British seamen and Maltese insurgents, who were afterwards joined by detachments of British and Neapolitan troops. But though the garrison was so short of food that eggs sold for tenpence each and rats for one shilling and eightpence, the fortress resisted all attacks for nearly two years, until the autumn of 1800, when it surrendered to the allied forces and was occupied by a British garrison. By the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, it should have been restored to the Knights of St. John, and have been held by them as a neutral and independent state with a garrison of Neapolitan troops. The Maltese,

who detested the Knights, protested against this fate, and begged to be permitted to remain under British rule. Owing to Napoleon's aggressions and the fear that he meant to lay hands upon Malta, the British Government declined to evacuate the islands until the French had withdrawn from Holland and Switzerland, which they had virtually annexed after the peace. The result was that Napoleon forced on war to compel the evacuation of Malta. Throughout the struggle, which continued from 1803 to 1814, Malta remained in British hands, and at the general peace it became a British possession.

Modern Conditions.

The old forts have in many cases been rebuilt to meet the changed conditions of modern war and some of the most imposing in appearance are now of no serious value, though they remain interesting relics of the past. Valetta in Napoleon's days was famous for its magnificent appearance, for the solid array of its warehouses, for the straightness and regularity of its streets, and the handsome look of its houses and public buildings, built of stone and richly decorated. This magnificence it still retains, and the city itself has been much improved. It rises like an amphitheatre, on a series of rocky hills which surround its majestic harbour, and the flat roofs form a series of steps sloping upwards on the sides of the hills. The colouring is brilliant, the aspect is almost Oriental, and the streets are crowded with the life and animation of the East. The climate is pleasant, except that the heat is excessive in the depth of summer, when the hot scirocco, an enervating, moisture-laden wind, blows from the south-east, and the hamseen, a hot dry wind, blows from the Sahara, In winter and spring it is delightful. Until recent years the town of Valetta was unhealthy, but now improvements have been made in the drainage and water supply, which in the near future may again make of it a health resort and abolish the form of infection wrongly known as Malta fever.

The appearance of Malta from the sea is arid and bare, but labour has made the soil exceedingly fertile. The island is famous for its flowers, its oranges and other fruits; its potatoes and onions are largely exported to England in the early spring, and cotton of an excellent quality is also grown. The southern coast is remarkably bold and picturesque, with cliffs four hundred feet high, in which the sea has quarried deep caves and grottoes. Besides Valetta, there are three good harbours, at Marsa Scirocco, St. Paul's Bay, where St. Paul is

traditionally said to have landed, and Melleha. The ancient capital, Citta Vecchia, is one of the oldest cities in the world, and is still a place of great interest. The islands have many archæological remains, among them ruins of two Phœnician temples.

The islands are ruled by a Governor, who is always a distinguished soldier and is assisted by an Executive Council of official members, and a Legislative Council composed partly of nominated and partly of elected members. There is a considerable shipping trade, which amounted in 1904 to seven million nine hundred thousand tons entered and cleared. Of this two-thirds was British.

Cyprus.

In the extreme eastern corner of the Mediterranean, nine hundred miles from Malta, the British occupy a third position, the "enchanted island" of Cyprus. From time immemorial it has been the prize of sea power in the Mediterranean. The Phœnicians were among its earliest rulers and the Greeks succeeded them in pre-historic times. The Philistines of the Bible were probably a race of sailors from Cyprus and Crete. Then, in succession, as the centuries passed, it fell under Assyrian, Egyptian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman rule, and was twice conquered by the Saracens. The English King Richard I. captured it on his way to the Third Crusade, and gave it to King Guy of Jerusalem, with whose dynasty it remained till it fell into the hands of the Venetians. In 1570 it was invaded by the Turks and captured by them after desperate fighting, and in the hands of the Turks it continued for three centuries. Under them it steadily declined. They destroyed its churches and used its ruins as quarries, in which deplorable habit they have been followed by the British.

Cyprus passed into British hands by a treaty concluded with the Sultan of Turkey in 1878. It is to remain British so long as the Turkish towns of Kars, Batum, and Poti, which in that year were ceded to Russia, remain Russian.

Acquisition by Great Britain.

The original object in obtaining its cession was to give England a coaling station in the eastern Mediterranean, close to the Suez Canal, from the Mediterranean entrance to which Cyprus is distant two hundred and twenty miles, and near the Mediterranean terminus of the Baghdad Railway, which was then projected across southern Asia Minor to India. But the occupation of Egypt in 1882, only four years after the cession of Cyprus, greatly diminished the value of the island to the Empire, and rendered a coaling station there unnecessary,

since British warships could use the ports of Alexandria and Port Said, while at Cyprus there was no good harbour. Moreover, the Baghdad Railway made no progress between 1878 and 1900. Thus a change in conditions made Cyprus comparatively valueless as a naval possession for twenty years, and until 1899 it was neglected by the British Government.

Physical Features.

Yet it is a magnificent possession. In size it is inferior only to Sardinia and Sicily among the islands of the Mediterranean, while its natural beauty is great. The total area is three thousand five hundred and eighty square miles, or a little more than the two English counties of Northumberland and Cumberland. There are two chains of lofty mountains, the highest peaks in which rise to a height of more than six thousand feet. The chains are roughly parallel, one running along the north coast and the other through the centre of the island. By far the most famous of the mountains is Mount Troödos, one of the peaks of which was known to the ancient Greeks as Olympus, and was the fabled haunt of the gods. In ancient days the island must have possessed a matchless beauty, with its superb mountain scenery, its great forests, its clear delicious air, its rich corn lands, and groves of every kind of fruit tree. But Turks and Christians cut down its forests, the wells and water tanks fell into decay and the whole island for three centuries moved backward. Its hills and glens are now treeless, though steps are being taken to restore the forests, and a generation hence the mountains will be wooded as of old. Most of its rivers have dried up or only flow in the rainy season. There is one strange curiosity in the island, the Lake of Paralimni, near Famagusta, which becomes absolutely dry in summer, but fills in winter, when myriads of fish appear in it.

The towns were in ruin and most of the harbours were choked up when in 1899 a loan of £314,000 was granted by the British Government to construct irrigation works, to build railways and improve the harbours. This has done much to benefit the island. Simultaneously, sanitation has been improved and the death rate greatly reduced. Cyprus has so many and such singular attractions that it may hereafter vie with Egypt as a pleasure resort and tourist playground.

Archæology.

Of recent years immense interest has been aroused by archæological discoveries which show that so far back as 2500 B.C., before the days of Abraham, the people inhabiting it carried on an

active trade with Egypt, and that in 1500 B.C. it was a wealthy and highly-civilised state. It was already in decay at the time of the siege of Troy, some hundreds of years later. A great deal of excavation yet remains to be carried out, for the field has scarcely been scratched, and the British Government has been too indifferent to this kind of exploration. A collection of objects discovered lies neglected in a dingy little Museum at Nicosia.

Population and Government.

The population numbered two hundred and thirty-seven thousand in 1901. Four-fifths are of Greek descent and the remaining fifth are Mohammedans. The capital and largest town is Nicosia, in the centre of the island, now connected by railway with Famagusta, where the harbour has at last been greatly improved and rendered accessible to steamers. At Larnaca a pier has been made. Cables run to Egypt and the Syrian coast, though the latter route is not working. Thus changes are taking place for the better, and with wise and intelligent government Cyprus may once more become the garden of the Mediterranean. It is under a British High-Commissioner, who is aided by an Executive Council and a Legislature, in which twelve out of eighteen members are elected by the people. There is a small British garrison. The revenue is burdened by an annual payment of £92,000 of tribute to Turkey, and thus does not suffice for the cost of government. In most years grants from the British Parliament are required. The chief products are corn, wine, cotton, raisins, silk and fruits.

(2) The Atlantic.

From Cyprus we return to the storm-swept stretches of the Atlantic. In this ocean a number of small islands or island groups are under the British flag, the names of these scattered possessions being Bermuda, St. Helena, Ascension, Tristan da Cunha, the Falkland Islands and South Georgia.

The Bermudas.

Of these the Bermuda Islands—or Bermuda, to use the official name—are the most important. They lie directly in line between the British Isles and the southern coast of the United States. From Portsmouth they are distant two thousand nine hundred miles, and from the nearest point of the American continent five hundred and eighty miles. Their strategic value is thus very great indeed. They are situated conveniently near to the great trade routes across the Atlantic, and cruisers using

them as their base should be able to give effective protection to British trade with the United States and the West Indies. From Halifax, the nearest Canadian port, the distance is seven hundred miles. They are thus an intermediate station on the line of communication between Canada and the British West Indies, and their importance will steadily grow as Canada's interest in the West Indies, which is already great, increases.

The group of islets takes its name from the Spanish navigator Bermudez, who first sighted them early in the sixteenth century. They were colonised from Virginia, a century later, after the British captain Somers had re-discovered the islands by being wrecked upon them. There are one hundred islets and two hundred and sixty rocks in the group, but only ten are inhabited, and the total area is twenty square miles, or less than many English parishes. The most important of the islets is Main Island, on a deep inlet of which stands the town of Hamilton, the capital, a place of two thousand two hundred inhabitants.

Harbours and Defences.

To the north of Main Island, and enclosing with it a great land-locked harbour, the entrances to which are defended by strong batteries, is St. George's Island, with the town of that name, a place with a thousand inhabitants. The naval dockyard is at Ireland Island, and can only be approached by an easily defended channel through the rocks and reefs. The dockyard was once of considerable importance, but since the policy was adopted of withdrawing the British squadrons in distant waters, the staff has been greatly reduced. It has, however, a large floating dock, which is capable of accommodating any battleship of smaller size than the "Dreadnought," and one small dock.

Climate and Population.

The mildness of the climate and the great beauty of the islands have of recent years given them increasing importance as a pleasure resort for Americans. They are cool in summer and warm in winter, while the fact that frost is unknown enables the islanders to grow some kinds of early vegetables for the American market. Their land-locked lagoons and harbours make them a magnificent headquarters for boating. The prosperity of the islands has been affected by the reduction of the Imperial establishments, but the exports have not diminished. The population in 1901 was seventeen thousand five hundred, of whom rather more than half were coloured.

The islands form a Colony with representative institutions but not responsible Government. They are administered

by a Governor—always a distinguished soldier, who commands the garrison—a Legislative Council, appointed by the Crown, and an elective assembly. The Bermudas are an important telegraph centre, as cables running to Jamaica and Canada touch there. The only direct mail service from England is about once in five weeks, but there is a ten-day service between Bermuda and New York in the summer and autumn, and steamers twice a week in the winter season, while there is also a fortnightly service to the Canadian ports and the West Indies.

Government and Communications.

The formation of the group is coral. The large islands are of coral sand and are surrounded by a reef of growing coral. They are the only detached island group in the western half of the northern Atlantic.

Distant two thousand eight hundred miles from Bermuda, in the expanse of the Central Atlantic, lies the lonely island of Ascension, near the point where the Atlantic narrows and South America approaches Africa most closely. Ascension is three thousand miles from Gibraltar, two thousand four hundred miles from Cape Town, seven hundred miles from the little island of St. Helena, and eight hundred from the African coast. Seen from the sea, it is a grim, bare, forbidding-looking mass of rock, rising to a height of two thousand eight hundred feet from the water. The area is twenty-seven and a quarter square miles and the origin of the island is volcanic. The island was discovered by the Portuguese at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and was named Ascension because it was sighted on Ascension Day. It remained uninhabited until 1815, when, in consequence of the imprisonment of Napoleon at St. Helena, a small British garrison was placed upon it, to prevent any attempt at a rescue being made therefrom. It has since remained in British hands. It is under naval control, having a naval officer as its commander and a diminutive garrison to man the forts. No one is allowed to set foot on the island without permission.

Ascension.

Large stores of coal used to be kept at Ascension for the use of the Navy, and in war its importance would be considerable as a base from which to patrol the trade routes to Africa, Asia and Australia by the Cape, and to guard the route to the southern portion of South America. Cables connect it with St. Vincent, Sierra Leone, St. Helena and Cape Town. The mail steamers from the Cape call there once a month.

Naval Importance.

The climate is warm, but healthy, and the thermometer rarely drops below seventy-six degrees or rises above ninety-two degrees. There is a sanatorium high up on Green Mountain for officers and men who have been serving on the deadly West Coast of Africa. Its population is about one hundred and forty. The chief product is the sea turtle, which resort to the island early in the year and are then captured and kept in ponds. The greater number are sent to England, the Lords of the Admiralty having a right to a certain proportion. There is a jetty for landing purposes, but the immense rollers which break in at uncertain intervals, often when the sea is perfectly smooth, render landing very difficult. Another difficulty which has arisen recently concerns the supply of water. The old springs have dried up and the inhabitants have now to trust entirely to rain-water, collected in a great series of tanks.

St. Helena. The neighbouring island of St. Helena is also volcanic. It lies to the south-east of Ascension, and is distant seventeen hundred and ten miles from Cape Town. It is rather larger than Ascension, measuring forty-seven square miles. Discovered by the Portuguese about the same date as Ascension, it received its name because it was first sighted on St. Helena's Day. It remained unvisited for the best part of a century till the British captain, Thomas Cavendish, rediscovered it in 1588; but it was first occupied and settled by the Dutch about 1645, as a watering station for their East Indiamen. A few years later it was seized by the British. The Dutch retook it, but lost it in 1673, when it finally passed into British hands (*see* p. 486).

Physical Features. Seen from the sea the aspect of St. Helena is repellent. "The whole island bears evidence of having been formed by the tremendous energy of fire, but so gigantic are the strata of which it is composed, and so disproportioned to its size, that some have thought it the relic and wreck of a vast submerged continent. Its seared and barren sides, without foliage or verdure, present an appearance of dreary desolation." But behind the bare coast line and its gigantic cliffs, in the interior of the island, are verdant and well-watered valleys. The prickly pear, which covers the lower slopes, ceases at an altitude of sixteen hundred feet, above which are grasslands, always green, and forests. In these highlands flowers, shrubs and trees of every description flourish, and a Russian traveller described the island as "an emerald set in granite."

The climate is healthy though the island lies within the Tropics.

Napoleon. The great interest of St. Helena lies in the fact that here Napoleon was held a prisoner after his fall, from 1815 to his death in 1821. He lived in the now forlorn residence of "Longwood," on the high ground overlooking the sea. The little room in which he died is still shown, and where his bed stood is an altar. The house is the property of the French Government, to which it was made over after it had fallen into comparative decay. Near it is the tomb in which Napoleon's body lay till 1840, when it was exhumed and removed to Paris. During his stay in the island a strong garrison was kept there, and a naval squadron constantly cruised round it to prevent any possibility of escape. These were the days of St. Helena's prosperity; even after the death of Napoleon it remained for half a century a stopping point for all ships proceeding to and from the East.

Declining Prosperity. The opening of the Suez Canal, however, diverted traffic to another route and proved the ruin of the Island. It had a brief return of prosperity during the South African war, when it was employed as a prison for the Boers captured by the British armies. Since that date the garrison has been withdrawn, and the great fortifications, which had recently been constructed, are now left to moulder and decay. Decay and adversity are written upon the capital, Jamestown. The old stone English-built houses in the lower part have a woe-begone aspect, and ruin has fallen upon most of the people. Two mail steamers, one outward and one homeward bound, call every month at Jamestown, the anchorage of which was once crowded with shipping. The roads, which the troops maintained in good order, are still there, but in that climate they will speedily deteriorate. St. Helena, however, remains an important cable station through which messages pass between the mother country and South Africa, Australia and New Zealand.

The population in 1906 was three thousand five hundred and twenty-six without the garrison. The island is a Crown Colony, administered by the Governor with the aid of a small executive council. The revenue does not suffice to meet the expenditure.

Tristan da Cunha. Far to the south of St. Helena, on the direct route between Capetown and Buenos Ayres, is the small and remote island group of Tristan da Cunha, so called after the Portuguese

admiral who first sighted it. The main island, which is the only one inhabited, rises in a great cone to a height of seven thousand six hundred feet, but landing upon it is extremely difficult owing to the heavy storms which prevail and the terrible rollers which beat upon its iron-bound coast. It was first occupied at the date of Napoleon's imprisonment at St. Helena, in order to prevent attempts at rescue; but the garrison has been long since withdrawn, and the existing settlement was founded by castaways and deserters from whalers in the Southern Atlantic. At present it numbers only about seventy-five souls, who hold property in common. It is now but rarely visited. The oldest inhabitant acts as governor. Near it are four small and uninhabited islands, Inaccessible Island, which deserves its name, and the Nightingale group, three in number, on one of which two Germans remained cut off from humanity for nearly three years from 1871. Two hundred and eighty miles to the south-east is another uninhabited island, Gough Island, which is nominally British, and on which there still remain abandoned sealers' huts. The same fierce sea beats upon it as on Tristan da Cunha and generally renders landing most difficult.

The Falkland Islands.

From St. Helena to Tristan da Cunha the distance is thirteen hundred and seventy miles, and from Tristan da Cunha to the next British possession, the Falkland Archipelago, it is two thousand one hundred miles. The Falklands lie off the eastern coast of Patagonia, nearly opposite to the entrance to Magellan Straits, and are the only large island group in the Southern Atlantic. They were discovered by the British navigator, Davis, in the days of Elizabeth, and were visited by Hawkins. They did not, however, become a British possession until late in the eighteenth century, and were not actually annexed and colonised until 1833, when a settlement was established there for the protection of the whale fishery, at that time a very important and flourishing one. The area is six thousand five hundred square miles, or about that of the counties of Yorkshire and Durham. The population is two thousand.

Physical Features.

Seen from the sea they look bleak, treeless and grassy, and resemble in appearance the North of Scotland, to the climate of which their own is very similar. They are still imperfectly surveyed, but their highest point is Mount Adam, which rises to two thousand three hundred feet. A great part of their

surface is moorland, lake and bog, and is suitable only for sheep rearing. There are nearly a million sheep on the islands. In winter, although the temperature is seldom many degrees below freezing-point, the cold is intensified by high winds; in summer there is much rain, and the weather is cool. There is a small Government depôt for the Navy at Port Stanley, the capital, a village of nine hundred and twelve inhabitants, in which most of the houses are of wood and stone. In the harbour, used as a hulk, lies the old "Great Britain," the first iron steamer to be built. The islands are a Crown Colony under a Governor, aided by two nominated councils and are entirely self-supporting.

Strategic Position. The strategic position of the Falklands is of great importance for the protection of the trade proceeding to the west coast of South America and using the Cape Horn route from Australia and New Zealand to Europe. The islands are likewise used as a harbour of refuge for sailing vessels which have come to grief off Cape Horn. With the opening of the Panama Canal, the number of sailing vessels calling at the islands is certain to decrease; but the prosperity of the colony, notwithstanding its isolation and the possibility of its being relegated to one of the remote side-tracks of empire, is not likely to be materially affected so long as the price of wool keeps up. At present they are visited once a month by the mail steamers to the Pacific.

South Georgia. The large, desolate and ice-bound archipelago of South Georgia, eight hundred miles to the east of the Falklands, is a dependency of that colony. Portions of it are now leased to an Argentine and others to a Chilian company, while a limited number of whaling licences are likewise issued. The Argentine company employs about a hundred and fifty hands at its factory in Gritoyken Harbour, which is provided with a lighthouse and electric light. Among other dependencies of the Falklands are the South Shetlands, Graham's Land, the Sandwich Group and the South Orkneys, all of which, although ice-bound and forlorn, have a considerable value as whaling grounds. On the South Orkneys the Argentine Government have, with the permission of Great Britain, established a meteorological station, which is further south than any other permanently inhabited spot. Other small Antarctic islands, with a fascinating record of mystery, nominally under the British flag but actually uninhabited, are Marion and Prince Edward Island, the Crozet Islands, Royal Company and Macquarie

Islands. They are on the track of sailing vessels between Cape Colony and New Zealand, and on most of them there are depôts of food for shipwrecked sailors.

(3) The Indian Ocean.

In the Indian Ocean the Empire possesses a number of islands and archipelagoes, the importance of most of which has greatly diminished since the opening of the Suez Canal diverted the route to India and the Far East northwards.

Mauritius. By far the most valuable of these is Mauritius, known in the days of French rule as the Isle of France. It lies to the east of Madagascar, sixteen hundred miles from the British Colony of Natal in South Africa, and two thousand one hundred miles from Colombo in Ceylon. It is of volcanic origin and has an area of seven hundred square miles, or about that of the county of Surrey. It was discovered by the Portuguese in their voyages to the East Indies, but never occupied by them, so that it remained uninhabited. Its present name was given to it by the Dutch, after their Stadtholder, Prince Maurice, and the Dutch held it for some seventy years (*see* p. 479). When they abandoned it, it fell into the hands of the French, who re-named it the Isle of France, made it the seat of French government in the East, after the loss of India, and used it as a great trading centre and naval base for attacks on British commerce.

Under the French. Its prosperity throughout the eighteenth century under French rule was very great, when the plunder and prizes captured were brought into its port for disposal. The French privateer, Captain Surcouf, made it his headquarters during the Napoleonic war. In one single month, October, 1807, eighteen British East Indiamen were captured by French privateers and warships cruising from Mauritius, past which every British vessel bound for India had to steer. The place became such a source of danger and annoyance that in 1810 a British expedition was despatched against it and captured it. It was retained by England at the general peace and rechristened by its ancient name.

Climate. French is still commonly spoken, but English is the official language, and is alone used in the higher courts. Both languages are used in the Council and in the lower courts. A hundred years ago the island was covered with magnificent forests, but these were

for the most part cut down during the last century in order to plant the sugar cane. The climate has suffered accordingly; rains are less frequent and more uncertain, though, on the other hand, hurricanes have diminished in number since the felling of the trees. A great cyclone struck the island in 1892 and did enormous damage to the capital, Port Louis, a pleasant, French-looking town of fifty-two thousand inhabitants, and the chief port of the island. There are two dry docks there of moderate size, belonging to private firms, and these are capable of containing a small cruiser. There is also a good but small harbour, and an anchorage off the port, much exposed to hurricanes. The heat in summer is great, though on the high land of the interior the climate is healthy and not by any means trying for Europeans. The winter is pleasant and sunny. Among the curiosities of the island are the mountain peak known as Pieter Both, with its fantastic outline and overhanging summit, and the volcanic lake, Grand Bassin. The scenery in the interior is of quite extraordinary beauty.

The island and its estates are slowly but surely passing into the hands of the Asiatics who have been imported as coolies to labour in the sugar plantations, and remain as independent cultivators after the expiry of their terms. The total population is three hundred and seventy-eight thousand, of whom two-thirds are Indian coolies, and the remainder French by descent, half-castes, negroes and Malays.

Government and Communications.

The island is a Crown Colony and is administered by a Governor, aided by two councils, one of which contains a number of elected representatives. There is a small garrison of British troops. Submarine telegraph cables run from Mauritius to Natal, to Zanzibar via the Seychelles, and to Australia. Twice a month the steamers of the French Messageries Maritimes Company reach Mauritius; and twice a month British steamers touch there, once the Castle line via the Cape of Good Hope, and once the British India line via Colombo. There are one hundred and thirty-one miles of railway. The island has suffered greatly during the past thirty years from the competition of beet sugar produced in Europe under a bounty and sold at a low price. Its chief products are sugar, vanilla, fibre and cocoanut oil.

Dependent on Mauritius are a number of small islands which are of slight importance now, though in the old days they were the resort of privateers, pirates and buccaneers who swarmed in these seas. The island of Rodrigues lies three hundred and fifty miles east of Mauritius.

The Chagos Archipelago.

Diego Garcia, the chief island of the Chagos Archipelago, on the direct line followed by steamers from Aden (*see* p. 596) to Australia and from Mauritius to Ceylon, is a strategic point of some importance in the Indian Ocean as a central position from which cruisers could protect commerce against attacks. It is distant eleven hundred miles from Mauritius, nine hundred from Ceylon, two thousand one hundred from Aden and two thousand eight hundred from King George's Sound in Australia. There is a fine harbour, but vessels do not stop there, and coal is obtained with difficulty. There is no regular communication with the outside world, either by steamer or telegraph. The other islets of the Chagos group are small tropical islands, producing vanilla and cocoanuts.

The Seychelles.

The Seychelles in 1903 were separated from Mauritius and now form a distinct Crown Colony. They are a group of eighty-nine small islands, lying to the north-east of Madagascar, with a number of tiny isolated islands and island groups, such as the Amirante, attached to them. The main island is Mahé, with an area of fifty-six square miles, and an excellent anchorage at Port Victoria, where the British Navy has a small coaling station and pier. The distance from Mauritius is nine hundred and fifty miles and from Aden fourteen hundred, so that Mahé is a half-way house on the route between the Red Sea ports and Mauritius. It is visited monthly by the French service of mail steamers to eastern Africa, and is connected by telegraph cables with Zanzibar and Mauritius.

The total population of the Colony is twenty thousand, almost all coloured. The products are those of tropical islands —tortoise-shell, vanilla, cocoanuts, cocoa and guano. Though the climate is hot and the group lies under the equator, it is healthy for Europeans. The beauty of the scenery led General Gordon to believe that this was the actual Garden of Eden. The islands passed definitely into British hands, with Mauritius, at the general peace after the Napoleonic war. Like most of the islands in the Southern Atlantic and Indian Ocean, they were originally discovered by the Portuguese. The government is carried on by a Governor aided by two councils. In 1906 revenue exceeded expenditure by more than ten per cent.

The Aldabra Islands.

The group of Aldabra islands, a dependency of the Seychelles, lies immediately to the north-east of Madagascar, between it and

Zanzibar (p. 699), and is famous for its gigantic tortoises. It possessed some strategic importance, as a point from which the French naval base at Diego Suarez might have been conveniently watched before the recent understanding with France.

The Cocos Islands.

In the extreme east of the Indian Ocean are two island possessions of the British Empire, the Cocos and Christmas Islands, which, however, are attached for purposes of government to the Straits Settlements (*see* p. 646). The Cocos, or Keeling Islands, on the steamer route between Ceylon and Australia, are distant fifteen hundred miles from Ceylon, and sixteen hundred miles from the Australian port of Fremantle. The cable from Mauritius to Australia touches there. The islands are twenty in number, of coral, and their position in the eastern Indian Ocean is as favourable and important as that of the Seychelles in the western, and the Chagos in its centre. Their value to the Empire would be great if at any future time the Dutch East Indies should pass into the hands of a strong naval power. Among their curiosities are large land-crabs which live on cocoanuts.

Christmas Island.

Christmas Island lies between the Cocos and Java, and is distant from the Cocos seven hundred miles, and from Java two hundred miles. It is of some strategic importance, and has also great deposits of phosphate, which are now worked by a British company and used for manure. The island is, in fact, itself a mass of phosphate, which is cheaply and easily obtained, and sold for a large sum per ton. The area of the island is about fifty square miles; it has a coloured population of one thousand.

(4.) The Pacific Ocean.

Fiji.

In the Pacific a large number of scattered islands and archipelagoes are included in the British Empire. By far the most important of these is Fiji, a group of more than two hundred islands, eleven hundred miles north of New Zealand, and about seventeen hundred east of Australia. From Cape Horn the distance is about five thousand seven hundred miles; from San Francisco, four thousand seven hundred. Outlying islands in the group were sighted by the Dutch navigator Tasman (p. 339), in the seventeenth century, and visited by Captain Cook, but little was known of Fiji until the nineteenth century, when Wesleyan missionaries converted the cannibal inhabitants to Christianity. In 1874, by which time the number of British

settlers was considerable, the wish of the native chiefs was granted, that the islands should be included in the British Empire, and the British flag was hoisted. Fiji became a Crown Colony under a British Governor, who is also High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, aided by a Legislative Council of which, out of eighteen members, two are natives. The local government, so far as native affairs are concerned, is still carried on as far as possible by the native chiefs, under a special set of native regulations, so that the customs of the people have not been violently disturbed. There is no military garrison, and only a small body of native constabulary, but life and property are perfectly safe.

Population. The population in 1906 was estimated at one hundred and twenty-five thousand five hundred, of whom eighty-seven thousand were Fijians, twenty-eight thousand five hundred were East Indians, three thousand two hundred were Europeans, two thousand one hundred were Melanesians, though called Polynesians, two thousand Rotumans, and the rest half-castes and others. The 180th degree of longitude crosses the group, which is also the meeting-place of two distinct races, the Polynesian and the Melanesian. By the Polynesian is meant the straight-haired, light-coloured type, in contradistinction to the frizzy-haired, dark-skinned and thick-lipped native of Papua or New Guinea. Here and there in the scattered islands of the vast Pacific expanse are found monuments of a stupendous type and immemorial age, which suppose a higher degree of civilisation than existed when the Pacific was first visited by whites. The Fijians, when reclaimed from savagery are a charming people, lively, childlike, good-tempered, but indolent. In spite of sanitary improvements they are fast dying out as the result of contact with European diseases and the adoption of European customs; and the Indian coolies, introduced to work the sugar plantations, have many of them remained after the expiry of their indentures, and gradually got into their hands much of the minor agriculture and some of the trade of the islands.

Area and Climate. The area of the Fiji group is seven thousand four hundred square miles, or about the same area as that of Wales. Two of the islands, Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, are of considerable size. The formation is volcanic and hot springs exist; the mountains rise to a height of about four thousand five hundred feet. The scenery is of great beauty, with rich vegetation, abundance of woods and mountain streams, and with the towering cones of

the extinct volcanoes as a picturesque feature. The soil is rich, the climate sub-tropical and, on the whole, healthy, if somewhat enervating for the white man. The hottest month is February, when the temperature averages about 84 deg., or about 22 deg. above the average for July in London. The rainfall is heavy, and hurricanes, rarely of any great severity, occur occasionally in the rainy season, but earthquakes are practically unknown.

Communications. The chief towns of the group are Suva, the capital, on the south coast of Viti Levu, with about a thousand European inhabitants, and Levuka, on the tiny neighbouring island of Ovalau. Levuka, which was formerly the capital, and is still the chief trading centre for the windward portion of the group, has an excellent anchorage. At Suva coal is kept for the warships on the Australian station. Several lines of steamers visit the islands, running monthly to New Zealand, Australia, Tonga and Samoa. Fiji is linked by telegraph with Canada and Australia by the great imperial cable which crosses the Pacific, touching at Fanning Island and Norfolk Island, where it sends off a branch to New Zealand.

Exports. The products are mainly tropical—sugar, fruit, especially bananas, cocoanuts and the dried cocoanut kernels, generally known as copra; but tea, cotton, maize, tobacco and arrowroot are also grown. The exports are about £700,000 in value annually, the imports about £600,000. Nearly all the trade is carried on with the other British possessions in the Pacific. The importance of the colony will greatly increase when the Panama Canal is completed, as it lies directly on the route, via Panama, between England and Australia. It is therefore a colony with great future potentialities.

Rotumah. A dependency of Fiji is the little island of Rotumah, two hundred and fifty miles to the north, with similar products and character; but the natives are fair-skinned and straight-haired, and speak a language totally different from the Fijian.

The New Hebrides. To the west of Fiji lies the island group of the New Hebrides, which is under joint English and French control (the French also possess New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands), though the people of the interior are still cannibals of the most savage type. The natives here and in the neighbouring Solomon and other islands belong to the Melanesian race, which differs widely from the Polynesian. They have been largely

recruited for labour under indenture in Queensland and elsewhere, and to these labourers has usually been applied the term "Kanaka" (*see* pp. 371, 410). The area of this group is a little smaller than that of Fiji, and the population is estimated at about one hundred thousand. The character of its soil and climate is similar to that of Fiji. Vila, on the island of Efate, is the chief centre of European population.

The Solomon Islands. Under British protection are a number of islands to the north and north-west of the New Hebrides, the Santa Cruz group and the British Solomon Islands, which were gradually discovered by Mendana (p. 338), Captain Cook and Bougainville (the other Solomon Islands belong to Germany). They are high, mountainous and volcanic, inhabited by cannibal tribes, with but a few white traders. The total area is considerably larger than that of Fiji, and the scenery is even finer; in the island of Guadalcanar the mountains rise to over eight thousand feet. The climate is hot and moist. The growing of the cocoanut, cocoa and coffee is being rapidly developed. The Gilbert (or Kingsmill, as they were previously called) and Ellice Islands, a vast series of coral atolls, lying to the north of Fiji, are also British; although densely populated with natives, their size is insignificant, and they are scattered over an enormous expanse of water.

The Tonga Islands. The Tonga, or Friendly Islands, the scene of the adventures of William Mariner, an incident in whose narrative suggested Byron's poem of "The Island," are a more important group to the south-east of Fiji. The relations between the Tonga and Fiji Islands had always been close, and in 1900 the Tongas were formally placed under British protection. They cultivate the usual South Sea products, among them copra and fruit. West of the Gilberts is Ocean Island, also called Paanopa, the scene of a busy and promising phosphate industry. In the eastern Pacific the islet known as Fanning Island, on the direct route between Fiji and San Francisco, is of some importance, as here the British cable connecting Canada and Australia touches land; and it might be valuable as a coaling station between Vancouver and Fiji. Both it and its neighbour Washington Island produce a large amount of copra.

Pitcairn Island. Among the hundred or more British islands scattered in the South Sea, must be noted Pitcairn Island, which is about three thousand six hundred miles east of Fiji, and is beyond the large group of

French islands, including Tahiti. Pitcairn island is of romantic interest because of its connection with the mutiny in the "Bounty." The crew of the warship "Bounty," on a voyage from Tahiti, where they had been to collect bread-fruit and other tropical plants, in 1789 rose on their captain Bligh (p. 347), whom they accused of cruelty. Bligh and eighteen officers and men were turned adrift near Tonga, while the mutineers, numbering twenty-nine, went to Tahiti, where some of them landed and were afterwards captured and punished. Eight, however, with the ringleader, a man named Christian, sailed off with the "Bounty," taking with them some Tahitian women, and vanished for nearly twenty years. In 1808 an American whaler, visiting the secluded Pitcairn Island, found that the last of the mutineers, a man named Adams, was living there with the descendants of the others who had died or been killed in the interval. The survivor was not molested, and a small British community of one hundred and sixty-nine has grown up. They have a parliament of seven members, with a president and a vice-president. They have recently been assisted by the British Government to buy a cutter which enables them to dispose of their produce. The island is very remote and is almost the easternmost of those in the Pacific. Its climate and scenery are exquisite, but it is exceedingly small, its area only measuring a couple of square miles; it rises to a height of two thousand five hundred feet. From time to time some of the Pitcairn Islanders have been removed, at their own request, as their number has grown, to other South Sea islands.

The following is a list of the less important British islands in the Pacific, which generally are of coral formation and produce cocoanut, copra and guano:—Baker, Ducie, Dudoza, Duff (eleven), Jarvis, Palmyra, Phœnix (eight), Starbuck Union (six). The number after the name indicates the number of islands where the name stands for a group. Of these islands, one or two are uninhabited.

(5) Submarine Cables.

The nerves of the Empire.

A final word must be given to the great system of ocean submarine cables which connect the Empire, and may be called its nerves. Across the Atlantic to Canada and Newfoundland run twelve main cables, both ends of which are in British hands. Another cable runs from England

across the Atlantic to the Portuguese group of the Azores and New York. Four cables connect England with Gibraltar, and from Gibraltar or Lisbon three span the southern and central Atlantic, linking up the mother country with the British possessions in West Africa, with the Cape of Good Hope, with the intervening islets of Ascension and St. Helena, and with the South American ports. Yet another British line runs from Canada southward through Bermuda to the British West Indies and South America. Through the Mediterranean a whole network of lines and cables gives communication with Malta, Cyprus, Egypt and Aden. Three cables run from Aden to India, and a fourth to Zanzibar, where it forks, sending one branch to the Seychelles and Mauritius, and then to Natal. Another branch runs down the east coast, finally terminating in Natal, where it meets the cables which run down the Atlantic. Three cables, two running by India and Singapore, and one from Mauritius direct across the Indian Ocean, connect England with Australia by the eastern route. Another cable crosses the whole expanse of the Pacific from the Canadian port of Vancouver to the Fiji Islands, New Zealand and Australia, and thus completes the girdle round the earth.

Security of its communications.

So numerous are the various cables, and by such a variety of routes can most of the important British possessions be reached, that it would now be impossible to cut off communication between them by severing one or more of the main cables. Even if all the British Atlantic cables were destroyed, for example, Canada and the West Indies could be reached by the Mediterranean, Indian Ocean and Pacific lines. Or if the British Pacific cable were cut, the lines from Singapore to Australia would remain. Twenty years ago there was always the danger that an enterprising enemy, by destroying a number of cables, could prevent warning from being sent to the Colonies. Now that danger may be said to have passed, while year by year the power of wireless transmitters is increasing, and these supply an additional means of imparting information. Most of the submarine cables and a very large number of wireless stations are in British hands. Wireless signals have already been transmitted across the Atlantic and from England to Malta. It is only a question of time before the far vaster expanse of the Pacific is spanned by this new means of long-distance signalling. The work of annihilating distance is being rapidly perfected by science and invention. To-day Australia is nearer to London than was

Rome one hundred years ago, and an important event is known in Australia within an hour of its knowledge in London. How far this development of the material links which bind together the Empire is likely to be followed by its closer political organisation remains to be discussed in our concluding chapter.

CONCLUSION.

THE FUTURE ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE.

Problems and Possibilities.

An attempt to forecast the future of the British Empire, if it is not to be a mere exercise of speculative imagination, must confine itself to what can be reasonably anticipated with our present means of judgment. In other words, it cannot look much beyond our children's time, or anticipate sweeping changes in economic or political conditions. Perhaps air-ships may be so common before the end of this century that all strategic principles founded on sea power will be obsolete, and the old trade routes dislocated. Perhaps, on the other hand, a long interval may elapse between the scientific demonstration of mechanical flight and the development of its general uses or perils. The question is not yet ripe even for argument. It is certain, again, that the opening of the Panama Canal will have material effects on the relations of almost every part of the British Empire with foreign countries, and on their relative commercial importance as between themselves. But it would be rash even for an economist, and exceedingly rash for anyone who is not a special student of economic history, to predict the nature or extent of those effects. Like reflections and cautions apply to Imperial politics. One class of our problems would be much simplified if the requirements of Imperial defence could be sensibly diminished; but, in the present state of international affairs, we cannot count on any such relief in our own time. Further, it is idle to discuss constitutional projects which, under the name of federation or otherwise, would impair the authority of autonomous legislatures within the Empire, or dispense the Ministers of any self-governing State from responsibility to their Parliament. We are well assured that no such scheme would have any chance of being accepted,

[In this chapter the official "Minutes of Proceedings of the Colonial Conference, 1907," Cd. 3,523, are referred to as "Minutes" without addition.]

and there is no reason to suppose that the Legislature of the United Kingdom would be more willing to derogate from its own domestic powers than those of the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia.

Imperial Unity.

We are no less assured that a vast majority of our citizens both here and beyond the seas are agreed, regardless of party divisions, in holding the unity of the Empire dear; that they repudiate the doctrine once in fashion which expected us ultimately to become a number of separate states linked only by common traditions and sentiment, and politically as independent of one another as the United States are of Great Britain; that they think organic unity can be maintained, and unity of Imperial policy secured, by means compatible with constitutional autonomy; and that they intend and expect their several Governments to act accordingly.

In short, we may take the practical politics of the Empire as defined, so far at least as the self-governing parts of it are concerned, by the scope of those deliberations in which the Imperial Conference of 1907 has been engaged, a scope large enough for the best thought and activity of statesmen during more years than the present writer can hope to see.

Diversities and Anomalies.

It would be useless to repeat the information given in foregoing chapters as to the varieties of government existing in different parts of the Empire. They include every kind of polity from a federal commonwealth to a purely military command, and in India we have the paradox of an authority despotic in its local form, but subject for all ordinary purposes to the customs of the English Constitution, working by strictly legal methods and ultimately responsible to a democracy. Formal anomaly reaches its highest pitch in Egypt. There a half-sovereign dependent principality is controlled in various degrees and with many kinds of complication by almost every authority in Europe, except that of its nominal overlord; and ultimate political and military supremacy are with Great Britain by virtue of events, agreements, and understandings of which capitulations, treaties and other authentic and, on the face of them, complete documents disclose nothing or next to nothing. Egypt, however, so far from being part of the British Empire, cannot even be described as a protectorate; whether the term can be applied to the less complex though still anomalous position of the Sudan, where the British and Egyptian flags fly together, is a hardly less disputable question. Looking much

nearer home, we find that the Channel Islands, the residue of the ancient Duchy of Normandy, come within the sphere of our Constitution only because the Duke of Normandy, being also King of England, can do nothing save by the hand of Ministers answerable to Parliament. Had the population of those islands been more considerable in proportion to that of England, our ancestors would have been called on some centuries ago to face problems which, as it is, are still novel. On the whole we have, for the purpose in hand, to take the political conditions of our component States and dependencies as we find them at this day. The history of their foundation or acquisition in each case is material only so far as it accounts for permanent obligations; thus the franchises of the Province of Quebec are guarded by definite pledges, and this is the only important example I can recall. Otherwise the rule that British settlers carry their own law with them, and the fact that they carried the habit of self-government, have been seed enough to raise up the family of sister commonwealths.

The Practical Question.

Stated in its most general form, the question for any time we can foresee is not whether the British Empire shall continue, but how the business of the British Empire is to be carried on. We have come to the point of treating it as a matter to be worked out in a business-like fashion; we may come next time to seeing that the business capacity of an Imperial Conference is not improved by treating it is an occasion for continuous social celebrations. To call our brethren to our councils is well; to call on them to take counsel and deliver considered opinions before feasting, between feasting, and after feasting may almost be deemed contrary to that article of the Bill of Rights which forbids cruel and unusual punishments. Moreover we have found, after official and unofficial discussions, extending over more than twenty years, that many Britons beyond seas are quite as suspicious of general principles, and quite as unwilling to commit themselves to formulas beyond the needs of the occasion—let us say at once as insular and illogical—as any home-born Englishman or Scot. In 1892 the Imperial Federation League, a body founded in 1884 mainly by the exertions of W. E. Forster, appointed a special committee to frame definite proposals for realising its object. That committee sent up an unanimous report containing proposals, as to a common defence fund amongst other things, that went far beyond anything now thought practicable; and that report

was unanimously adopted by the Council of the League. These things, moreover, were done with all but formal and official blessing from Downing Street. But it turned out that the ground had not been sufficiently felt in advance, and for some years the whole movement towards closer relations actually fell back. Very lately two or three of those who signed or approved the report in question have set themselves against proposals of a much more cautious kind, having apparently never recovered from the disappointment experienced sixteen years ago. Confidence had to be gradually restored by practical discussion and working out of definite questions, and stimulated by various events which showed in more than one quarter of the world the practical inconveniences due to insufficient means of co-operation.

The Colonial Conferences of 1897 and 1902.

The resumption of active endeavour towards the better organisation of the Empire dates from 1902. Nothing had been done at the Conference of 1897, which, indeed, resolved by a majority "that the present political relations between the United Kingdom and the self-governing Colonies are generally satisfactory under the existing condition of things." But the Conference which met in 1902 made one material advance by settling the principle that Conferences should be periodical. It did not take any action upon the suggestion (not a formal proposal) made by Mr. Chamberlain that there should be established "a real Council of the Empire to which all questions of Imperial interest might be referred." Mr. Chamberlain further said, apparently purporting to express only his own opinion, that although such a body "might in the first instance be merely an advisory Council," yet "the object would not be completely secured until there had been conferred upon such a Council executive functions and, perhaps, also legislative powers." Later experience has shown that this conclusion is opposed to the weight of opinion in the self-governing States, and probably at home also. Mr. Chamberlain, following the lines of the old Imperial Federation League, seems to have regarded this constitutional innovation as not only desirable but practicable within no long time; it is now seen to be at best too remote for present consideration.

The Imperial Conference of 1907 summoned.

In April, 1905, Mr. Lyttelton, at that time Secretary of State for the Colonies, issued a circular despatch in view of the next Conference, then expected to be held in 1906. This despatch recapitulated the proceedings of the former

Conferences, and suggested that "it might be well to discard the title of 'Colonial Conference,' which imperfectly expresses the facts, and to speak of these meetings in future as meetings of the 'Imperial Council.'" It also proposed that India, "whenever her interests required it," should be represented. These intentions are now substantially fulfilled. The word "Council" was alarming or distasteful in some quarters; to the delicate French-Canadian ear it had a note of compulsion, in spite of all official and unofficial disclaimers; but the adjective "colonial" is also disliked as savouring in other ways of the sinister tradition believed to haunt Downing Street; and so the compromise proposed by Canada has now been adopted without difficulty, and we are henceforward to speak of the Imperial Conference. India, moreover, has been officially represented and will continue to be so.

India represented.

The despatch went on to propose that the Conference should be put on a business footing by the establishment of an adequate permanent staff to conduct special inquiries and collect information between the periodical meetings; an Intelligence Department for the civil affairs of the Empire, in the phrase adopted by the Government of Cape Colony in its reply. The word used in the despatch was Commission—"a permanent Commission representing all the States concerned." Like the word Council, this appears to have given rise to some misunderstanding. Combined with the somewhat vague language of the despatch, it may have suggested some kind of bureaucratic body wielding administrative powers, which certainly was not intended. Or it may have suggested the apparatus of the Royal Commissions with which we are familiar: a number of more or less competent gentlemen hearing witnesses, deliberating in a more or less solemn manner, and drawing up formal reports garnished with supplemental and dissenting memoranda, minutes of evidence, and what else makes up the mass of blue books. It is unlikely that this kind of formality was intended either by Mr. Lyttelton or by any of several other persons who have put forward similar proposals; but it will be convenient to return to this later. Whatever the true intention was, the keen scent of the Canadian Ministry detected a lurking danger to the working of responsible government in this extremely modest outline of a plan for the better despatch of business. Yet Canada, while not prepared to adopt the proposal of a permanent Commission, was willing to discuss it at the

A Permanent Commission Suggested.

Conference. On the other hand, Mr. W. Pember Reeves, the High Commissioner of New Zealand, has advocated the same general idea with great vigour and ability.

In replying to a letter from the Prime Minister of Newfoundland (who had apparently misread or misunderstood the despatch of April), Mr. Lyttelton took occasion to say of the proposed permanent Joint Commission: "His Majesty's Government attach much importance to this suggestion, thinking, as they do, that the future practical utility of the Colonial Conference, or Imperial Council (whichever name shall be finally adopted), depends to a large extent upon the institution of an organised body to do work preliminary and subsequent to the periodical meetings." From Australia, Cape Colony and Natal the answers were favourable on all points; that of New Zealand was delayed by elections being in progress, and, if a formal answer was sent at last, it does not appear to have been published; but New Zealand was understood to be of the same mind. With such dispositions, then, the Premiers of our self-governing States came to the Conference of 1907.

The Suggestion approved.

It was a year later than first appointed, for the mother country had been occupied with a change of Ministry and a general election. Lord Elgin, who had succeeded Mr. Lyttelton, did not hold himself bound by the views of his predecessor, and rather took the line of having an open mind except as to questions involving points of domestic policy on which the Government was already pledged. The representation of India was already decided upon, and Mr. John Morley, as Secretary of State, attended the opening meeting in person, and the following ones by Sir J. L. Mackay as his deputy.

Lord Elgin's Attitude.

At least one member of the present Ministry had expressed, while his freedom was unfettered by responsibility, his decided opinion as to the need of putting the common concerns of the Empire on a more business-like footing. The following passage is from a pamphlet written by Mr. R. B. Haldane, and published in the spring of 1905:—

"In a Paper read the other day (April, 1905) at the Colonial Institute, and which represented the conclusions of an informal committee over which he had been presiding for the last two years, Sir Frederick Pollock drew attention to the unsatisfactory nature of the machinery by which the affairs of the Empire are

Mr. Haldane's Views.

carried on. There arise from time to time matters which concern the relations of the distant dominions of the Crown to other Great Powers. Examples of these are the recent controversy over the Alaska boundary between Canada and the United States, and the differences between Newfoundland and France over the fishing rights. Three separate Departments of the King's Government have to deal with every such question, the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office and the Colonial Government concerned. The last has no direct access to the second, and is often dissatisfied with the apparent powerlessness of the first as to affairs outside its own sphere. The notion of Sir Frederick Pollock and those who worked with him was that, just as certain questions arising out of the relations of the Army and Navy now come under a more than Departmental authority, so it should be with a certain class of questions which touch the policy of the Empire as a whole. There are various forms in which the Home and Colonial Governments may be, more systematically than at present, brought, on the necessary occasions, under a common roof. The idea is not wholly novel. It was contained in germ in the periodic Colonial Conferences initiated by Lord Ripon and developed by Mr. Chamberlain, and which now take place at fixed intervals. But our system of administration makes no provision either for the intervals or for a multitude of affairs which are neither properly matter for these Conferences nor for a single Department. Topics of law reform arise which affect the Empire as a whole. Such are copyright and merchant shipping. Again, the state of the Supreme Court of Appeal is unsatisfactory. Just now it is split into the House of Lords, which acts for England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Judicial Committee, differently organised under a different roof, which acts for the rest of the King's dominions. The neglect of statesmen has led to the second being starved for the sake of the first. It is no part of the business of the Colonial Office to look after it, and there are murmurs, loud and long, every now and then, over the state of what, after all, is an important link between the Colonies and the Mother Country. Again there are questions of communications, of steamship lines and of cables, which belong to the development of that policy of Imperial unity which rests on common ends and constant intercourse, and which is free from the galling associations of Preference. But there is no Government Office whose duty it

Present Lack of System.

The Judicial Committee.

is to watch these things, to collect information, and to see that opportunities are not neglected. An Imperial Government Committee, containing representatives of the Colonies, and in continuous communication with their Governments, seems as necessary as in the somewhat analogous case of Imperial Defence. Its functions need not be more than advisory. They need not interfere with those of the Colonial Office any more than do those of the other Committees interfere with the work of the War Office and the Admiralty. But the existence of such a body would secure the continuous attention of the Government as a whole to matters which have a common interest for the whole Empire, and it would enable the Colonies and the Home Government to take counsel together in a way which is not possible at the present time. A capable official secretary, doing the work which Sir George Clarke does for the Defence Committee, would secure the collection of the necessary material and would be the guarantee for a certain continuity of policy.

An Imperial Government Committee.

"The word 'continuity' suggests important considerations. When one Government succeeds another its business is generally to initiate a different policy, in legislation and in other ways. But there is, and always will be in the handling of the business of administration, much necessity for continuity. Not the least valuable feature of the Defence Committee is that it provides for this. The same thing would unquestionably be true of such a Committee of Advice on Colonial matters as has been suggested. It would give the Government of the day not only eyes and ears, but a memory, and an accumulation of knowledge such as it does not possess at present.

Continuity of Policy.

"No country has a finer Civil Service than ours. But that service wants enlargement, as the burden and the responsibility of Government are increasing, and I see no way to do this except by developing the executive brain in some such fashion as I have tried to indicate in outline. In every department of the State there is room for improvement of the grey matter of that brain."*

With regard to the informal committee mentioned at the beginning of this extract, it may be noted that most of those gentlemen, and some other distinguished persons who had not taken part in their deliberations but agreed in the result,

* The Brain of the Empire: pamphlet on "Coming Men on Coming Questions." Series No. 7. (*Review of Reviews* office.)

signed a statement which was published in the leading journals on March 14, 1907. It was framed in very cautious terms, and for the special purpose of removing misapprehensions; the proposals did not differ in substance from Mr. Lyttelton's or those of the Australian Government. The points made were (1) that the Colonial—or better, Imperial—Conference should be made continuous by some permanent representation of the constituent Governments in London; (2) that in order to make such representation effective a permanent secretarial staff should be provided, and serve as an Intelligence Department at the disposal of the Conference; (3) that a list of experts available for special inquiries would be an important part of the equipment required to carry on the work of this department to the best advantage. With regard to this last suggestion, the misunderstanding and mistrust it encountered in highly respectable quarters were, and are, somewhat difficult to understand; for the suggestion seems to be of great value. Perhaps these feelings may be explained in some measure by the known aversion of the English public to the recognition of any kind of special knowledge or competence not having a definite place in the qualifications for a professional career or among the tools of an accustomed trade—and, indeed, to the excessive recognition even of that which is professional, excepting always naval and military success: and our public will probably cease to admire those from the day, if ever that day comes, when it discovers that there is such a thing as a scientific art of war. The British public loves a smart performance, but hates exact knowledge, however necessary to the performance it may be. We tolerate mathematics for the sake of the meridian of Greenwich, which we potently though obscurely believe to be a pillar of the British Constitution. Otherwise we regard the note of amateurishness as a security for our liberties and a mark of our superiority to Continental pedants, a sort of men who fight by the book of arithmetic, and in their business undertakings dare to oppose a disciplined front, by land and even by sea, to the free and independent English trader. But this is mere speculative digression.

Need of a Permanent and Representative Body.

Distrust of the Expert.

Most of the Governments represented at the Conference had sent in resolutions for discussion. Canada sent none, remaining in the passive attitude already indicated in answer to Mr. Lyttelton's despatch.

The Australian Resolutions.

First among the resolutions of the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia was one in these terms:—

I.—Imperial Council.

That it is desirable to establish an Imperial Council, to consist of representatives of Great Britain and the self-governing Colonies, chosen *ex officio* from their existing administrations.

That the objects of such a Council shall be to discuss at regular Conferences matters of common Imperial interest, and to establish a system by which members of the Council shall be kept informed during the periods between the Conferences in regard to matters which have been or may be subjects for discussion.

That there shall be a permanent secretarial staff charged with the duty of obtaining information for the use of the Council, of attending to the execution of its resolutions, and of conducting correspondence on matters relating to its affairs.

That the expenses of such a staff shall be borne by the countries represented on the Council in proportion to their populations.

The Views of New Zealand and the Cape.

The Government of New Zealand submitted "that it would be to the advantage of the Empire, and facilitate the dealing with questions that affect the oversea Dominions, if an Imperial Council were established to which each of the self-governing Colonies should send a representative." From Cape Colony came a resolution affirming that it was necessary to organise a plan of Imperial defence, and mentioning an Imperial Council as a condition precedent to this being effectually done. We have no right, of course, to infer that the Ministers of Cape Colony did not think there was anything to be said about the civil affairs of the Empire. Indeed, they proposed, in a following resolution, that steps should be taken to enact a uniform naturalisation law "after full consultation with the Colonies." They may, therefore, be taken to have desired, in principle, that permanent means of mutual consultation should be established. On April 17th the subject was discussed at the Conference, the several Premiers taking very much the lines which were to be expected from their previous communications ("Minutes," pp. 24, *seq.*). The element of restraining caution was supplied partly by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who was anxious to preserve ministerial responsibility, and partly by General Botha, who had apparently been alarmed by Mr. Chamberlain's forecast of ultimate executive and even legislative functions in 1902. Sir Wilfrid understood Mr. Lyttelton's despatch to propose that the members of the Conference, when constituted as

Sir Wilfrid Laurier and General Botha.

an Imperial Council, should be "assisted by a permanent body similar to the Imperial Defence Committee, a permanent Imperial Civil Committee"; and to this he had objected at the time, and continued to object. He seems to have overlooked the provision that the suggested Commission should inquire and report only on questions expressly referred to it either by the Conference itself or by the Home Government and at least one other. The despatch did, no doubt, rather fail to make it clear whether this Commission was expected, as a rule, to sit and report to the Conference as a single body. One can best conceive it as doing its work by small committees of persons conversant with the subject in hand, and one would not imagine that any useful purpose would be served by the report of such a committee going through two stages. It might as well, in almost every case, report direct to His Majesty's Government, or to the Conference, through the permanent secretary. But in any case neither Mr. Lyttelton's despatch, nor, so far as is known, any of the private writings which contained similar proposals, affected to lay down details of procedure; a more definite scheme was expressly reserved for further consideration in the event of the general idea being approved. However, the objection was insisted upon, and Lord Elgin held the balance in favour of caution, as perhaps he was bound to do. In the course of the discussion the principle of preserving ministerial responsibility was affirmed in the most positive manner on all hands.

The Decision of the Conference.

After full debate and very careful settling of the terms the following resolution was finally agreed to on April 20th:—

"That it will be to the advantage of the Empire if a Conference, to be called the Imperial Conference, is held every four years, at which questions of common interest may be discussed and considered as between His Majesty's Government and his Governments of the self-governing dominions beyond the seas. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom will be *ex-officio* President, and the Prime Ministers of the self-governing Dominions *ex-officio* members of the Conference. The Secretary of State for the Colonies will be an *ex-officio* member of the Conference, and will take the chair in the absence of the President. He will arrange for such Imperial Conferences after communication with the Prime Ministers of the respective Dominions.

"Such other Ministers as the respective Governments may appoint will also be members of the Conferences, it

being understood that, except by special permission of the Conference, each discussion will be conducted by not more than two representatives from each Government, and that each Government will have only one vote.

"That it is desirable to establish a system by which the several Governments represented shall be kept informed during the periods between the Conferences in regard to matters which have been or may be subjects for discussion, by means of a permanent secretarial staff, charged, under the direction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with the duty of obtaining information for the use of the Conference, of attending to its resolutions, and of conducting correspondence on matters relating to its affairs.

"That upon matters of importance requiring consultation between two or more Governments which cannot conveniently be postponed until the next Conference, or involving subjects of a minor character or such as call for detailed considerations, subsidiary conferences should be held between representatives of the Governments concerned specially chosen for the purpose." ("Minutes," p. v.).

Results. In this, the leading resolution of the Conference of 1907, there is room for disappointment among those who aim at effectual co-operation in Imperial affairs. Yet some points of importance are fixed. The Conference is imperial, not colonial; it is a Conference between Governments; the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom is its president, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, if he acts as Chairman, will do so in the character of Vice-President; there is to be a permanent secretarial staff assigned to the business of the Conference and attached to the Colonial Office (it seems because no other way could be found of making a British Minister answerable for it); and "subsidiary conferences" are to be held when required.

Prospects of the new Secretariat. What will the new Secretariat be? Nothing is yet disclosed at the time of this writing. The Secretary of State has a large discretion. In the first instance it will be what he is pleased to make it; we need not expect anything conspicuous or fitted to awake the public imagination. Afterwards it will be whatever the Dominions of the Empire determine to make it. If their Governments insist on finding

business for it (and of appropriate business there is no lack) the business will have to be done, and in proportion to the work the needful instruments must be developed. We may live to see this grain of mustard-seed become a goodly tree. There is nothing to prevent the secretarial staff from gathering round it all the expert assistance that the highest affairs of Empire may call for. Such assistance, organised and ready to hand, is almost a necessary incident to the preparing of material for the subsidiary conferences which are contemplated, as well for the Imperial Conference itself. Australia and New Zealand will, in all probability, not be slow to avail themselves of their opportunities, whatever Canada may do. There may be those who would like to see nothing in the new department but a mere shifting of some handful of clerks from one room to another, and of old routine forms from one heading to another. It is in the hands of the Premiers to prevent any such abortive result. All our institutions have sprung from modest beginnings. They have pierced their way through manifold conflicts and jealousies; they have undermined the barriers that could not be thrown down; they have turned the positions that could not be stormed; they have subdued ancient enemies to serve them. Our first King Edward after the Conquest was the guardian of justice in his kingdom, but with rudimentary means opposed by obstacles in every direction. He left a judicial system which lasted even in the details of its structure, for six centuries, and whose foundations are still solid. May not the name of King Edward VII. be coupled with memories like these in the history of Greater Britain yet to be made?

Questions for further consideration.

Let us observe, for the present, how many topics of general importance have actually been earmarked at the Conference for further consideration. We have: (1) Uniformity of naturalisation laws (April 25th, May 9th). (2) Revision of commercial treaties. (3) Uniformity of law as to trade-marks and patents, to be provided for by Imperial legislation "after full consultation with the Colonies." (4) Uniformity of trade statistics and company law (May 8th). (5) Through mail communication between Great Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (May 14th). We pause on this last head to note the words uttered nearly seventy years ago by the Canadian patriot, Joseph Howe (*see* pp. 277-80, 311), who proclaimed the necessity for "such a line of rapid communication by steam as will ensure the speedy transmission of public despatches, commercial correspondence and general information, through channels

exclusively British and inferior to none in security and expedition,"* Here is matter enough, surely, for a diligent Secretary to set in order between this Conference and the next without finding the time too long on his hands. Here, too, is refutation enough and to spare of the strange notion that the unity of the Empire is important only for the purposes of warlike preparation, and everyone who would promote it is therefore to be suspected of militarism.

Imperial Defence.

Not that any sane man who has any acquaintance with foreign affairs would underrate the importance of settling, in time of peace, a rational and efficient scheme of Imperial defence. The chief difficulties arise from lack not of will but of knowledge. Profound ignorance about the most elementary conditions of sea power and naval strategy still prevails unrebuked among very many citizens of our maritime empire, and even more among our fellow-citizens overseas than in the British Islands. It is reinforced by that curious English mistrust of general ideas and exact information which has been already mentioned. We paid dearly for this ignorance some forty years ago, when we forgot all, or nearly all, that Nelson and his companions had taught our fathers; happily we paid in nothing worse than useless expenditure on bricks and mortar. Thomas Campbell knew better—and we were brought up to read or even learn by heart his "Mariners of England": we were not taught the grounds of his faith, and his noble scorn of the martello tower was lost on us. But our Admiralty has borne good witness once and again, and an exchange of views is proceeding, which will probably remain confidential until we see the results. Moreover, we are to have "a General Staff, selected from the forces of the Empire as a whole, which shall study military science in all its branches, shall collect and disseminate to the various Governments military information and intelligence, shall undertake the preparation of schemes of defence on a common principle, and, without in the least interfering in questions connected with command and administration, shall at the request of the respective Governments advise as to the training, education and war organisation of the military forces of the Crown in every part of the Empire" (April 23rd). So, peradventure, shall we root out the vulgar and pernicious error—doubly pernicious to a maritime Power—that defence, whether by sea or by land, consists in sitting still and letting the enemy choose his own point for attack.

* "Speeches and Public Letters," Vol. I., p. 182.

There were good people on the Atlantic coast of the United States in 1898 who clamoured for local defence and never understood that they were being defended at Manila and Santiago de Cuba.

A Final Court of Appeal.

The least satisfactory part of the Conference, to a lawyer's mind, has been the very slender outcome of the Australian proposal to establish a single final Court of Appeal for the Empire. This was discussed and recorded, but the resolutions carried were only pious wishes for the improvement of the procedure in Privy Council appeals, and (practically) the consolidation of the South African jurisdictions for the purpose of such appeals without waiting for political federation ("Minutes,' p. 226). It appears by the "Minutes" (p. 217) that the Lord Chancellor took upon himself to shelve the larger question by saying that it had not really been discussed in the United Kingdom and had not come up since 1900. Lord Loreburn apparently forgot that his colleague, Mr. Haldane, whose experience as counsel before both the House of Lords and the Judicial Committee stands unrivalled among living men, and whose competence as a historical and constitutional lawyer is second to none, has been advocating from time to time during the last seven years exactly what Mr. Deakin, on behalf of Australia, proposed to the Conference. It is quite true that the press did not take up the subject to any great extent. It is equally true that no part of the Conference's work, except that which could be used for party controversy, has been seriously commented on before, during, or after the Conference by more than two or three journals. Reforms in highly technical matters of which the general public knows very little are not to be made by waiting till they become the topic of platform speeches. If that happened it would mean that they were getting past reform. Mr. Haldane has dealt with this subject in public and before specially qualified audiences, the Society of Comparative Legislation for one, and, so far as I know, his ideas have been favourably received by most lawyers who have time or inclination to think at all of such things.

Defects of the Present System.

The Lord Chancellor said that the Judicial Committee and the judicial House of Lords consist—with certain qualifications which he duly added—of the same persons sitting in different places. It has also to be said that the security for the right persons being in the place and hearing the cause where they are most wanted is well known to be precarious; that neither place

is convenient for the purposes of judicial business; and that one of them is wholly unworthy of the dignity of a world-wide jurisdiction. The Judicial Committee, being the only tribunal in Europe comparable to the Supreme Court of the United States for the extent and importance of its authority, sits in a dingy board-room which no modern Town Council or railway company—one might almost say no modern Board of Guardians—would accept as decent. No one who has attended a sitting of the Supreme Court at Washington can fail to be painfully struck by the contrast. Lord Loreburn also did not mention that in strict law the hearing of an appeal in the House of Lords is a debate of the House itself—not a Committee—in which every member, learned or not, is entitled to take part and vote. Certainly it has been understood for more than half a century that it is not constitutional for an unlearned peer to exercise his judicial right. If any one asks what sanction there is for this understanding being observed (as it has in fact been, with only a few erratic attempts at revolt), there seems to be no answer; but it is whispered that peers, like other men, have coat-tails. Is it not time that a right which the House advises its members not to exercise should be put out of the misery of a futile and barren life which has become a mere name? This obsolete right is not a legal fiction; it is a decrepit and absurd fact, while a legal fiction is an artificial way of providing for the recognition of living facts. Many legal fictions are excellent things; but that has nothing to do with the matter before us. The conclusion shall be stated in the words of a learned Canadian, Mr. George S. Holmested, of Toronto: "Modern requirements seem imperatively to demand the establishment of a Supreme Imperial Court of Appeal, with a sufficient force of judges to cope with all final appeals from every part of the Empire; and for the purposes of such a Court a proper court-room and offices should be provided commensurate with the dignity and importance of the chief Court of the Empire."*

Need for Reform.

It may be suspected that this represents Canadian professional opinion more accurately than the passive attitude of the Canadian Government.

In the face of Mr. Deakin's alternative suggestion ("Minutes," p. 203) "that it should be possible for any of the King's Dominions which intimated its desire in a formal manner to transfer its appeals, while the present system of

* *Canadian Law Review*, May, 1907, p. 213.

two Courts is maintained, from the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to the House of Lords," it is really not plausible at this day to assert that the working of the Judicial Committee gives general satisfaction. Meanwhile, the proposed regulation of the practice, if it deals boldly with the present causes of excessive cost, will be acceptable so far as it goes.

Preferential Trade.

The question of preferential trade was discussed at length in the Conference, but without any definite result. It is not possible to consider the reasons for this at all fully without entering on matters which have for the last five years been in the front rank of controversial politics in the mother country. This would be contrary to the intention and spirit of the book to which this chapter is contributed. It is, however, permissible to state the difficulties of the position in a general way.

The problem which the Conference failed to solve, or indeed to attack except in the region of generalities, may be put thus: How can preferential trade be established between a mother country with a free trade fiscal system and daughter States with protective systems?

Possible Alternatives: Preference.

One way is for the mother country to reconstruct its fiscal policy and adopt a general tariff on imports from which substantial remission or complete exemption could be given to the Dominions of the Empire on terms of reciprocity. But the general election of 1906 has pledged the present Ministry, at all events, not to do any such thing. The Government of India, moreover, considering the matter from an Indian point of view, has come to the conclusion that the interest of India requires adherence to the free trade policy (*see* p. 634).

A Customs Union.

Another way would be the framing by general consent of a scheme for the establishment—by degrees, if not otherwise—of a Customs Union which should bring about complete free trade within the Empire. Many convinced free traders would think such a scheme worth examining; very few would say positively without examination that, assuming free trade within the Empire not to show a clear economic profit to Great Britain or any other component State, it may not, nevertheless, be worth a certain price. But it is admitted that the present fiscal policy of Canada and Australia no more admits of realising that object than the present fiscal policy of Great Britain admits of a return to protective duties. Neither Canada nor Australia will throw down their tariff wall before Great Britain or open a gate through it; they will

take down some top courses for the mother country or put on a higher one against the foreign exporter. But, so they say, they need their wall for a long time to come. Able colonial advocates of a policy fitted to lead to Imperial free trade are, however, not wanting.*

Non-protective Preference.

There is a third point of view which has not yet been fairly disengaged from the general controversy. Free traders object to preferential remissions of duty, not because they abhor preference as such, but because remissions diminish the revenue derived from the duty (for the sake of which revenue the duty is imposed), and give an advantage to the favoured exporter of the commodity which it would be cheaper and more straightforward to give by way of direct bounty. There is no such article of free trade faith as that no preference or reciprocity is ever to be given in any shape on any kind of imports. Cobden, being a man of practical business, found no harm in negotiating a treaty of commerce with France, and his conduct has been censured as a dereliction from principle only by some Puritans of the most rigid economic orthodoxy. Now it is conceivable that in some cases financial ingenuity might frame a maximum duty not exceeding the normal margin of fluctuation in the price of the commodities in question, and, therefore, not having any serious protective effect, and that within the margin so determined preferences might be given. Such preferences could not amount to any very great sum in money, but they might suffice to give some acceptable stimulus to the colonial producer, and would be accepted as a token of natural love and affection. Probably such a modest form of preferential trade would be scorned as illusory by thorough-going tariff reformers, and that may be the reason why so little has been heard of it. In any case careful detailed estimates would be required in order to exhibit such an argument in a practical form.

Need for Definite Proposals.

One thing not made very clear by the discussion at the Conference is whether the fiscal ideal held out by the majority of the Premiers, and popularly described as "the Colonial offer," is that of a general agreement or a number of particular agreements—an Imperial scheme of duties, with the addition of whatever may be required in the way of tariffs for local revenue, or a network of reciprocity conventions made

* See, for example, a paper by Mr. Archibald McGoun, of Montreal, in the *Canadian Law Review* for May, 1907, Vol. VI., p. 214.

separately among the component States of the Empire, and not necessarily having anything in common but a general policy of mutual preference. Is our model to be the Postal Union or the development of international arbitration by means of special treaties? The latter method appears on the whole to be indicated, and would be easier to get started. It is, however, sufficiently clear that much more explanation of details is needed before the public opinion of the mother country can be said to be sufficiently instructed on the Imperial aspects of this question. English people are impatient of dogmatic principles and want to see with approximate certainty how new plans are to work out. It is well to remember that, as we have had occasion to state above, the old Imperial Federation League, with a great show of support from eminent persons, and with the advantage of standing clear of partisan controversy, was wrecked on generalities.

Other Subjects of Discussion.

It does not seem useful to dwell here on what may be called the miscellaneous work of the Conference. The majority of readers cannot be expected to take much interest, for example, in the animated but, we may be allowed to say, not very well informed discussion on the possibility of the Courts of different parts of the Empire admitting one another's counsel to practice on terms of reciprocity. Yet the full report of this discussion is instructive beyond the limits of its subject, for it shows the necessity for having technical matters of this kind examined by a small expert committee before they are discussed in full Conference. As it was, the Premiers, or some of them, were naturally and more than excusably confused as to the relations between the Inns of Court, the Law Society, and the General Council of the Bar, and failed to realise that in England the privileges of barristers in general and King's Counsel in particular are paid for by considerable disqualifications and a strict professional etiquette which there is no tendency to relax. The debate ended in the New Zealand resolution being recorded, and the Solicitor-General undertaking to make the confidential inquiries which ought to have been made before the meeting if it was to do much good. One real difficulty which was touched upon, but not adequately, lies in the existence of different systems of civilised law within the Empire. An English barrister is bound to have learnt a little Roman law, but is not bound to know anything about the modern developments of Roman or Romanised law, or to have ever opened a French law-book, or for that matter to know French. Obviously he cannot be pre-

sumed capable of being an efficient advocate in the Province of Quebec, or, nearer home, in Scotland.

The Position of India.

One of the most important features of this Conference has been the formal inclusion of India and the distinct representation of Indian interests. Better acquaintance with Indian conditions and with the unique task imposed on the Government of India can only do good in the self-governing Dominions. It would be vain to pretend that there are not possible conflicts of economic or social interest between India and Australia; there are questions already of considerable standing with South Africa (p. 632). Whether all parties can be satisfied or not, it is most desirable that the Indian point of view should be understood, and that, on the other hand, the Government of India should learn at first hand what are the aspirations and the apprehensions that have dictated a restrictive immigration policy to more than one of the States settled from Europe.

Educational Co-operation.

The political and economic problems which are the province of the Imperial Conference do not exhaust the possible means of advancing the organisation of the Empire. Another instrument has been brought into play by the Federal Conference on Education held in London in the last week of May, 1907. It was the first meeting of the kind and its origin is interesting. About seven years ago the idea of promoting co-operation in education throughout the British dominions was taken up by the League of the Empire, at the instigation of the honorary secretary, Mrs. Ord Marshall. The League is a voluntary and non-political society, but it obtained the countenance of the Colonial Office and of the education authorities in various parts of the Empire, and, beginning in a small and tentative way, it gradually developed an extensive organisation embracing not only the self-governing Colonies but the whole of the British dominions. As this organising work progressed, practical questions of increasing importance were raised. From the mere interchange of information and of parts of school curricula the League went on to promote larger measures in the direction of co-ordination: the provision of lecturers and special literature, the interchange of teachers and inspectors, the adoption of Imperial text-books and other projects. Such proposals necessarily involve administrative co-operation among educational authorities, and it became obvious that for their settlement a conference was needed which must be largely of an official character. The

The League of the Empire.

Colonial Governments and educational authorities, who had from the first readily responded to the efforts of the League, welcomed the proposal of a conference, and it was accordingly fixed to take place in London during 1907.

The Federal Conference on Education.

The meeting thus brought about was of a peculiar character. It had been entirely organised and arranged by the League, which is a private society with a semi-official standing, but its principal purpose was to effect discussion and, if possible, agreement on administrative matters which lie within the competence of official authority alone, for educational administration is, for the most part, under the control of Government. That fact had been recognised by the several Colonial authorities who nominated official representatives to attend the Conference, and eventually the home authorities followed their example and completed the official representation by nominating members from the central educational boards of the United Kingdom. Thus the Conference was, in the first place, a meeting of Government representatives held under the auspices of a private society. At the same time it retained a voluntary character. A large number of universities, learned societies and other educational institutions in all parts of the Empire had been invited to take part, and had responded by sending delegates; and, in addition, many other persons interested in education attended in a purely private capacity. There was thus an inner official Conference and an outer unofficial one, resembling an ordinary learned congress. The most interesting feature of the whole was the remarkably complete representation secured from British dominions of all kinds. The official meetings were attended by representatives from the following countries: The Dominion of Canada (Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan), the Australian Commonwealth (New South Wales, South Australia, Queensland, Victoria, Western Australia, Tasmania), New Zealand, South Africa (Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, Orange River Colony), India (Bengal, Bombay, Madras, United Provinces, Central Provinces), Burma, Ceylon, the Bahamas, Hong Kong, Southern Nigeria, Gold Coast Colony, Gambia, Mauritius, Basutoland, the Falkland Islands. In addition to these the invitation was conditionally accepted on behalf of Newfoundland, Jamaica, Barbados, the Leeward Islands, British Honduras, Sierra Leone, the Seychelles, the Straits Settlements and the East African Protectorate. Virtually the whole Empire joined in the movement. The unofficial representation

was also very wide and of a highly distinguished character; universities, colleges and other institutions in all parts of the United Kingdom, in Canada, Australasia and India sent some of their most eminent members as delegates.

Questions Discussed.

With regard to the proceedings, those of the official part of the Conference were conducted in private after the manner of the Imperial Conference, under the chairmanship of Mr. S. H. Butcher, M.P., who was chairman of the Council of the League of the Empire, and with Mrs. Ord Marshall for secretary. From the statement issued for publication it appears that the administrative questions discussed were: (1) The mutual recognition of teachers' certificates. (2) The interchange of teachers and inspectors. (3) The closer uniformity of curricula, nomenclature and methods of presenting official educational statistics. The conclusions reached on these points were: (1) That the variety of local conditions made it impossible to arrive as yet at any complete system of mutual recognition of the teachers' certificates issued by different educational bodies in various parts of the Empire, (2) "That it is desirable that financial and administrative arrangements should be made for enabling teachers and inspectors of schools to acquire professional knowledge and experience in parts of His Majesty's dominions other than their own." (3) "That it is not desirable or necessary to take any steps to bring about uniformity of curricula or text-books for the different school systems of His Majesty's dominions," but "that it is desirable that the different education departments of His Majesty's dominions should define year by year, with precision, the terms used in the regulations and statistics that they publish, and the basis upon which their published statistics are prepared."

Results.

It is clear from all this, and also from what passed at the open meetings, that the Conference, being the first of its kind, was necessarily of a preliminary and tentative character. Its official deliberations were directed, first, to examining in conclave the feasibility of certain practical proposals put forward and coming to an agreement about them. But if effect was to be given to any such agreement, if the movement for Imperial solidarity and co-operation in education was to live and bear fruit, provision must be made for two things—the renewal of formal consultations in the future and the continuous interchange of information in the meantime by some standing agency. These needs were thoroughly realised and repeatedly emphasised by

representatives from different countries. The establishment of the Conference on a permanent and authoritative basis may be said to have been the object they most strongly desired. It found expression accordingly in resolutions passed by the official conclave to the effect that a quadrennial Conference was desirable, to be attended by representatives of the Governments, and that the first should be convened by the Imperial Government. To that the Imperial Government has assented and it has intimated that an official Conference will be held in 1911, convened by the Government. This is the most important outcome of the recent meeting. The other object—the establishment of a permanent information office—has not got so far, and it presents a certain difficulty. Hitherto the medium of communication has been the League of the Empire; and the Colonial representatives, who greatly appreciate its services, appear to wish to retain its assistance and its agency; but the Conference has now been taken under full official patronage, and there is supposed to be some incompatibility in the combination, though the Colonial Departments, less rigid in such matters, disregard this difficulty. On the other hand, no single department of the Imperial Government, except that of the Lord President of the Council, which has only a nominal existence, has official cognisance of all the countries concerned. And, moreover, the Colonial representatives appear to entertain a distinct reluctance to being placed wholly in the hands of a Government office. Probably the League of the Empire will, by force of circumstances, continue for the present to act as a medium of communication; but in that case it ought to receive some public support. The situation is interesting, if only because it is highly characteristic of the national method of developing national activities by way of private enterprise. There is no doubt that the voluntary element in the Conference contributed largely to its success. The open or general meetings were presided over by a succession of distinguished chairmen, beginning with Lord Crewe, in the capacity of Lord President of the Council; and the discussions attracted a number of speakers of real authority, including Mr. Balfour and the heads of our leading universities. These features, which pertained to the unofficial side of the meeting, lent it a popular prestige and interest which it would otherwise have lacked. The retention of the dual character therefore seems desirable; it enables

A Quadrennial Conference adopted.

A Permanent Information Office.

The Position of the League.

those administrative questions, which can only be dealt with by Government authorities, to be considered in private by the official representatives, and at the same time it permits the free and open discussion of general problems in education, such as the teaching of languages, the proper functions of the university, and so on, by men of wide and varied experience.

The Functions of the Conference on Education.

To put the matter in another way, this new Conference may be used to serve two great ends—Imperial solidarity and educational improvement. They go together, but are distinct. The first is promoted by keeping the different countries in touch with each other, bringing their representatives together for common counsel, diffusing mutual information and assisting co-operation; the second by providing for the discussion of educational aims and methods and the interchange of experience derived from the wonderfully varied conditions prevailing in different parts of the globe under the British flag. Thus education helps the Empire and is helped by it. The second point has hardly yet been realised, but it furnishes a powerful argument for the great confederation of peoples which is our Empire, and it was brought out clearly by the proceedings at the Conference. Like the rest of the world, the component parts of our Empire are much exercised about education Each has its own problems to solve, problems which differ in detail, but have much in common, and those who are trying to solve them desire all the assistance they can get from the experience of others. They showed that very plainly at the recent Conference. Many such problems were discussed at the open meetings, and also by the official representatives, who were divided into three committees for the purpose, quite apart from their joint deliberations summarised above. The mere statement of the headings under which the committees were classified will indicate how the Empire can be made to serve the cause of education. To Committee A were submitted "Problems affecting Parts of the Empire in which there are large English-speaking Populations"; to Committee B, "Problems affecting English-speaking Populations in Remote Portions of the Empire"; to Committee C, "The Bi-lingual Problem." Under these headings many questions of special interest to particular countries were discussed. But probably enough has been said to make clear the functions and the sphere of activity of the Education Conference, which may now be regarded as a permanent institution.

APPENDIX.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EMPIRE.

In a rough sort of way the expansion of Europe, which has characterised the history of the last four centuries, may be divided into four periods: (1) The Portuguese and Spanish, (2) the Dutch, (3) the French, and (4) the British. Each period corresponds more or less with a century; the sixteenth century saw the zenith of Portuguese and Spanish enterprise, the seventeenth marked the climax of Dutch colonisation, the eighteenth that of French, and the nineteenth the realisation of the British Empire. In the sixteenth century England had merely disputed the command of the sea with the Spaniards and Portuguese, and had kept it open; in the seventeenth it combated with success the claims of the Dutch, and founded the colonies in North America, most of which it afterwards lost. It was not till the eighteenth century, after the union of England and Scotland into Great Britain, that the rival ambitions of France were defeated and the corner-stones of the present Empire laid in Canada and India. Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, East and West Africa, and the Pacific Islands did not become really British until the nineteenth century, and only the Industrial Revolution provided the Empire with a surplus population capable of effectively making good the claims pegged out in previous periods. The nineteenth century, therefore, bulks large in the history of the Empire; before 1800 there did not exist a million British colonists, all told, in the Dominions of the Crown; now there are some twelve million white subjects of the Empire outside the British Isles, and within them the population has grown during the same period from seventeen to over forty-four millions.

The following table of dates is designed partly to serve as a chronological index to the preceding pages, but mainly to illustrate the underlying unity of the Empire which is necessarily obscured by sectional treatment. It is no accident that every Parliament in the Empire is based on the same principles and worked by the same machinery; it was by no mere chance that the colonies in Canada, Australia and New Zealand received complete self-government during the central decade

of the nineteenth century; and the significance of that period in the history of the Empire can only be brought into true perspective by placing these facts in juxtaposition. It is impossible to understand them in isolation. The history of each colony would have been very different, had it been the only colony of Great Britain; and while its history is absolutely unintelligible apart from that of Great Britain, it is barely intelligible apart from that of other colonies. On the other hand modern British legislation is content for the most part to follow at a respectful distance precedents set by the daughter States (*see* p. 462), and practically every proposal now before the British electorate has been for years in force in other dominions of the Crown. This chain of dates may help to link up the diverse lines of British and colonial development.

(1) The Portuguese and Spanish Colonial Period.

		PAGE
1471.	Portuguese visit the Gold Coast	703
1487.	Diaz doubles the Cape of Good Hope	40, 478
1492.	Columbus discovers the Bahamas	660, 676
1493.	Pope Alexander VI.'s Bull	660
	Elmina founded by John II. of Portugal	703
1494.	Treaty of Tordesillas	660
	Poynings' Law	59
1496–7.	John Cabot discovers Newfoundland and Labrador	320
1497.	Vasco da Gama sails round the Cape, sighting Natal	479, 518
1498.	Portuguese visit East African Coast, found Mozambique, and reach Calicut	479, 571, 690
	Spaniards discover Trinidad	682
1501.	Cortereal lands on Newfoundland or Labrador	320
1505.	Portuguese land in Ceylon	638
1511.	Albuquerque captures Malacca	643
1517.	Portuguese form a settlement at Colombo	638
1519–21.	Magellan discovers Magellan's Straits	337
1524.	A French ship laden with Newfoundland fish captured by the English	320
1526.	The Portuguese in New Guinea	337
	The Moghul Emperors established in India	566
1527.	Lord Edmund Howard's projected voyage to Newfoundland	320
1534–5.	Cartier sails up the St. Lawrence	252
1535.	Parliamentary incorporation of Wales	115
1536.	Armagil Wade's voyage to America	320
1540.	French settlement at Quebec	252
1549.	Sebastian Cabot made Grand Pilot of England	46
1553.	Chancellor's voyage to Archangel	46
	Thomas Wyndham's voyage to Guinea	703
1558.	Loss of Calais	42
	Accession of Queen Elizabeth	42–3

(2) Period of Portuguese and Spanish decline begins.

		PAGE
1562.	Hawkins's first voyage	46
1565.	Siege of Malta	744
1568.	Hawkins and Drake at San Juan de Ulua	46, 664
1570.	Cyprus taken by the Turks	746
1577-80.	Drake's voyage round the world	47
1580.	Portugal seized by Philip II. of Spain	338, 479, 571, 664
	Drake sights the Cape of Good Hope	486
1583.	Gilbert plants a colony in Newfoundland	48, 321
1585.	Ralegh's first expedition to Virginia	48
	Drake in the Caribbean Sea	664
1587.	Ralegh's second expedition	48
1588.	The Spanish Armada	571, 664
	A Gambia company chartered	700
1591.	Lancaster lands at the Cape of Good Hope	486

(3) Beginning of the Dutch Colonial Period.

1595.	Dutch found stations on the Gold Coast	704
	Drake and Hawkins in the West Indies	665
	Ralegh's first voyage to Guiana	48, 665, 682
	Mendana's discoveries in the Pacific	338
1596.	Dutch factory established at Bantam in Java	643
	Death of Drake	665
1600.	Foundation of the East India Company	48, 486, 571
1602.	Dutch East India Company; settlement in Ceylon	338, 479, 638
	English factory at Bantam	643
1603.	Personal union of England and Scotland under James I.	55
1604.	Foundation of Port Royal by the French	252
1605.	Discoveries of De Quiros and Torres	338
	Death of the Emperor Akbar	572
	Attempts to colonise Guiana	665
	Acquisition of Barbados	669
1606.	Exploration of the coast of New Guinea	338
1607.	The plantation of Virginia	49
	The Bermudas rediscovered	749
1608.	The plantation of Ulster	53, 97
	Fixing of the Tariff	142
1609.	Construction of the Deptford Dockyard	572
	Attempt to colonise Grenada	674
1612.	The English defeat the Portuguese and establish a factory at Surat	235, 572
1613.	Port Royal sacked by Argall	252
1616.	Hartog discovers Western Australia	339
1617.	Ralegh's second voyage to Guiana	665
1618.	Formation of a company of African Adventurers	700
1620.	Another expedition to Gambia	700
	The sailing of the "Mayflower"	50
	Two English captains take possession of Table Bay	486
	Roger North's efforts to colonise the Amazon	665

(4) Anglo-Dutch Colonial rivalry begins.

		PAGE
1623.	The "Massacre" of Amboyna	643
	Foundation of St. Kitts, the mother colony of the British West Indies	665
1626.	Death of Jahangir	572
1627.	St. Kitts divided between French and English	666
1628.	Nevis colonised from St. Kitts	667
1629.	The Massachusetts company	50
	Kirke captures Quebec	252
	Lord Baltimore's colony of Maryland	321
1632.	English secure the right to trade at Masulipatam	573
	Antigua and Montserrat colonised from St. Kitts	667-8
1635.	A new Tariff	142
1636.	Discovery of Tasmania and New Zealand	339
1637.	Dutch capture Elmina	704
1638.	The English in Tortuga	678
	Dutch occupy Mauritius	479, 755
1639.	Foundation of Madras	235, 573
1640.	East India Company's first settlement in Bengal	573
	Occupation of Malacca by the Dutch	644
	Settlement of buccaneers in Honduras	677
1641.	The Irish Rebellion	53, 98
1642.	Tasman visits New Zealand	433
	Sugar making begun in Barbados	670
	Gold Coast ceded by Portuguese to the Dutch	704
1645.	St. Helena occupied by the Dutch	751
1648.	Battle of Preston	54
1649.	Abolition of the Monarchy	228
	Conquest of Ireland by Cromwell	53, 98
1650.	Battle of Dunbar	54
	French colonise Grenada	674
1651.	The Navigation Act	51, 671
	Battle of Worcester	54
	Occupation of St. Helena by the English	486
1652.	Dutch found Capetown	479
	End of the civil war in Barbados	670
1652–4.	War between English and Dutch	52, 737
	English found Cape Coast Castle	704
1654.	The Union of England, Scotland and Ireland	53
1655.	Capture of Jamaica	671, 684
1658.	Negro slaves introduced at the Cape	480
	Portuguese driven out of Ceylon by the Dutch	638
1659.	The first Hottentot war with the Dutch	480
1660.	The Restoration	52, 175
	Annual elections established by statute in Barbados	672
	Charles II.'s Navigation Act	52, 144, 311, 671
	Export duties in the West Indies	671
	St. Vincent made a Carib location	675
1661.	Bombay acquired	235, 573
1664.	Foundation of Fort James (W. Africa)	701
	First Jamaica Assembly meets	686

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(5) Development of French Colonial activity.

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